

უცხო ვადაჭკორია
ქართული ემიგრაცია და
ეროვნულ-განმათავისუფლებელი
მოძრაობა საქართველოში
(1921-1990)

წიგნი I

*ruseTi aris bizantiuri veragobis da monRol uri eSmakobis
sinTezi.~*

karl marqsi

*`Tavisufl eba...TviTon unda gamogl ijo mters xel idan...amisTvis
unda emzado. ganimslWval o uryevi nebiT, ar daerido msxverpl s,
...eri romel ic Tavisufl ebisTvis ar ibrZvis, arcaa Rirsi am
saxel is tarebis.~*

akaki Cxenkel i

*`vinc mterTan brZol a icis,... masTan mol aparakebac unda icodes!
ase iqceodnen Cveni winaprebi, roml ebmac TavianTi el astivobiT
da gonieri dipl omatiiT bevrjer gadaarCines saqarTvel o gaSmagebul i
mtrebis kl anWebidan. saqarTvel o dRes aRar iqneboda,...mterTan
l aparaki da dazaveba rom ar scodnoda.~*

g.k. Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1953 w. # 17 (gv. 27)

*cfmfhsdtkj csdbc sfdi tobhekb
thj dyek - ufyvfsfdbceakt, tkb
vj Phfj ,bc uvbht, bc yfstk [cj dyfc
t' qdyt, f tc obuyb
fdnj hb*

Shota Vadachkoria

**Georgian Emigration and National
Liberation Movement in Georgia
(1921-1990)**

Book I

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**Tbilisi
2018**

SoTa vadaWkor i a

qarTul i emigracia
da
erovnul -ganmaTavisufI ebel i
moZraoba saqarTvel oSi
(1921- 1990)
wigni I

gamomceml oba `universal i-
Tbilisi
2018

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B V_ 126N

dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T, naSromSi safuZvl i anadaa Seswavl il i 1921- 1990 wl ebSi qarTul i emigraciis mier erovnul - ganmaTavisufI ebel moZraobasTan mimarTebaSi gaweul i mraVal mxrivi saqmianoba. dasabuTebul ia, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikiS emigraciul ma mTavrobam, damfuZnebel i krebiS prezidiumis wevrebma da pol itikuri partiebil iderebis umetesobam, qarTvel i erisgan miniWebul i ndobis mandati da mZimejvari Rirseul ad atara. qarTvel i eris interesebi, pirad cxovrebas ar anacval a, evropasi mimdinare urTul es procesebs al Ro droul ad auRo da swori pol itikuri kursi aircia.

naSromis mosamzadebl ad avtorma, saqarTvel os central ur istoriul arqivSi dacul i harvardisa da l evil is saarqivo masal ebis 27 dasaxel ebis fondis 3500- ze meti saqme daamuSava. unikal uri dokumentebis samecniero brunvasi Semotanam da misma si Rmi seul ma anal izmma, dRemde arsebul i zogierTi mcdari Sexedul ebebis reviziis da mkiTxvel i sazogadoebi sTvis saarqivo masal ebiT dasabuTebul i obieqturi istoriis miwodebis SesaZl ebl oba Seqmna.

redaqtori zurab xonel iZe
pol itikur mecnierebaTa doqtori,
profesori

recenzentebi: igor kvesel ava
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori
oTar Jordani aA
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori
paata nacvl iSvil i
social ur mecnierebaTa akademiuri doqtori,
profesori

proeqti ganxorciel da SoTa rustavel is erovnul i samecniero fondis finansuri mxardaWerit. (# FR/ 148/2- 101/14). wignSi gamoTqmul i nebi smieri azri ekuTvnis avtors da SeiZl eba ar asaxavdes erovnul i samecniero fondis Sexedul ebebs. naSromi Sesrul da saqarTvel os teqnukur universitetSi samarTi isa da saerTaSoriso urTierTobebis fakul tetze.

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Sesaval i

saki Txis dayenebi saTvis, ZiriTadi wyarobis mimoxil va da istriografia

saki Txis dayenebi saTvis. XX saukunis saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriis tragikul furcel s sabWoTa ruseTisgan saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis aneqsia da okupacia warmoadgens. mterTan brZol aSi damarcxebul ma maSindel ma saqarTvel os xel isuflebam, dampyrobel Tan Seurigebel i pozicia daiWira, kapi tul aciaze ar daTanxmda, okupanti qveynis qmedeba samarTl ebriv CarCoSi ar moaqcia da qarTveli eris erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobis xel mZRvanel oba emigraciidan gadawyvita. dasaxul i mizani, saerTaSoriso samarTals srul ad pasuxobda. misi ganxorciel ebis SesaZlebel oba organizaciul i probl emebis mogvarebaze da saqarTvel os bediT dasavleT evropis qveynebis dai nteresebaze iyo damokidebul i.

sakvl evad aRebul i Tema, saqarTvel oze uzomod Seyvarebul i da mtris mier samSobl odan gandeveni i qarTvel ebis erTi nawilis 50 wli an tragikul istorias exeba. ucxo qveyanaSi TavSefarebul i saqarTvel os politikuri emigraciis cxovrebis pirobebi uaRresad mZimed warimarTa. evropasi im etapze mimdinare daZabul i procesebi, qarTul i emigraciis mdgomareobas kidev ufro arTul ebda. am fonze uxdeboda qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo warmomadgenl obas, sabWoTa ideologiuri propagandisadmi gamkl aveba. im umZimes pirobebsi, saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis devnil xel isuflebas gansakuTrebul i Tanadgoma meore internacional is l iderebma gauwia.

ucxo qveynis xel Semyure mdgomareobaSi myofi saqarTvel os samTavrobo emigraciis pirveli rigis amocanas, politikur Zal Ta konsolidacia, erTiani samoqmedo programis SemuSaveba da saerTaSoriso forუმებზე Setanxmebul ad gamosvla warmoadgenda. dasavleT evropis qveynebisgan qarTul i emigraciisadmi yuradRebis miqceva da garkveul i formiT daxmarebis miReba, gadamwyvet mniSvnel obas izenda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom mraval gzis Setanxmebis miuxedavad, opoziciurad ganwyobil i politikuri daj gufebebi, saqarTvel oSi dawyebul kinkl aobas, ucxoETSiac agrZel ebdnen da emigraciul i mTavrobis diskreditacias cdil obdnen. aseTi mZime fonis Seqmnis miuxedavad, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebi, evropis qveynebis maRal Cinosnebtan Sexvedrebs warmatebul ad agrZel ebdnen da saqarTvel os sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, emigraciul i mTavrobis poziciis saerTaSoriso forუმებზე მხარდასაწერად, Sesabamის საფეხურსაც ამზადებდნენ. TavianTi politikuri intel eqtual izmiT, qarTvel Ta interesebis samarTl ebrivad dacvas udi desi Zal isxmeviT axerxebdnen. evropis qveynebis l iderTa umravl esobisgan, politikuri meZavisა da sabWoTa ruseTTan mimarTebaSi merkantil izmis kursisadmi upiratesobis micemis miuxedavad, emigraciასი myofma saqarTvel os mTavrobის მესვეურებმა, saerTaSoriso zewol as gauZlo, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebi da erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobis mZime j vari Rirseul ad atara. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom qarTul i emigraciul i mTavrobისა da damfuznebel i krebis prezidუმის wevrebის პოლიტიკური საკმანობის ისტორია, qarTve-

mier gaweul i saqmianobis Sesaxeb. am fonze ganxorciel des pol itikuri emigraciis daj gufebebis gadawyvetil ebebis kanonzomierebis Sefaseba; 2) gabedul ad iTqvas, vin ukeT da SeubRal avad emsaxura saqarTvel os erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebis saerTaSoriso konferenciebze da sxva saxis forumebze dacvas; 3) saqarTvel os saxel mwifos damoukidebl obis aRdgenis sakiTxis saerTaSoriso samarTlis CarCoSi darCenisTvis brZol as.

ZiriTadi wyaroebis mimoxil va. qarTuli emigraciis 1921-1970 wl ebis pol itikuri saqmianobis istoriis safuZvl ianad Seswavl is da obieqturi Sefasebis ZiriTad safuZvel s, arqivsacavebSi arsebul i masal ebis paral el urad, amave probl ematikasTan mimarTebaSi gamoqveynebul i dokumentebis gul dasmit damuSaveba warmoadgens. am mimarTul ebit pirvel i nabiji i sev emigraciis wevrebma gadadga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `uwyeba social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis mesame aral egarul i yril obisa-¹ es dokumenti saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad Catarebul i social - demokratiul i partiis yril obis mier miRebul dadgenil ebebs Seicavs. masSi imJamindel i saqarTvel os pol itikuri procesebis Sej amebis mcdel oba da erovnul - ganmatavis ufl ebel i moZraobis perspeqtivebis Sesaxeb garkveul i Sexedul ebebia mocemul i. gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevs kavkasiis sabWos mier gamocemul i `kavkasiis konferencia (aqtebi da komentarebi).² igi ori nawil isagan Sedgeba: **1)aqtebi:** aq dabeWdil ia kavkasiis konfederaciis paqti, kavkasiis konferenciis (1934 wl is ivl isi) mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba da Tezisebi; **2)komentarebi:** am ganyofil ebaSi kavkasiis konferenciaze miRebul i dokumentebis mimarT qarTul , azerbaijanul da evropul presaSi dabeWdil i gamoxmaurebebia SerCevit motanil i. aqvea dabeWdil i erTal igisadmi kavkasiis xal xis saxel iT 1936 wels wardgenil i memorandumi.

qarTuli emigraciis erTi nawil is pol itikuri saqmianobisa da poziciis Sesaxeb, saintereso masal ebs Seicavs saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i gaerTianebul i biuros da parizis organizaciis erTobl ivad gamocemul i biul eteni. igi exeba `parizis bl okis- 1962 wl is miunxenis 8- 12 ivl isis konferencias. masSi konferenciis mokle angariSi da miRebul i dadgenil ebebia dabeWdil i. gansakuTrebul interest iwvevs qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis mier saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis 50 wl istavTan dakavSirebit dabeWdil i mimarTva, romelic qarTul i asociaciis 1968 wl is 26 maisis parizis sazeimo sxdomaze iqna wakiTxul i. emigraciis periodis qarTul i pol itikuri azris Seswavl isa da Sida dapirispirebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebis gaxsnis gasaRebs, cal ke broSurebad da presis furcl ebze dabeWdil i n.Jordaniას, ir.wereTel is, g.gvazavas da sxvaTa pol emikuri xasiaTis weril ebi warmoadgens.

qarTul i emigraciis saqmianobis Sesaxeb saintereseo masal ebi daibeWda guram SaraZis mier gamocemul rvatomeul Si_ `qarTul i emigraciul i Jurnal istikis istoria.³ igi ZiriTadad emigraciis periodSi gamomaval Jurnal - gazeTebSi gamoqveynebul i SerCeul i publikaciebis krebulebia. qarTvel i emigrantebis mxatvrul i da publ icisturi nawarmoebebis paral el urad, masSi zogierT pirvel xarixovani dokumenticaa dabeWdil i.

uaRresad saintereso epistol arul i xasiaTis masal ebia dabeWdil i Jurnal `qarTul i emigraciასი.⁴ dokumentebis krebuleSi `spiridon kedია. masal e-

bi piradi arqivi dan.⁵ c.j erval iZis mier gamocemul wignSi `parizi dan vaS-
ingtonamde saqarTvel oze fiqriT.⁶ qarTvel i emigrantebis omis periodis
umZimesi cxovrebis Sesaxebaa saubari Journ. `saarqivo moambeSi~ dabeWdi l
saarqivo masal ebSi.⁷ igi sabWoTa uSi Sroebis samsaxuris warmomadgenel Ta
mier tyvedayvanil i qarTvel i emigrantebis dakiTxvis saogmo Canawerebs
Seicavs da faSisturi germaniis samxedro SenaerTebSi myofi qarTvel i
emigrantebis saqmi anobis dRemde ucnob faqtebze mogviTxrobs.

Cems mier sakvl evad aRebul i probl emis ZiriTadi dasayrdeni dokumente-
bia dacul i saqarTvel os central ur istoriul arqivSi. mxedvel obaSi ma-
qvs l evil isa da harvardis unikal uri saarqivo masal ebi, roml ebi c 27 da-
saxel ebis fonds Seicavs. aqedan, gansakuTrebul yuradrebas iqcevs: 1) saqarTve-
l os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis saqmeTa mmarTvel oba. f. 1961.
aRw. 3; 2) saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis sagareo saqmeTa samini-
stro. f. 1864. aRw. 2; 3) saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis finansTa da
vaWroba- mrewvel obis saminiestro. f. 1891. aRw. 4; 4) saqarTvel os demokrati-
ul i respubl ikis momaragebis saminiestro. f. 1939. aRw. 2; 5) saqarTvel os
demokratiul i respubl ikis samxedro saminiestro. f. 1969. aRw. 4; 6) saqarTve-
l os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komiteti. f. 2117 da
gamoCenil i qarTvel i pol itikuri moRvaweebis piradi fondebi. am masal eb-
Si inaxeba saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prez-
idiumis, social - demokratiul i partiis konferenciebisa da cal keul i
sxdomebis stenografiul i angariSebi, piradi mimowerebi, dadgenil ebebi,
pol itikuri partieb is Tanxmebis dokumentebi, saqarTvel oSi erovnul -
ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obisTvis emigraciidan xel mZRvanel o-
bis gawev is Sesabamisi gegmebi, amierkavkasiis xal xTa erTobl ivi konfereb-
ciebis masal ebi, stenografiul i angariSebi da dadgenil ebebi, oficial uri
gancxadebebi. qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis daj gufebaTa Soris urT-
ierT dapi rispirebis amsaxvel i dokumentebi da a.S. es masal ebi srul war-
modgenas iZi eva 1921- 1970 wl ebis qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri cxo-
vrebis TiTqm is yvel a mimarTul ebis Sesaxeb.

Cems mier sakvl evad aRebul i Temis erT- erT damxmare pirvel wyarod
emigraciis wl ebSi gamocemul i Jurnal - gazeTebi iqna gamoyenebul i. ker-
Zod: Journ. `brZol a~, `brZol is xma~, `Cveni droSa~, `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~,
`kavkasiaa- gaz. `qarTul i azri,~ `Tavisufal i saqarTvel o~, `damouki debel i
saqarTvel o~.

angariSgasawev faqtebsa da mosazrebebs Seicavs im periodis moRvaweTa
mier emigraciis cxovrebis Sesaxeb daweril i memuarul i literatura. am
mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradrebas S.maRl akel iZis mogonebebi `qarTvel ebi
germanul i droSis qveS- iqcevs.⁸ ama Tu im sakiTxvis ganxil visas, masSi mo-
tanil i faqtebis damowmeba, mxol od im SemTxvevaSi mi maCnia mi zanSewonil ad,
Tuki misi Sej ereba Sesabam is pirvel wyaroebTan gaxdeba SesaZl ebel i. es
aucil ebel ia, radgan qarTvel i emigrantebis umetesobaSi subieqtivi zmi da
erTmaneTis augad xsenebis bacil a, mourCenel sens warmoadgenda. igi sam-
Sobl odan mowvyetil Tanamemamul eTa Cawixvl aze da ara ganvl il i pol i-
tikuri cxovrebis obieqtur Sej amebasze iyo gaTvl il i.

sakiTxis istoriografia. qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis saqmi anobis

Sefasebas saTave sabWoTa xel isufli ebis maRal Cinosnebma daudo. igi im doneze gaayal ba, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis kanonieri mTavroba l amis qarTvel i xal xis mtrad gamoacxada. mxedvel obaSi maqvs g. orj oniki- Zis,⁹ m. kaxianis,¹⁰ I. RoRoberiZis¹¹ da sxvebis moxsenebebi, roml ebic broSu- rebis saxiT iqna dabeWdil i. aRni Snul pirovnebaTa naazrevi srul ad pas- uxobda im periodis sabWoTa xel isufli ebis interesebs. igi saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis da misi sakanonmdebl o organos wevrebis farTo sazogadoebaSi pol itikuri diskreditaciis mcdel obaze iyo gaTv- l ili.

qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis urTul esi cxovrebi Strixebis exeba iv. zurabi Svili s naSromi _ `saqarTvel os saerTaSoriso mdgomareoba~.¹² masSi saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis saqmi anobis erTi konkretul i mxarea ganxil ul i. kerZod, saerTaSoriso forumbze saqarTvel os erovnul i in- teresebis dacvis mcdel oba da am saqmeSi emigraciul i mTavrobis warmo- madgenel Ta mier gaweul i Rvawl i. dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT das- abuTebul ia, dasavl eT evropis l iderebis gan rezol uciebiTa da dadge- nil ebebiT gacemul i dapi rebebis uvargi soba. am fonze, wi na pl anzea wamoweu- l i: a) saqarTvel os erTa l igaSi armiReba; b) 1921 wl is Teberval - mart is movl enebTan dakavSi rebiT, erTa l igi s mier sabWoTa ruseTis agresor qve- ynad gamocxadebis da misi qmedebis dagmobi s dokumentebi; 3) evropul i qvey- nebis l iderebis Tavgadadebul i zrunva sabWoTa kavSiris erTa l igaSi gawevrianebi sTvis (1934 wel i) da am fonze, imave evropul i qveynebis mier erT dros aRiarebul i saqarTvel os damouki debl obis mi vi wyeba, misi inte- resebis srul i ignori reba. naSromSi motani l i faqtetis erTmaneTTan Sepi- ri spi rebiT, evropis qveynebis l iderebis mier patara qveyni s interesebis dacvasTan mi marTebaSi micemul i dapi rebebis sandooba, iv. zurabi Svili ma sazogadoebis wi naSe ki Txvi s qveS daayena.

saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis a da social - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa mxri dan, emigraci aSi 1921- 1935 wl ebSi gaweul i saqmi anobis dawvri- l ebiT aRweras exeba k. gvarj al aZis naSromi: `saqarTvel os soc. dem. muSa- Ta partiis muSaoba sazRvargareT~.¹³ es 68 gverdi ani broSura, uaRresad sa- intereso informaci a s iZi eva saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier saerTaSoriso organizaciebis gan mowyobil forumbSi monawil eobis da sabWoTa ruse- Tis, rogorc agresori qveyni s mxil ebis mi zniT gaweul muSaobaze. yura- dRebas amaxvil ebs im Roni sZiebebze, romel ic emigraciul i mTavrobis mes- veurTa xel mZRvanel obiT ganxorciel da saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmaTa- visufli ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obi sTvis. faqtobrivi masal is moSvel iebiT, avtori im Zi ri Tad mi zerzebze mi uTi Tebs, ramac qarTul i pol itikuri emig- raciis mTI ianobas SeuSal a xel i. mni Svel ovani xarvezis mi uxedavad, es broSura qarTul i emigraciis 14 wl i ani gabmul i istoriis Seqmni s pirvel mcdel obad SeiZi eba Cai Tval os.

qarTul i emigraciis istoriis mecnierul ad kvl evi sTvis myari fundamen- tis SeqmnaSi ganuzomel i wvl il i mi uZRvi s prof. guram SaraZes. misi mraval - wl i ani muxl Cauxrel i Sromi s Sedegad, saqarTvel oSi l evil isa da harvar- dis unikal uri masal ebi dabruna. am dokumentebma qarTvel mkvl evarebs SesaZi ebl oba misca, qarTul i emigraciis aqtual ur probl emebTan mi ma-

rTebaSi obieqturi da mecnierul ad gamarTul i istoeria mi ewodebi na mki Tx-
vel i sazogadoebisaTvis. am masal ebze dayrdnobi T Sei qmna prof. g.SaraZis
samtomeul i: `ucxoeTis cis qveS~.¹⁴ masSi cnobil i qarTvel i emigrantebis:
politikosebis, samxedro moRvaveebis, mwerlebis, mecnierebis, xel ovnebaTm-
codneebis Sesaxeb mecnierul ad gamarTul i biografiebia mocemul i. am
wignebma Tavis droze udi desi samsaxuri gauwia emigraciis istoriit dain-
teresebul qarTul sazogadoebas.

qarTul i politikuri emigraciis mxridan erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i
moZraobisadmi gaweul i xel mZRvanel obis mTel rig mniSvnel ovan sakiTx-
ebs exeba g.cxovrebaZis naSromi - `qarTul i politikuri emigracia da saqa-
rTvel os damoukidebl obis sakiTxi 1921- 1925 wl ebSi~.¹⁵ naSromSi damaj ere-
bl adaa warmodgenil i saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis mier evropis
qveynebis mmarTvel wreebTan da saerTaSoriso organizaciebTan gaweul i
muSaoba. mdi dar faqtobriv masal aze dayrdnobi T wi na pl anzea wamoweul i
genuis, haagisa da l ozanas konferenciebze saqarTvel os sakiTxis gasata-
nad gaweul i Tavdadebul i muSaoba. sabWoTa ruseTis agresor qveynad war-
moCenis mcdel obebi. naSromSi garkveul i adgil i aqvs daTmobil i saqarTve-
l oSi 1922- 1924 wl ebis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis gaRrmave-
bis mizniT gaweul saqmi anobas. avtori savsebit swor Sefasebas akeTebis,
roca qarTul politikur samTavrobo emigracias, qarTvel i eris ganuy-
ofel nawil ad da sakacobrio ideal ebis msaxurad rom acxadebs.

saqarTvel os politikuri emigraciis 18 wliani istoriis mniSvnel ovan i
sakiTxebia gadmocemul i r.dauSvil is monografiaSi - `qarTul i emigracia
1921- 1939 wl ebSi~.¹⁶ naSromi 15 Tavisagan Sedgeba. didZal i faqtobriv i masa-
l is safuZvel ze damaj erebl adaa warmodgenil i saqarTvel os emigraciul
i mTavrobis wevrebisadmi meore internacional is l iderTa Tanadgoma.
erTobl ivi Zal isxmevit, evropis presis furcl ebze sabWoTa ruseTis ideol o-
giuri propagandisadmi warmatebul i dapirispireba. naSromSi yovel gvare
mikerZobebis gareSea warmodgenil i saerTaSoriso kongresebze saqarTve-
l os sakiTxis gatanaSi da devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobis da-
xmarebaSi meore internacional is l iderTa damsaxureba. safexurebriva-
daa aRweril i erTa l igaSi ruseTis gawevrianebis winaarmdeg saqarTve-
l os xel isufl ebisgan gaweul i titanuri Sroma. is udi desi Zal isxmeva,
romelic saqarTvel os mxardamWerebis povnas dasWirda. sabWoTa ruseTis
erTa l igaSi miRebis (1934 weli) Sesaxeb naSromSi motanil i faqtobriv i
masal iT, mkfiodaa warmoceni l evropis wamyvani qveynebis l iderebitvis
sisxl Si gamj dari orpirovani ianusistvis damaxasiaTebel i politikuri
kursisadmi erTgul eba da saerTaSoriso samarTl is fexqveS gaTel vis war-
matebul i mcdel obebi. am fonzea warmodgenil i qarTul i emigraciis Sig-
niT aRmocenebul i dapirispirebebis safuZvel ze Seqmnil i daj gufebebis
faqtebi. zogierTi maTganisgan faSisturi ideol ogiis gaziareba.

qarTul i emigraciis istoriis mkvl evari gverds ver auvl is g.sul azis
monografias - `qarTul i antisabWoTa emigracia da specsamsaxurebi~.¹⁷ es
650 gverdiani naSromi ZiriTadad saarqivo dokumentebis mi xedviTaa dawer-
il i da probl emis Seswavl is gansxvavebul i mimarTul ebit kvl evas Sei-
cavs. avtoris mier gamomzeurebul ma axal ma saarqivo masal ebma, burusit

მოცულ ბევრ მნიშვნელოვან საკითხს ფარდაცოლსა და დოკუმენტურად დასაბუთებულ ი ფორმით უარყოფითა საბჭოთა სპეცსამსახურების მიერ კართული ემიგრაციის რიგების გაწევის საკითხი. ავტორი პირდაპირ ასახავს ამ კართული ემიგრანტებს, რომლებიც ფარულად საბჭოთა უსივრცეებში ტანამშრომლობდა და კართული პოლიტიკური ემიგრაციის რიგების დაპირისპირება მეორე. საარქივო მასალაზე დაყრდნობით დამატებული არაერთი ნომერი სხვადასხვა მხარის მიერ მოწოდებული პროცესის მიუხედავად იმ პოლიტიკური პარტიებისა და პიროვნების შესახებ, რომლებიც ამ დანასაღებში ფაქტის ხელსაყრელი როლი შეასრულეს. ავტორის სასახელი ოდუნდით ვთქვამს, რომ მან დასაბუთებულ ი ფორმით უარყოფითა ის დიდი დანაკლისი, რომელიც ნომერი სხვადასხვა მხარის მიერ ობიექტურად კართული მათავრობო პოლიტიკურა ემიგრაციამ. ნაშრომში საგანგებო ტავი აკვს დატმობილი მეორე მსოფლიო ომის პერიოდში ფასისტური იდეებით გატაცებულ ი ჯოგერტი კართული ემიგრანტის, ფასისტური გერმანიის სახელმწიფო სამსახურში ჩადგომას და გაწევის საკითხებს. მემუარული ლიტერატურაზე დაყრდნობით, ხელნაწერად გაფეთქებული ბევრი პიროვნების საწინააღმდეგო ემიგრანტის ცხოვრების ფაქტები გახდა ამ ნაშრომით ხელმისაწვდომი მკითხველს ი საზოგადოებისთვის.

კართული პოლიტიკური ემიგრაციის აქტუალური საკითხები უარყოფითი იკვლევების საშუალებით. ემიგრაციის პრობლემის შესახებ მომსახურების მხარის ევროპის განვითარების, ჰარვარდისა და ლეიპციგის საარქივო მასალის შესახებ მონაცემებიდან მან უნდა იმის მანიჭების საფუძველი ანადიმოზავა. არქივსაცავების მოპოვებულ დოკუმენტებსა და ფაქტებს იმის მიერ სხვადასხვა კრებულში დაბეჭდილი პუბლიკაციები, რომლებიც სამეცნიერო ბრუნვაში შემოტანილი მასალის სახელისუფლო გამოცემა.¹⁸

საკართული ემიგრაციის მათავრობის საკითხებს ეხება ი. ციკავას მონოგრაფია `ჯორჯიის მათავრობის და ეროვნული ჯარების მოწოდება საკართული ოს დამოუკიდებლობის ბრძოლისთვის (1921-1933 წწ.).¹⁹ ნაშრომში საფუძველი ანადაა არაერთი საბჭოთა რუსეთის მიერ დაპყრობილი საკართული ოს დანადგენილი კანონიერი მათავრობის მიერ, ჰეილის დამოუკიდებლობის ბრძოლის მიზნით, უნდა იმის სარაოდო რონის ეხება და გეგმების შესახებ გაწევის საკითხი. განსაკუთრებული ადგილი აკვს დატმობილი პოლიტიკური ჯარების გაერთიანების საფუძველი კონსუსტის და ფაქტების ერთობლივი მოქმედების გეგმის მოწოდების მხარის. გენის, ჰაგის, ლოზანის კონფერენციებზე საკართული ოს საკითხის გასათანად კართული დიპლომატიური კორპუსის ჯარისკაცებს. ნაშრომის თვალსაზრისით უამრავი საარქივო დოკუმენტი. მათავრობის, და ფაქტების კრების პრეზიდენტის, პოლიტიკური პარტიების ერთობლივი სხდომების სტენოგრაფიული ანგარიშები. ნაშრომში მოტანილი ფაქტები და მისი ანალიზი, საკართული ოს ემიგრაციის მათავრობის ხელშეწყობის ეროვნული - განმათავისუფლებელი მოძრაობის ხაზით გაწევის მუშაობის ისტორიის შესახებ ხელმისაწვდომი მხარის.

კართული ემიგრაციის ისტორიის საკითხებს მიეძღვნა ს. ვადაშვილის²⁰ და დ. უმბურიშის²¹ პუბლიკაციები. იმავი პრობლემის შესახებ ჯოგერტი აქტუალური საკითხები აგასტეხული: ვ. გურული,²² ა. სონრული სხვა,²³ ლ. ურუსაშვილი,²⁴ ნ. კირიაშვილი,²⁵ გ. ციციშვილი,²⁶ ლ. ჯიკიაშვილი,²⁷ ო. ანელიშვილი,²⁸ ს. მურუსიშვილი,²⁹ პ. ნაცვლის სხვა,³⁰ ე. მამუკელი სხვა,³¹ ლ. ასლამაშვილი,³² მ. ამერიკის,³³ გ. მამულიაშვილი,³⁴ ფ. ლომასვილი,³⁵ დ. სელიშვილი,³⁶ ი. კვესელავაშვილი,³⁷ უ. ბლაშვილი,³⁸ ი. ვიკარიშვილი,³⁹ და სხვების შრომები.

Tavi I. pol i tikur Zal Ta gaerTi anebis saki Txi da qarTul i emigracia (1921 - 1922 ww.)

sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os okupaciis msvl el obis procesSi gamocemul i dekreti # 1 (1921 w. 25 Teberval i) v.l eni niseul satyuar ankesse warrmoadgenda da saqarTvel oSi arsebul i pol itikuri partiebisi ideol ogiurad nebayofl obi T gani araRebaze iyo gaTvl il i. es dokumenti zedapirul i Tval sazrisiT, kompromisul da humanur nabij ad SeiZl eba Sefasdes. magram, Tuki siRmi seul ad gavi azrebT masSi Cadebul yovel debul ebas, aRmoCndeba, rom saqarTvel os damouki debl obisa da misi saxel mwifos dasacavad mebrZol i pol itikuri Zal ebis saqmi anobas, roml i sTvi sac saqarTvel os gasabWoeba da kompartiis mi znebi iyo mi uRebel i, **borot moRvaveobad** acxadebda. `gamocxadebul i iqnas amnistia_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ yvel a im pol itikuri partiebisa, romel nic aqtiurad gamodi odnen saqarTvel os sabWoTa Zal aufl ebis da komunisturi partiis wi naaRmdeg. am amnistiis Zal iT arcerTi wevri amgvare pol itikuri partiebisa da, saerTod aravin, ar unda iqnes datusaRebul i, micemul i sasamarTl oSi, an administraciul ad devnil i im **boroti moRvaveobisaTvis**, romel ic mimarTul i iyo sabWoTa Zal aufl ebis da saqarTvel os komunisturi partiis wi naaRmdeg.⁻¹

qarTul istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom am dokumentma Tavisi daniSnul eba garkveul wil ad Seasrul a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs zogierTi pol itikuri partiebisi da j gufebisi mxridan sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan TanamSroml obis kursis aReba. rac Seexeba devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis pol itikuri Zal is l iderebs, maTi moqmedebis kursi, dampyrobl isadmi qarTvel i eris Seurigebl obaze iyo dafuZnebul i. isini kargad acnobi erebdnen im pasuxismgebl obas, romel ic im Znel bedobis Jams istoriam daakisra. aqedan gamomdinare, okupantebi sadmi wi naaRmdegobis gawevis xel mZRvanel obis aucil ebl obas pirvel xarixovan amocanad mi Cnevden. am mimarTul ebi T maTi mxridan gadadgmul i nebi smieri nabij i, im periodis saerTaSoriso samarTl is CarCoSi j deboda. es faqtori edo safuZvl ad v.l eninis mier xel qveiTebisadmi micemul winadadebas, romel ic saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis Tavmj domaresTan_ n.Jordani asTan kompromisze wasvl is aucil ebl obaze mi uTitebda.

marTalia, emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobis wi naSe gamokveTil i formiT daisva sakiTxi_ qveyanaSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xel mZRvanel obis Sesaxeb, magram, pol itikur Zal ebTan SesaTanxmebel i iyo, Tu ra formiT momxdariyo misi ganxorciel eba. mi Tumetes, sabWoTa ruseTis sapropagando saSual ebebi maRal doneze muSaobda da 1921 wl is Teberval - martis movl enebis gamrudebul i formiT awvdi da dasavl eT evropas. ideol ogiur frontze Seqmnil i umZimesi mdgomareobis daZl evis mi zni T, dasavl eT evropis qveynebis pol itikuri wreebisadmi swori informaciis miwodebis sawyis etapad, saqarTvel os mTavrobis saxel iT 1921 wl is april - Si gakeTebul i ganxadeba unda iqnas mi Cneul i. igi evropis sxvadasxva enaze iTargmna da presis furcl ebzedac dai beWda. am dokumentis gansakuTrebul i mniSvel oba imaSi mdgomareobda, rom faqtobrivi masal aze dayrdnobiT, safexurebrivad iyo asaxul i is agresiu l i da sabrZol o moqmedebis procesebi, romel sac 1921 wl is 11 Tebervl idan XI armia saqarTvel os pirvel i

respubl i kis winaaRmdeg awarmoebda. imave dokumentSi Semaj amebel i daskv-
nis saxiT gamoTqmul i protestis paral el urad, srul ad iyo warmoCeniI i
okupantebisadmi qarTvel i eris Seurigebl i damokidebul eba. aRniSnul
sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `1)ara Sinaurma moZraobam,
gamomdinare Tundac xal xis umciresobisgan, aramed uxeSma gareSe Zal am
daarRvia xal xis mier Tavisufl ad miRebul i demokratiul i konstituci-
uri weswyobil eba da mis nacvl ad SemoiRo sabWoTa ruseTidan gadmoRebu-
l i instituti; 2)qarTvel ma xal xma gmirul i winaaRmdegoba gauwia mters
da man, Tavisi mTavrobis irgvl iv darazmul ma, Tavisi miwa- wyal i daTmo
mxol od imis Semdeg, roca amowura winaaRmdegobis yvel a SesaZl ebl oba;
3)saqarTvel os dRevandel i mdgomareoba aris ucxo jaris mier qveynis
samxedro okupacia. igi iZul ebul i gaxda bol Sevikuri okupaciis gamo, dae-
tovebina erovnul i miwa- wyal i. saqarTvel os mTavroba agrZel ebs dam-
fuZnebel i krebidan miRebul mandats da im val debul ebis Sesrul ebas,
romel ic man xal xis winaSe i kis sra. icavs ra xal xis interesebs, im saxel m-
wi foebis winaSe, romel mac scnes saqarTvel os respubl i kis damouki de-
bl oba.-²

Cems mier motaniI samive muxl Si Camoyal i bebul i debul ebebi, saerTa-
Soriso sazogadoebas mtrisadmi Seurigebl obaze, damfuZnebel i krebis-
sgan miniWebul i ufl ebebis ganuxrel ad dacvaze da qveynis srul ad
ganTavisufl ebisatvis brZol is gagrZel ebaze mianiSnebda. marTal ia,
survil i da gancxadeba Cafiqrebul i gegmis Teoriul nawil s warmoad-
genda, magram arsebiTi da gadamwyveti mniSvel oba pragmatul i saxis
nabij is gadadgmas eniWeboda. am mi marTul ebiT konkretul i RonisZi ebe-
bis gatareba imiTac iyo aucil ebel i, rom saqarTvel oSi mimdinare anti-
sabWour moZraobas, gonivrul ad maRal doneze Sedgenil i gegmis mixed-
viT sWirdeboda xel mZRvanel obis gaweva. meore mxriv, saerTaSoriso
asparezze mimdinare pol itikuri cvl il ebebi, emigraciaSi myofi saqarTve-
l os mTavrobis Canafiqris Sesarul ebl ad udid es siRTul ebs qmni da.
am fonze, mokavSi re da qarTul i saqmisadmi `gul Sematki vari - saxel mwi-
fos povna aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. saqarTvel os mTavrobis mes-
veurebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom evropis qveynebidan maT-
dami mxardaWera da gverdsi dgoma, okupanti qveynisadmi (sabWoTa ruse-
Tisadmi) dapi rispirebas niSnavda. aseT riskze wasvl a evropis qveynebis
pol itikurad gameZavebul i l iderebis mxridan nakl ebad mosal odnel i
iyo. miTumetes, devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavroba da pol itikuri
speqtri, daqsaqsul ad da urTierTdapi rispirebul i formiT moqmedebda.
es procesi, saqarTvel osadmi gul Sematki vari qveynis povnas ki dev ufro
arTul ebd. aucil ebl oba, evropel Ta dasanaxad, pol itikur Zal Ta kon-
sol idaci isken nabij is gadadgmas da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebas
moiTxovda. meore mxriv, imave evropis pol itikuri speqtristvis unda
eCvenebi naT, rom saqarTvel os mosaxl eobas, dampyrobel Tan mtrul i damok-
idebul eba qonda, rom qarTvel i eri ruseTis saokupacio mmarTvel obas
ebrZoda da mis Rirseul medroses devnil i xel isufl eba warmoadgenda.
amis gakeTeba mxol od maSin gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i, Tuki erT saerTo
mizantan_ saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenasTan mi marTe baSi SeT-
anxmdebodnen. marTal ia, sakiTxi gamokveTil i formiT iyo dasmul i, ma-

gram imave pol itikuri speqtris winaSe ismeboda kiTxva_ romel pol itikur Zal ebTan SeiZl eboda SeTanxmeba, ndobis gamocxadeba da okupaci is winaaRmdeg brZol is erTobl ivi gegmis amoqmedeba? amasTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba baTumis interpartiul i komisiis weril ma miqcia. igi gansakuTrebul i formiT saqarTvel oSi da emigraciaSi myofi pol itikuri partiebisadmi mimarTvasac warmoadgenda. am dokumentis mi xedviT: 1)qveyanaSi arsebul i erovnul i krizisis fonze, xal xis meTaurebad moazrebul i pol itikuri partiebis l iderebis urTierTdapirispireba da mowinaaRmdege banakebad dayofa miuRebl ad iyo miCneul i; 2)igive komiteti, sazRvargareTis pol itikuri partiebis xel mZRvanel obisgan kategoriul ad moiTxovda, rom saqarTvel oSi moqmed pol itikur partiebs, xel qveiTebisadmi Sesabamisi weril obiTi miTiTeba mieca, raTa partiaTa Soris arsebul i sadao sakiTxebi droebiT gadaedoT, saqarTvel os damouki debl obis ni adagze damdgariyvnen da pol itikur Zal Ta konsolidaciis mizniT konsesusis safuZvel ze moexdinaT SeTanxmeba; 3)imave weril is avtorTa mtkicebiT, am mimarTul ebiT nabij is gadadgma, mTl iani erovnul i frontis Seqmnas daaCqarebda da okupanti qveynis zemoqmedebisgan saqarTvel oSi arsebul i pol itikuri partiebis ganTavisufl ebas Seuwyobda xel s.

ramdenadac sakiTxia uaRresad aqtual uri iyo, misi droul ad mogvareba saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis dadebiad gadawyvetis SesaZl ebl obebs ukavSird eboda. aRni Snul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, stambol is pol itikuri komisiis 1921 wl is 12 seqtembris sxdomam es weril i sagangebo msjel obis sagnad aqcia. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT sainformacio xasiaTis moxseneba n.xomerikma gaakeTa da pol itikur Zal Ta SeTanxmebis dauyovnebl iv mogvareba aucil ebl obad gamoacxada. garkveul i debatebis Semdeg, imave sxdomam 6 punqtiani dadgenil eba mi iRo: 1)Sesdges saqarTvel oSi interpartiul i organo_ TiTo partiidan TiTo kaci- partiaTa Soris kontaqtis dasamyarebl ad da antibol Sevikuri frontis gansamtkicebl ad. bol Sevikebis l ikvidaciande partiebi erTi meores winaaRmdeg saj aro gamosvl ebs ar awarmoeben; 2)yovel i partia, romel ic damouki debl obis ni adagze dgas da dampyrobel Ta Zal aufl ebas ar scnobs, val debul ia Tavisi damokidebul eba am saganTan ama Tu im formiT gamoamJRavnos ise, rom is aSkara iqnes rogorc qarTvel i xal xis ise evropis sazogadoebisaTvis; 3)dampyrobTa gandevnis Semdeg damfuZnebel i kreba ikribeba mxol od imisTvis, rom dani Snos parl amentis arCevnebi, moisminos mTavrobis angariSi, Seqmnas kabineti da misces mas droebiTi kreditebi; 4)parl amenti mowveul i unda iqnes ara ugvianes ori Tvisa damfuZnebel i krebis Sekrebidan.

Seni Svna- 3- da - 4 mux. arCevnebis vadis gagrZel eba da damfuZnebel i krebis mier sxva sakiTxebis ganxil va, gareSe aRni Snul isa SeiZl eba mxol od koal iciasi myof partiaTa Soris SeTanxmebiT; 5)erTaderT kanonier mTavrobaT, axl is Sedgenamde damfuZnebel i krebis mier, iTvl eba axl andel i mTavroba, romel ic sazRvargareT imyofeba; 6)damfuZnebel i kreba adgens koal iciur mTavrobas.-

ramdenadac am dokumentis misi Semdgenl ebi gansakuTrebul mniSvel obas aniWebda, imave komisiis 13 seqtembris sxdomam parizSi myofi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi sagangebo mimarTva mi iRo. Cveni survilia, rom es (dadgenil eba S.v.)- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- rac SeiZl eba maq Cqara ganixil oT

da dagvi dasturoT, rom Semdeg gadavsceT saqarTvel oSi, rogorc saerTo azri sazRvargareTisa. Cven darwmunebul i varT, rom es gavl enas moaxdens da SeTanxmebas SesaZl ebel s gaxdis. es moxdeba rasakvirvel ia maSin, Tu maqauri yvel a wevrebi amas gai zi areben. ami tom, ecadeT da daarwmuneT amis aucil ebl obaSi. Tu vinme aRmoCndeba mi si mowi naaRmdege, aq aravi sTvis mi- uRebel i araferia. miT ufro, rom SeTanxmeba exeba ori Tvis vadas.³

Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom es do- kumenti, saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1921 wl is 22 seqtembris sxdomam gani x- il a da teqsti ucvl el ad daamtkica mxol od im gansxvavebiT, rom mas damatebis saxiT meSvide punqti daurTo, sadac aRni Snil i iqna; `7) I da me- 2 muxl is ausrul ebl oba abaTil ebs danarCen muxl ebs.~ dokumenti n.Jordani as, s.mdivanis, ak.Cxenkel is, k.kandel akis, e.gegeWkoris da gr.veSa- pel is xel moweriT iqna dadasturebul i.⁴ im mi zni T, rom am dadgenil eba- Si dasmul i sakiTxebi saqarTvel oSi ar amoqmedebul iyo da pol itpar- tiaTa SeTanxmeba SeuZl ebel i gamxdariyo, bol Sevikebi yovel gvari sax- is saSual ebebs iyenebda. maT amocanas opoziciuri partieb is zeda eS- el onebis gadabireba, partiaTa SigniT ganxeTqil ebis Setana da emigra- ciaSi myofi kanonieri mTavrobisadmi dapi rispireba warmoadgenda. swored es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi n.xomeriks, roca stambol is pol i- tikuri komisi is 1921 wl is 5 oqtombris sxdomaze im pol itikuri partie- bis Sesaxeb (`sxivel ebi~, memarcxene social ist- federal iste bi, erovnul - demokratebis garkveul i nawil i) miuTitebda, roml ebmac saqarTvel os bol Sevikur xel isufl ebasTan TanamSroml obis kursi airCia. `Tu es ase gagrZel da- ambobda n.xomeriki- Tu yovel ive imas rac asustebs qar- Tvel i xal xis brZol is energias bol o ar moeRo, Cven iZul ebul i viqnebi T... Tavi davaneboT SeTanxmebaze I aparaks.⁵

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom n.xomeriki okupant xel isufl ebasTan yo- vel gvari saxis kompromisis wi naaRmdegi iyo da moqmedebis erTaderT saSu- al ebad_ radikal izms mi iCnevda. qarTul istoriografiaSi gamoTqmul ia mosazreba, rom 1921 wl is dasawyisSi, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis pirvel etapze, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis sami mimarTul eba iyo gamokveTil i: 1) patriotul i sul iskveTebiT SemarTul i intel igenci is I liberal ur- ko- mpromisul i mi mdinareoba, roml ebsac eris samsaxurSi yofna, piradi profe- siul i meTodebis gamoyenebaSi esaxeboda; 2) aral egarul ad moqmedi antisab- Wouri mi mdinareoba, roml ebi c brZol is meTodebis gamoyenebi T cdil obda rusis j aris saqarTvel odan gandevnas da qveynis damouki debl obis aRdge- nas; 3) zomieri radikal ebis mi mdinareoba, romel Ta samoqmedo gegma, I odi- nis taqtikaze iyo damyarebul i. e.i. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis xel - sayrel i obieqturi saerTaSoriso da saSinao viTarebis Seqmna. nakl ebi ms- xverpl is fasad saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis mi Rweva.⁶

aRni Snul i mosazrebi s mixedviT Tuki mi vudgebi T gansaxil vel sakiTxs, aseT urTul es pirobebSi, saerTo ni adagze dafuZnebul i moqmedebis gegmi s SemuSaveba da sabWouri okupaci isadmi dapi rispireba, erTi Sexedvi T TiTq- mis SeuZl ebel i iyo. mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom saqarTvel odan devnil kanonier xel isufl ebas, Tavisi Sexedul ebebi s saqarTvel oSi popu- larizaci is minimal uri Sansi ar eZl eoda. dapyrobi l qveyanaSi, dapyrob- l is wi naaRmdeg aral egal urad ideol ogiur- pol itikuri saqmi anobis gaw-

eva garkveul finansur xarj ebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. yovel ive zemoaRni Snul idan gamomdinare, Seqmnil i situacia, sazRvargareT moqmedi pol itikuri Zal ebisgan pragmatul i nabij is gadadgmas moiTxovda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebulo interest stambolis pol itikuri komisiis 1921 wl is 5 oqtombris sxdomis saomqmo Canawerebi iqcevs. am dokumentis Seswavl is Sedegad, gansakuTrebulo i yuradReba marseniZis gamosvl am miqcia im Tval sazrisiT, rom misi yovel i winadadeba, saqarTvel os real ur sinamdvil es ukeT Seesatyviseboda, vinem sxva gamosvl el Ta mxridan dasmul i sakiTxebi. misi samarTliani mtki cebiT, pol itikur Zal Ta konsolidacias, saqarTvel os deokupacia unda dadeboda safuzvl ad. am mamarTul ebiT nabij is gadadgma, saerto frontis da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis Seqmnaze unda yofil iyo agebul i. meore mxriv, igi okupantebis winaarMdeg qarTvel i xal xis brZol as garkveul aRmafrenas SesZenda da evropasac daa interestebda im Tval sazrisiT, rom dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad, pol itikuri partiebi aracal - cal ke, aramed qveynis gasanTavisufli ebl ad erTiani gegmiT moqmedebden. `amitome vambob- ganaxada marseniZem- dRes SeTanxmeba da saerto mamarTul eba Cveni muSaobis aris (saqarTvel os S.v.) ganTavisufli ebisaken swrafva, xolo gamarj vebis Semdeg koal icia da xal xis SekiTxva. sxva yvel a gza mxol od mavnebel ia.- imave stenografiul i angariSi danirkveva, rom marseniZis zemoaRniSnul principul debulebas, s.gogol aSvil ic miemxro. am mamarTul ebiT manki dev ufro meti radikal izmi gamoavli na da kategoriul i formiT ganaxada: `Seizl eba bevri sakiTxebis Sesaxeb Cven erTmaneTsi ver SevTanxmdeT, magram erTi ki aSkaraa CvenTvis- evropaSi myofi amxanagebistvis_ vinc dRes saerto antibol Sevikur fronts daarRvevs, is xal xis mteria da Cven es unda gavagebinoT Cvens amxanagebs.-

qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri SesaniSnavad acnobierebda im udidessirtul eebis, romlebic saokupacio rejimis mocilebasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. maT kargad esmodaT, rom saqarTvel os pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTiane bis paral el urad, Tuki monobis uRli is winaarMdeg brZol aSi qarTvel xal xs amierkavkasiis erebic SeuerTdeboda da erTiani samoqmedo gegma SemuSavdeboda, warmatebis Sansi garkveul i safexurIT gairdeboda. am kutxiT Tuki ganvixil avT sakiTxs, yuradRebis centrSi stambolis pol itikuri komisiis 1921 wl is 10 oqtombris krebis saomqmo Canawerebi moeqceva. dokumentis mixedvit, krebas sagangebod ganuxil avsk.gvarjal azis moxseneba_ stambol Si myofi somxeTis dipl omatiur warmomadgenl ebTan da daSnakcutiunis central uri komitetis wevrebTan mol aparakebis Sesaxeb. imave momxsenebl is informaciit, isini Tanaxmani yofil an erToblivi muSaobis Catarebaze da sabol oomol aparakebis mizniT ori warmomadgenel is gagzavna mouTxoviaT. randenadac qarTul i mxaristvis es winadadeba misaRebi aRmoCnda, miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, somxebTan mosal aparakebl ad d.SaraSiZe da vj uRel i gaigzavna.⁷

erTi Sexedvit, Titiqos yvel aferi kargad aewyo, magram partiaTaSoriss konsesusi miRweva 1922 wl is martamde SeuZlebel i gaxda. amis dadasturebas partiaTa SeTanxmebis konferenciis (1922 wl is 21 Tebervali) pirveli sxdomis saomqmo Canawerebi warmoadgens. gansakuTrebulo interest n.ramiSvil is gamosvl a iqcevs. `mizani SeTanxmebisaganaxada man- aseTia: okupaciis mospoba, evropaSi real uri daxmarebis mopoveba, saqarTvel os amoZraveba da

Semdeg, mTavrobasa da ganmaTavisufl ebel komitetSi yvel a Zal ebis darazmva da koal ici is mi Rweva. Cven unda gavfantoT is xmebi, romel ic metad gvif u-Weben saqmes aqac da iqac saqarTvel oSi. es iqneba SeTanxmeba ara damatebi-
Ti, aramed bunebrivi da Tavisufal i da sarCul ad unda daedos gaerTianeba muSaobisa, da saqarTvel oSi gamosvl ebis mowyoba. Cven kargad unda vicodeT, rom saqarTvel o daeca saerTaSoriso konbinaciebi T da manve unda gavginaRdos misi fexze wamoyeneba. okupaciis mospobis Semdeg SeTanxmeba unda moxdes yvel asaTvis damakmayofil ebel safuZvel zed da Tu okupantebi dRes cdil oben gagvyon da ise ibatonon, amas Cven unda vupasuxoT saerTo frontis SeqmniT da miT movaaxl ovoT eris ufl ebaTa mopoveba da damoukidebl obis aRdgena.⁸ am amonaweris mixedviT, pol itikur Zal Ta SeTanxmebis da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis ZiriTad mi zans warmoadgenda: a)saokupacio reJimis mocil eba, b)evropisgan real uri daxmarebis miReba, g)ganmaTavisufl ebel komitetSi yvel a Zal ebis gaerTianebase dayrdnobiT koal ici is Seqmna da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis dawyeba. pragmatul i nabjis am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmiT, Zal momreobiTi sabWouri pol itikuri kursisa da misi ideol ogiisadmi dapi rispirebis erTiani frontis safexuri momzaddeboda. konferenciis monawil ebi-
sadmi n.ramiSvil is mier SeTavazebul zemoaRniSnul winadadebebs Tuki am Wril Si ganvixil avT, sakiTxi sworadiyo dasmul i. pol itikur komisiaSi gaerTianebul i partieb is warmomadgenl ebis didi nawil i, arsebul sinamdvil es ar iTval iswinebda, partiul i ambiciebis tyveobidan gamomdinare, kamaTi sul sxva mimarTul ebiT gadahqondaT, ris gamoc, maTi msjel obis sagani erovnul i saxel mwifos aRdgenisaTvis saWi ro pragmatul i RonisZiebebisaTvis damaxasiaTebel CarCos scil deboda. mxdvel obaSi maqvs emigraciaSi gandevnil i kanonieri mTavrobis arsebul i formiT Senarcunebis kanonzomierebis kiTxvis qveS dayeneba. sabWoTa ruseTis mier okupirebuil i saqarTvel os fonze, maTi mxridan sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasma, pol itikur Secdomas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, evropis saxel mwifoTa Sesabamisi uwebebi, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris yovel moqmedebasa da gadawyvetil ebas `gamadidebel i SuSiT- adevnebdavTval yurs da Sekrebi l i faqtebis anal izis safuZvel ze axdenda emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi damokidebul ebis gansazRvras.

saqarTvel os devnil i kanonieri mTavrobisadmi pol itikuri speqtris damokidebul ebis srul yofil suraTs, stambol is pol itikuri komisiis 1921 wl is 12 seqtembris sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi izl eva. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTma warmomadgenel ma l j afarizem, sxdomis monawil eTa winaSe principul ad daayena sakiTxi_ mTavrobis Semadgenl obis Secvl isa da qvotebis gadanawil ebis Sesaxeb. am moTxovnis ZiriTad safuZvl ad, opoziciuri partieb is mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi baTumSi gamocxadebul i undobl obis faqti daasaxel a. `mTavroba im saxiT, ra saxiTac dRes aris, miuRebel ia CvenTvis, vinai dan opoziciam am mTavrobas undobl oba gamoucxada baTumSi... amas unda gaewios angariSi. am isTvis saWi ro iqneba, rom Jordani as mTavroba Sesdges xel axl a im pirobiT, romel sac Cvenebi moiTxoven, e. i. paritetul i principiT.⁹

aRniSnul i amonaweris gacnobis as mkiTxvel is winaSe principul ad daismeba kiTxva: ra ZiriTad argumentebs emyareboda saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis 1921 wl is 16 martis sxdomaze, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi undobl

l obis gamocxadebis Sesaxeb mi Rebul i dadgenil eba. amis srul ad warmocenis mizniT, imave dokumentidan 3 punqtisgan Semdgar Sesabamis amonawers SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazogadoebas: `1.mTavroba srul ad moumzadebel i aRmoCnda qveynis Tavdacvisatvis, Tumca icoda, rom mteri saqarTvel oze Tacvdasxmas amzadebda da TviTonac araerTxel ganucxadebia, rom respubl ikis dasacavad yvel a saTanado zoma miRebul i aqvs; 2.mTavrobam ver Seqmna respubl ikis dasacavad samxedro Zal a da mraval i daudevrobisa da Secdomebis gamo srul ad ver gamoiyena Tavdacvis is Zal ebi, romel ic mis gankargul ebaSi iyo; 3)omis warmoebis drosac mTavrobam ver gamoiCina saWi ro simtkice da Seqmna panikisa da arevdarevis wyarod.

damfuZnebel i kreba aRniSnavs, rom Tumca qarTvel ma xal xma yovel ive miitana samSobl os dacvis samsxverpl oze, dRevandel ma mTavrobam, mainc ver SeZl o saqarTvel os damouki debl obisaTvis brZol is xel mZrvanel oba da ucxadebs undobl obas.¹⁰ am dokumentis xel s awerdnen: social ist-federal istebis, social ist-revol ucionerebis, damouki debl ei social - del okratebis (`sxivel ebi-),erovnul - demokratebis l iderebi. qarTul i jarisTvis iaraRis SesyidvasTan da ruseTis mosal odnel i Tavdasxmisadmi dasaxvedrad 1919- 1921 wl is Tebevli amde gaweul i daZabul i muSaobis Sesaxeb, ramdenadac isini srul yofil informacias ver fl obdnen, maT mier SemuSavebul i zemoaRniSnul i samive debl ebis ZiriTadi nawil i araswor formul irebebs Sei cavs. es faqti, Cems mier harvardisa da l evil is saarqivo fondebis damuSavebis Sedegad da iq dacul i dokumenturi masal is gamomzeurebiTi qna dadasturebul i.¹¹ aqedan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTTan saqarTvel os damarcxebis ganmapi robebel i mizezebis bral debiT, emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi undobl obis gamocxadebis sakiTxis im etapze dasma, Tundac pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT_ gaumarTl ebel i iyo. es xarvezi kargad SeniSna m.arseniZem, romel mac imave sxdomaze l j afarizisa da misi mxardamWerebis misamarTIT ganaxada: `aravin ar unda iTxovdes konstituciis darRvevas. mTavroba arCeul ia damfuZnebel i krebis mier da mxol od mas aqvs ufl eba misi Secvl is an gadayenebis... dRevandel i mTavroba... Cadis aRdgenil saqarTvel oSi da abarebs angariSs damfuZnebel krebis. Tu ra gvari koal iciiT iqneba Sedgenil i momaval i mTavroba, me mgonia amaze l aparaks exl a adgil i ar unda qondes, saWi roa mxol od dadgenil i iqnas, rom mTavroba iqneba koal iciuri.-

sakiTxis am formiT dasma srul ad Seesabameboda saqarTvel os pol itikuri speqtris xval indel dRes da misadmi evropis saxel mwifoebis damokidebul ebis gansazRvras. es aucil ebl oba kargad iqna SemCneul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi warmomadgenel is p.surgul azis mier. m.arseniZisadmi mxardaWeris fonze, man sxdomis monawil eebis Seaxsena: `umaRl esi saxel mwifoebrivi mosazrebani gvaiZul ebs yvel a imaT, vinc vibrZviT saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebisaTvis da misi damouki debl obisaTvis, aramc Tu ar vebrZol oT dRevandel mTavrobas, piriqiT, mas mxari davuWi roT da ganvamtkicoT is. sxva sakiTxia roca SegveZl eba mteri gavrekoT. maSin Cemis azriT aucil ebel ia mTavroba Sesdges koal iciur niadagze, misi deta l uri garkveva momavl is saqmea.¹²

am SemTxvevaSi, p.surgul aZe savsebiT marTal i iyo, radgan: 1)saqarTve-

I o im etapze ramdenadac okupirebul qveyanaTa ricxvs ganekuTvneboda, probl emis ganxil va, saxel mwifoebri vi interesebi dan gamomdinare unda momxdariyo. qarTvel emigrantTa pol itikuri azrovneba, arsebul i real obis gaTval iswinebas daqvemdebareboda da saqarTvel os devnil i xel isufl ebis mxardasaWerad yofil iyo mimarTul i; 2)Tuki qarTul i opoziciuri pol itikuri speqtri maT winaSe mdgomi sinamdvil is sawinaaRmdegod imoqmedebda da bol Sevikebis msgavsad devnil i `menSevikuri xel isufl ebisadmi - umZafresi kritikiT Semoifargl eboda, es faqti, evropel Ta Tval Si saqarTvel os mTavrobis avtoritets maqsimal urad dasceda da amis erT- erTi mTavari mizezi, pol itikuri situaciis Sesabamisad veraRqmis mqone opoziciuri partieb is I iderebi aRmoCndeboda; 3)saqarTvel os deokupaciaze mofiqlal pol itikur partiaTa I iderebs, safuZvl ianad unda gaecnobierebi naT, rom evropis qveynebis dauxmarebl ad, dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul eba SeuZl ebel i iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os devnil i kanonieri xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg pol itikuri brZol is nacvl ad, misadmi erTsul ovani mxardaWeris fonis Seqmnas da misi reitingis maqsimal urad gazrdas unda cdil iyvnen; 4)saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis perspeqtiviT da dampyrobTa winaaRmdeg mebrZol i qarTvel ebisadmi Tanadgomis aucil ebl obiT evropel Ta darwmunebis mZime tvirTi, emigraciaSi myof saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas,rogorc I egitimur mmarTvel mTavrobas Tavis Tavze unda aeRo. qarTvel Ta pol itikuri speqtris gan avtoritetSeryeul i mTavroba, evropis nebis mieri saxel mwifos I ideris an misi xel qveiTi maRal CinosanisTvis miuRebel i aRmoCndeboda. mi Tumetes, qarTul i saqm is da mTavrobis sawinaaRmdegod evropaSi, sabWoTa propagandistul saSual ebebTan erTad, `rusul i erovnul i sabWos- da daSnakcuTiunis partiis I iderebi TavgamodebiT ibrZodnen.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, qarTul i opoziciuri da araopoziciuri emigrantul i pol itikuri azrovnebis nomer pirvel amocanas, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis avtoritetis gazrdil i formiT maqsimal urad SenarCuneba warmoadgenda. swored es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi m.arsenizes da pol itikurad saRad moazrovne sxva partiul moRvaweebs, roml ebi cim urTul es pol itikur situaciaSi saqarTvel os mTavrobis gadayenebis dasmas danaSaul ebriv qmedebad rom aRiqvamdnen. mi uxedavad ami sa, saqarTvel os momaval i mTavrobis Semadgenl obisa da portfel ebis gadanawil ebis sakiTxi, saqarTvel osSi darCenil i pol itikuri speqtris (erovnul - demokratebi, social ist- federal istebi, `sxivel ebi-) I iderebis daJinebul i moTxovniT koal iciur principals da paritetul safuZvl ebs unda daqvemdebareboda. maTi pozicia,rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, I j afarizem stambol is pol itikuri komisiis 1921 wl is 12 seqtembris sxdomaze gaaxmovana. misi mtkicebiT, zemoaRni Snul i pol itikuri partieb is survil s, erTobl ivi muSaoba da saqarTvl os damoukidebl obis niadagze dadgoma warmoadgenda, magram, dasaxul i amocanis ganxorciel eba mas Semdeg gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i, Tuki social - demokratebTan or ZiriTad sakiTxze SeTanxmdebodnen: a)momaval i mTavrobis Semadgenl oba naxebrad arasocial isturi iqneboda da b)mTavrobis dakompl eqteba, koal iciaSi Semaval i pol itikuri partieb is Tanaswori warmomadgenl obiTi principiT ganxorciel deboda. ul timatumis formiT gakeTebul i es gancxadeba, I j afarizis mier stamb-

ol is pol itikuri komisiis 1921 wl is 5 oqtombri sxdomazedac iqna ganmeorebi T dasmul i. I j afarizis Tqmi T, aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda koal iciis Sesaxeb ara mar to dadgenil eba, aramed, koal iciis saxis winaswari garkveva. Cven vTxoul obT- ambobda igi- parl amentis ar Cevnebamde mi Rebul i iqnas principi swori koal iciis, e. i. partieb is Tanaswori monawil eobisa mTavrobaSi. unda SemuSavebul i iqnas amasTanave programa momaval i mTavrobisa da yvel aferi garkveul i iqnes aRniSnul i SeTanxmebis pi robebSi ~... am amonaweris mixedvi T Tuki vimsj el ebT, igi saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis mier mi Rebul i konstituciis (1921 wl is 21 Teberval i) # 46, 53, 54 muxl ebis darRvevas warmoadgenda. aRniSnul i sakiTxi ara pol itikuri komisiis, aramed Sesabamisi kanonis mi Rebis safuZvel ze parl amentis gadasawyveti iyo. meore mxriv, koal iciuri mTavrobis wevrTa gansazRvris sakiTxi, ama Tu im pol itikuri partiis mier parl amentSi gayvanil i deputatebis procentul i maCvenebl ebis mixedvi T unda gansazRvrul iyo da ara parl amentis mi Rma mdgomi romel ime komisiis winaswari dadgenil ebi T. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba parl amentis mier mi Rebul i saarCevno kanonebis darRvevis real uri safrTxis winaSe aRmoCndeboda. I j afarizis mier gaxmovanebul i erovnul - demokratTa moTxovnis konstituciasTan Seusabamoba, social ist- federal istma s.gogol aSvil ma kargad SeniSna da stambol is pol itikuri komisiis 12 seqtembris sxdomaze, opoziciuri partieb is zemoaRniSnul i moTxovna mavnebl obad gamoacxada. misi samarTl iani mtkicebi T, igi im etapze ar Seefereboda `momentis diad moTxovnil ebas.~ aRniSnul is gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, igi sxdomis monawil eebis Seaxsenebda: `Zl ier saWi ro da aucil ebel ia saqarTvel os ganmaTavisufl ebel i muSao bisTvis arsebul i mTavroba sargebl obdes ganuzomel i ndobi T da agreTve aucil ebel ia mowveul i iqnas damfuZnebel i kreba. Cven yovel gvri zoma unda mi viRoT, rom am ni adagze SeTanxmeba moxdes.~

Tuki saqarTvel os respubl ikis damfuZnebel i krebis mier mi Rebul i sakanonmdebl o aqtebisa da konstituciis gaTval i swinebis mixedvi T vi xel mZRvanel ebT, s.gogol aSvil is pozicia srul ad Seesabameboda samarTl i ebriv moTxovnebs da rac mTavaria, saqarTvel os da misi devnil i kanonieri xel isufl ebis real ur mdgomareobas. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mTavrobis ganusazRvrel i ndobi T aRWurvis sakiTxis dasma. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri ndobasa da pativiscemas ar gamoicenda saqarTvel os devnil i mTavrobisadmi, es faqti, evropis saxel mwifoTa pol itikurad gameZavebul i l iderebisadmi erT- erTi myari argumenti gaxdeboda saqarTvel os sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi maTi mxridan indiferentul i xazis gasagrZel ebl ad. Seqmnil i pol itikuri koniunqtura, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtrisgan saqarTvel os devnil i mTavrobis garSemo gaerTianebas da SeTanxmebul i gegmis mixedvi T moqmedebis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda.

rac Seexeba okupantebi sagan ganTavisufl ebul saqarTvel oSi qveynis axal i mTavrobis Semadgenl obis Seqmnis sakiTxis, imave s.gogol aSvil is azriT, mTavrobis pativiscema social ist- federal istevisaTvis mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda misaRebi, Tuki maTac erovnul - demokratebisTvis gaTval i swinebul i Tanabari warmomadgenl oba eyol eboda mTavrobaSi. imave sxdomaze, I j afarizem mTavrobaSi partiata warmomadgenl obis ricxvis winaswari

gansazRvris sakiTxis gadawyvetis aucil ebl oba daayena. qarTul i opozi-
 ciuri pol itikuri speqtris naazrevidan gamomdinare iseTi STabeWdil eba
 iqmneba, rom isini winaswar ukeTebdenen ignorirebas demokratiul i arCevneb-
 is Sedegebs da rac mTavaria, parl amentis dadgenil ebis gareSe misi gver-
 dis avl iT cdil obdenen mTavrobaSi pol itikur Zal Ta qvotebis garante-
 bul i wesiT miRebas. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki es principi ganxorciel deboda,
 saqme gveqneboda demokratiul i aRmSenebl obisa da parl amentis ufl ebebis
 mi zanimarTul ignorirebasTan. am samarTI ebrivi normebis darRvevis gamo,
 pol itikuri komisiis 1921 wl is 5 oqtombris sxdomaze vj uRel ma oponente-
 bis misamarTiT ganacxada: `konkretul i sakiTxi bevraT damokidebul ia im
 mdgomareobaze, romelic bol Sevikebis gandevnis Semdeg Sei qmneba... Cven
 SevTanxmdiT principiSi- momaval i mTavroba iqnes koal iciuraT Semdgari,
 magram imis Sesaxeb Tu romel partias ramdeni warmomadgenel i eyol eba
 mTavrobaSi, savsebiT damokidebul i iqneba imaze, Tu romel i partia ra mona-
 wil eobas mi iRebs bol Sevikebis damxobaSi. Tavis Tavad cxadia, im partias,
 romelic gul ze xel dakrefil i Seacqerdeba xal xis brZol as bol Sevike-
 bTan, mTavrobaSi warmomadgenel i ar eyol eba.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans,
 rom ganTavisufl ebul saqarTvel oSi, momaval i mTavrobis Semadgenl o-
 bis gansazRvra damokidebul i iqneboda ara romel ime partiis survil ze,
 aramed sabWouri okupaciis winaarmdeg Catarebul brZol aSi monawil e-
 obis xarisxe. es imas niSnavda, rom vj uRel ma, oponentebs pirdapir
 uTxra erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi ama Tu im pol itikuri
 speqtris mier gaweul i damsaxurebis gadamwyveti mniSvel obis rol ze.
 meore mxriv, es sakiTxi ara kul uarul i garigebis, aramed demokratiul i
 arCevnebis Sedegebis mixedvit unda gadawyvetil iyo. Cemi azrit, vj uRel i
 sworad moiqca, roca erovnul - demokratebis usafuZvl o pretenziebidan
 gamomdinare, imave sxdomaze rom ganacxada: `me saerTod makvirvebs nac.
 dem. pretenziebi, maTi is moTxovnebic ki,... momaval saminstrosi minis-
 trebis naxevari ricxvi yol odaT. raSia saqme ver gamigia. maTi gavlen
 xal xSi ar Seadgens Cveni gavlenis erT meatebs. amas TviT aq Camosul i
 nac. dem. adastureben. anda SeiZl eba didia maTi gavleni evropis muSaTa
 masaSi an oficial ur wreebSi? Tqvenc icit, rom arc erTia da arc me-
 ore! maS raze Sendeba maTi pretenziebi? unda gamovtyde rom ar vici.-
 amit vj uRel ma erovnul - demokratebs pirdapir uTxra, rom sazogadoe-
 baSi da saerTasoris arenaze dabal i reitingis mqone pol itikuri pa-
 rtiis usafuZvl o pretenziebi, social - demokratebisatvis miuRebl i
 iyo. mitumetes, maTi mxridan dasmul i moTxovnebis gadamwyveti, demokra-
 tiul i arCevnebis Sedegebi iqneboda. aqedan gamomdinare, okupirebul i
 saqarTvel os Semyure pol itikur Zal as, momaval mTavrobaSi portfel ebis
 ganawil ebis sakiTxi arc ki unda daesva. `exl a Cven ar unda daviwyoT da-
 va- ambobda n.xomeriki- Tu romel partias ramdeni adgil i mieces momaval
 mTavrobaSi. ise Tu mainca da mainc saqme portfel ebze midgeba, maSin Cven
 SegviZl ia arsebul Semokl ebul mTavrobas daematos ori nacional - demokra-
 ti da erTi federal isti, Tumca zogs Cvens amxanags esec zedmetad miacnia,
 radganac saxesi unda iqnes miRebul i is garemoeba, rom bevri ar Seurigde-
 ba iseT mTavrobas, romelic Zal ze dasorebul i iqneba arsebul Zal Ta ga-
 nwyobil ebas.-

aseTi saxis gancxadebis paral el urad, imave n.xomerikma oponentebis mi samarTiT garkveviT ganacxada: 1)ganTavisufi ebul saqarTvel oSi dafuZnebel i krebis Sekreba mxol od parl amentis asarCevad ganxorciel d- eboda; 2)saqarTvel oSi Casvl iStanave mTavroba koal iciuri gaxdeboda; 3)saqarTvel os deokupaciande partiaTa Soris urTierTsawinaaRmdego gamosvl ebis Sewyveta aucil ebel i iyo, Tundac evropel Ta dasanaxad, rom qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris sazrunavs urTierT kinkl aoba da portfel ebis ganawil eba ki ara, saqarTvel os xval indel i dRe warmoad- genda. miTumetes, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris Canafiqri_ saqarTve- l os damouki debl obis aRdgena, evropis saxel mwifoTa Tanadgomaze didad iyo damokidebul i. am real obis gacnobierebas Tu ramdenad SeZl ebda erovnul - demokratiul i partiis warmomadgenl ebi- Znel i saTqmel ia. rogorc Cans, am mi marTul ebiT maTi mxridan pragmatul i nabij is gadadgmi s imedi arc social - demokratebs qonda. am faqtoris gaTval iswinebiT unda yofil iyo saarCevno Sedegebis ignori ebaze dafuZnebul i is kompromisi, romel ic n.xomerikma SesTavaza erovnul - demokratebs. `Cven mxars davuW- erT im sakiTxs, raTa Tqvens partias ori warmomadgenel i yavdes mTavroba- Si, federal istebs erTi an ori da sxva.- am SemTxvevaSi, qarTvel i social - demokratTa l iderebi, saqarTvel os interesebi dan gamomdinare koni unqtu- riT moqmedebdnen, partiul ze maRl a, qveynis xval indel i dRisTvis saWi ro moTxovnebs ayenebdnen da nebi smier kompromisul nabij s mas uqvemdebar ebdnen. amis dadasturebas, opoziciis moTxovnebtan mi mar TebaSi kompromisze was- vl is ganmapirobebel i mizezebis vj uRel iseul i dazusteba warmoadgens. `aq warmodgenil i kombinacia momaval i mTavrobis konstruqciisa..._ ambob- da igi_ CvenSi gamoiwvevs ukmayofil ebas ufro memarcxeneT ganwyobil i j gufebisagan, magram vinai dan dRes Cven win vayenebT sakiTxs eris ganTa- visufi ebis as vinem partiul s, Cven mi vdivarT am daTmobaze, Tumca zogierT Cvens amxanags es nametan did daTmobaT mi aCnia.-

Tuki saqarTvel os interesebis gaTval iswinebiT da pol itikur parti- aTa SeTanxmebis aucil ebl obis principi T vixel mZRvanel ebT, n.xomerikis da vj uRel is pozicia garegnul ad misaRebi Canda. miTumetes, imave Tval - sazriss mxars k.CxeiZec uWerda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs partiaTa SeTanxme- bis 1922 wl is 1 martis konferenciis VI sxdomaze mis mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba, roml is mixedvi Tac koal iciuri mTavrobis naxevari social - demokratebiT unda dakompl eqtebul iyo, xol o meore naxevari (arCevneb- is Sedegebis mi uxedavad), danarCeni SeTanxmebis partieb is warmomadgen- l ebiT, im pirobiT, rom erovnul - demokratebs erTi portfel iT meti eqneboda vinem social ist- federal istebs.

social - demokratTa erTi j gufis mier kanondarRvevaze dafuZnebiT gakeTebul ma aseTma kompromisul ma gancxadebam, erovnul - demokratebis mada ki dev ufro gazar da da maTi mxridan imave konferenciaze, samxedro da mi waTmoqmedebis saministroebis portfel ebis gadacemis winaswari garantia moiTxoves. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gr.veSapel is gamosvl a. es imas ni Snavda, rom SeTanxmebis zRvramde TiTqmis misul i mol aparakeba CaS- l il iyo. miTumetes, demokratiul arCevnebSi gamarj vebis imedi s armqone pol itikuri Zal a, im saministroebis portfel ebis dapaTronebas iTxov- da, romel zedac saxel mwifos Tavdacvisunarianoba, mi si usafrTxoebis

uzrunvel yofa da qveynis ekonomikuri winsvl is xval indel i dRe unda yofil iyo dafuznebul i. xazgasmiT minda arvniSno, rom saerTaSoriso praqtikidan gamomdinare, nebis mier qveyanaSi sapa rI amento arCevebSi gamarjvebul i arcerTi pol itikuri Zal a am daTmobaze ar wavidoda. aseTi nabij is gadadgma maTi mxridan pol itikuri partiis TviTmkvl el obis tol fasi qmedeba da rac mTavaria, amomrCevel Ta mimarT micemul i danapirebis Seusrul ebl oba iqneboda. is daTmobebi, romel ic social - demokratebis erTma j gufma SesTavaza erovnul - demokratebsa da social - ist- federal istebs, saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi, arcerTi maTgani social - demokratebTan daTmobis 1 %- ian niSnul zedac ar wavidodnen. imis gaTval iswinebiT, rom a) saqarTvel o sabWoTa ruseTis mier iyo okupirebul i, xol o misi mosaxl eoba ucxo Zal isgan Zarcvasa da wamebas gani cdi da, am fonze, nebis mier pol itikuri Zal isgan ministris portfel ebze vaWroba, saxel mwi foebrivad dabal i donis pol itikur azrovnebase metyvel ebda; b) meore mxriv, maTi es qmedeba pol itikuri partiis interesebi dan gamomdinare egoisturi miswrafebebis demonstrirebas war moadgenda; g) am aqtiT, nebiT Tu unebl ieT Seuracyofas ayenebdnen im adami anebs, roml ebi cxmal amowdil i ebrZodnen dampyobl ebs da qveynis ganTavisufl ebis atvis sisxl s Rvridnen. zemoaRniSnul i es Seusabamoba, romel ic daxl idaris doneze dasul i savaWro garigebis da winaswari garantiis moTxovnis absurdul formas Seicavda, saxel mwi foebrivad moazrovne pol itikosi atvis miuRebel i iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes, roca erovnul - demokratebis `pol itikuri kaprizebi- n.ramiSvil ma mkacrad rom gaakritika. `social - demokratiul i partiis del egaciis saxel iT vacxadeb, rom Cven SesaZl ebl ad mi gvaCni a- ambobda igi- Tanaxmad miRebul i proporciis mi xedviT moxdes portfel Ta ganawil eba, magram gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiis moTxovnil eba srul iad usafuzvl oa da CvenTvis miuRebel ia.- aseTive mkacri pozicia daiWira social ist- federal istma k.kobaxi ZemaC. erovnul - demokratTa moTxovna- mTavari saminstroebis portfel ebis miRebasTan dakavSirebiT, mi zanSeuwonl ad gamoacxada.

Tuki Cems mier zemoT motanil masal ebs siRrmiseul i poziciidan gaa- vanal izebT da imasac gaviTval iswinebT, rom saqarTvel oSi im etapze sabWoTa ruseTi iyo gabatonebul i, xol o mis diqtats kbil ebande Sei ar- aRebul i samxedro SenaerTebi cavda, am fonze, `ocnebiT ganTavisufl e- bul i- saqarTvel os mTavrobis portfel ebis ganawil ebaze msj el oba, sasacil o formas iRebda. savsebiT swori pozicia eWira m.arseniZes, roca man mTavrobis portfel ebze `monadire- pol itikur Zal ebs pirda- pir miuTiTa maTi moval eobis Sesaxeb da iqve dasZina: `rac Seexeba po- rtfel ebis ganawil ebas, me es mizanSewonil ad ar mi maCni a. es iqneboda ganawil eba im daTvis tyavis, romel ic j er kidev cocxal ia. dRes ki yve- l as erTi mizani, erTi azri unda gvasul dgmul ebdes, ai am daTvis mokv- l a.- samwuxarod, erovnul - demokratebi `Crdil oeTis daTvis- mokvl am- de, saqarTvel odan mis `gasvenebande- cdil obdnen social - demokratebs jibrSi Cadgomodnen da partiul i ambiciebis dakmayofil ebisTvis wi- naswari garantiebi mieRoT. Tu rogor gamoiyenebda isini am monapovars, social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebisTvis cnobil i iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, social - demokratebi sakanonmdebl o procesebis dacvas ga-

nsakuTrebul mniSvnel obas aZl evdnen. amis udao dadasturebas, marseni Zi s mi er gakeTebul i gancxadeba warmoadgens. `arasodes ar davTanxmdebiT Cven, Zvel i damfuZnebel i kreba, Zvel i mTavroba ar vcnoT da meqani kurad gamovacxadoT isini daSi il ad. Cven demokratebi varT ara mar to si tyviT, aramed saqmi Tac. Cven konstitucias vverdiT ara imi tom, rom is qaRal dze darCeni l iyo, aramed mas cxovrebaSi gavatarebT. mTavrobisa da damfuZnebel i krebis muSaoba Sewyvi ta mtris Semosevam, rogorc ki Cven SevZl ebT mis gandevnas, es gadawyvetil ebebi unda amuSavdes. magram amasTanave Cven Tanaxma varT angariSi gavuwioT im garemoebas, rom saqarTvel oSi bevri ram Sei cvl a. amitom, am dawesebul ebis muSaoba unda gamoi xatebodes i maSi, rom memkvi dreobi Toba dai cvan, e.i. dRe dani Snon da koal ici onuri mTavroba Seadginon. es aris namdvil i demokratiul i gza da Cven aqedan ver gadavuxvevT. saqarTvel os warsul Tan kavSiris gawyveta Cven ar SegviZl ia.¹³

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom marseni Ze da qarTvel i social - demokratebi damfuZnebel i krebis mier miRebul i konstituciis fargl ebSi apirebden moqmedebas da rac mTavaria, am kursis gatarebas memkvi dreobis principis dacviT cdil obdnen. erovnul - demokratebis arakonstituciuri moTxovnebi dan gamomdinare, ramdenadac pol itikurma partiebma konsesusis miRweva ver SeZl o, es faqti dampyrobel i qveynis wi naaRmdeg erTiani frontis verSeqmnis ZiriTad mizezad gadaiqca. arada, saqarTvel oSi im etapze mimdinare pol itikuri procesebi erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebas da xel mZRvanel i organoebis Seqmnas aucil ebl ad saWi roebda. aRni Snul i garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi stambol is pol itikuri komisiis xel mZRvanel obas, roca parizis pol itikuri komisiis Tavmj domarisadmi 1921 wl is 13 setembers gagzavnil angariSi SeTanxmebis aucil ebl obaze rom miuTiTebda. imavdroul ad, imis Sesaxebac mi ani Snebda, rom `SeTanxmeba exeba mxol od ori Tvis vadas, roml is Semdeg parl amenti unda Seikribos da mTavrobac Sedgeba imi sdagvarad, rogori Zal Ta ganwyobil ebac iq iqneba. amis ganxil - va ar daagvianoT da pasuxi rac SeiZl eba mal e gamogzavneT... parti aTa Soris ganxeTqil eba xal xis farTo wreebamde ar midis. xal xi mTl i anad bol Sevi kebis wi naaRmdegia.~ aseTi kategoriul i moTxovnis miuxedavad, j er j erobiT SeuZl ebel i gaxda imis dadgena, parizis pol itikurma komisi am uaxl oes monakveTsi ganxil a Tu ara aRni Snul i dokumenti. yovel SemTxvevaSi, amis damadasturebel saarqivo masal as ver mi vakvl ie. aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi TavSekaveba SeiZl eba imi Tac iyo ganpi robebul i, rom opoziciuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebi damfuZnebel i krebis mowvevis Sesazl ebl obas kiTxvis qveS ayenebda. uki dures SemTxvevaSi, mi si moqmedebis Sez Rudul formebsi saqmi anobas uWer da mxars. maTi mxri dan Si Sis Ziri Tadi safuZvel i, aRni Snul i sakanonmdebl o organosa da mTavrobis arsebobis gaxangrZl ivebaze iyo agebul i. es ni uansi kargad Seni Sna n.xomerikma da erovnul - demokratebis misamarTiT ganacxada, rom ganTavisuflebul saqarTvel oSi dabrunebisTanave `damfuZnebel i kreba Seikri beba mxol od parl amentis asarCevad da mTavrobisTvis mimdinare kreditis mi sacemad. parl amenti arCeul i unda iqnas rac SeiZl eba Cqara, vTqvaT ara ugvi anes ori Tvisa. mTavroba Camosvl iStanave Sei vseba parti aTa warmomadgenl o biT da gaxdeba koal ici onuri.~ es pozicia n.xomerikma pol itikuri ko-

missiis 1921 wli is 5 oqtombris sxdomazedac gaimera da oponentebis missamarTIT ganaxada: `yvel a namdvil i demokratisaTvis es pirobebi srul ad sakmarisia... amis Semdeg vaWroba momaval mTavrobaSi portfel ebis ganawil ebaze wvriil manobaa da Tu gnebaVT srul iad Seuferebel i, rode sac mTel i xal xi gl ovobs Tavis yofas da mTel Tavis gul isyurs mtrebTan brZol as apyobs.-

am faqtiT, devnil i mTavrobisadmi opoziciurad ganwyobil pol itikur speqtrs, n.xomerikma erTxel ki dev Seaxsena, rom qarTvel i xal xis mterTan brZol isa da okupanti qveynis samxedro Zal ebis gandevnis Canafiqris fonze, saqarTvel osadmi WeSmariti gul Sematki varisa da mis xval indel dReze mofiqral i pol itikosisaTvis, portfel ebze vaWroba Seuferebel qmedebas wadmoadgenda. aseTi zneobrivi Segonebis poziciis oficial urad dafiqsirebis miuxedavad, probl emis garSemo mimdinare pol emikas ara Tu wertil i daesva, aramed man gaRrmavebul i saxe mi iRo da opoziciuri speqtris mxridan, momaval i sakanonmdebl o organos_ parl amentis Semadgenl obis Tanabari qvotebiT Sevsebis sakiTxi wamoswia wi na pl anze. amasTan dakavSirebiT, partiata SeTanxmebis 1922 wli is 1 martis VI sxdomaze social ist- federal istma kkobaxi Zem oficial urad ganaxada, rom sami pol itikuri partiisgan Semdgar sakanonmdebl o organoSi, arcerT maTgans xmaTa umravl esoba ar unda qonoda. am principis gatarebaSi xedavda igi `sol idarobis da TanamSroml obis sigul wrfel es.- im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki saqarTvel os parl amentSi qvotebis gadanawil ebis kkobaxiZiseul zemoarNiSnul formas daamkvidrebdnen, momxdari faqtiT; 1) amomrCevel Ta ufl ebemis xel yofas da mbrZanebl uri meTodebis damkvidrebis demonstri rebas eqneboda adgil i da rac mTavaria, 2) saqarTvel os konstutucii is 46- e muxl is mizanzimmarTul i xel yofa ganxorciel deboda.

partiul i interesebidan gamomdinare, erovnul - demokrtebi da social ist- federal istebi am darRvevaze Tvals xuWavdnen. maT kargad esmodaT, rom demokratiul i arCevnebis gziT, qveynis sakanonmdebl o organoSi deputatTa im raodenobas ver gaiyvandnen, romel ic koal iciuri mTavrobis Semadgenl obis naxebris gamarTl ebas daedeboda safuZvl ad. im saarqivo dokumentebis mi xedviT, romel ic pol itikur partiata SeTanxmebis sakiTxebTan aris dakavSirebul i, irkveva, rom diskusiis erT- erT sagans ganTavisufl ebul saqarTvel oSi, qarTul i jaris Seqmnis principis da ekonomikuri pol itikis gatarebis mimarTul ebis winaswari garkvevis aucil ebl obis moTxovna wadmoadgenda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas parizis interpartiul i SeTanxmebis TaTbiris 1921 wli is 18 dekembris sxdoma iqcevs. rogorc dokumentidan irkveva, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis saxel iT S.qarumi Zem principul ad daayena sakiTxi: `Cven ar SegviZl ia iseTi samxedro sistema mi viRoT, romel ic Cvens samxedro Zal ebs or mowinaaRmdege banakad gahyofs. momaval aRdgenil saqarTvel os unda hyavdes erTi mTl iani mxedrul i Zal a. aqedanve unda iqnas gamocxadebul i, rom momaval aRdgenil saqarTvel oSi gvardia ar iarseebs.- am sakiTXTan dakavSirebiT n.Jordani am imave sxdomaze oficial urad ganaxada, rom igi orsafexuriani jaris momxre ar iyo da ganTavisufl ebul saqarTvel oSi dabrunebis SemTxvevaSi gvardiis aRdgena ar moxdeboda. imavdroul ad man is ZiriTadi mizezebi daasaxel a, romel mac Tavis droze gvardiis Seqmnis aucil ebl oba ganapi-

roba. `rac Seexeba momaval i j aris organi zaciis saki Txs- ambobda n.Jordania- Cven Tanaxma varT erTiani mTI iani j aris sistemis Seqmni sa. unda iTqvas, rom aseTi proeqti Tavis droze wamoyenebul i iyo gvardiis wevrebis gan, magram maSin Cven ar mi vi ReT aseTi proeqti (gai xsenoT damfuZnebel i kreb- is samxedro komisi aSi amis Sesaxeb debatebi). wi naT Cven varsebobdi T mar- to Cveni T da CvenTvis. am mxriv Cveni mdgomareoba aranormal uri iyo da ami T iyo gamowveul i gvardiis arsebobac, romel sac didi Rvawl i mi uZRvis saqarTvel os damouki debl obis dacvaSi. mTavari Cveni muSaoba saqarTvel oSi, misi damouki debl obis xanaSi, iqi T iyo mi marTul i, rom... Signidan ar davn- greul iyavi T, rom yovel i mxridan mozRvavebul bol Sevi kebs ar gaer Rvia eris fronti da Signi T ar avefeTqebineT. es rom momxdariyo, axl a aq ar viqnebodi T da evropasi saqarTvel os saki Txi ar iqneboda dasmul i. da Tu dRes saqrTvel os saqmes aq evropasi damsaxurebul i aqvs simpaTia, es mx- ol od imi tom rom is gareSe Zal am ver aafeTqa da ai am Sinagani erTobis SenaxvaSi, mTel i xal xis bol omdis antibol Seviku rmmarTvel obis erTgu- l ebaSi gadamWrel i rol i iTamaSa gvardiam. ugvardioT Cven didi xania da- cemul i viqnebodi T. exl andel i Casvl a saqarTvel oSi sul sxvaa. es aris samudamo Casvl a. ami tom droebi Ti organi zacia- gvardia, romel mac Rirse- ul ad Seasrul a Tavisi rol i, unda moixsnas.- am vrcel i amonaweridan ka- rgad Cans, rom n.Jordania mxars uWerda erTsafexuriani qarTul i j aris Se- qmni s aucil ebl obas. imavdroul ad, imazedac mi ani Snebda Tu ra speci fikuri garemoebebi T iyo ganpi robebul i gvardiis Seqmna da ra damsaxureba mi u- ZRoda mas Si dasaxel mwifoebri vi wesrigis damyarebaSi, momxduri mtrisad- mi gamkvl avebaSi da saerTod, qarTul i saxel mwifos Rirsebis dacvis saqme- Si. pol itikuri situaciis cval ebadobidan da drois axal i moTxovnebidan gamomdinare, igi oponentebs pi robas aZl evda, rom Tavdacvis sistemaSi gvar- diis Seqmni s saki Txi moixsneboda.

n.Jordani as es pozicia, interpartiul i TaTbiris monawil e yvel a pol iti- kuri partiis l i derisaTvis mi saRebi aRmoCnda. xazgasmi T mi nda aRvni Sno, rom zogierTi partiis warmomadgenel i interpartiul i TaTbiris pro- cesSi xSirad sadiskusioT iseT saki Txebs ayenebda, romel ic ara TaTbi- ris, aramed ori damouki debl i qveyni s ekonomikuri urTierTobi sa da mi- mdinare pol itikuri procesebis koni unqturaze iyo damyarebul i. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs interpartiul i TaTbiris 1921 wl is 18 dekembri s sxdo- maze S.qarumi Zis mi er saqarTvel os momaval i ekonomikuri pol itiki s Se- saxeb gakeTebul i gancxadeba. misi mtkicebi T, qveyni s ekonomikuri pol i- tika, dasavl eT evropi s saxel mwifoebis ekonomikuri kursis mixedvi T unda warmarTul iyo. erTi Sexedvi T, saki Txi sworad iyo dasmul i, magram mis gamosvl aSi ar Canda is ganmapi robebel i faqtorebi, romel ic saqarTve- l os xel isufl ebi s mi zni s mi Rwevi s xel Semwyob an uki dures SemTxveva- Si xel SemSi el dabrkol ebad aRimarTeboda. meore mxriv, igi momaval i koal iciuri mTavrobis poziciasac ar iTval iswinebda. arada, es saki Txi koal iciuri mTavrobis wevrTa umravl esobis gadasawyveti iyo.

zemoaRni Snul is gaTval iswinebi s fonze, n.Jordani as pasuxi S.qarumi Zi- sadmi damaj erebel formas iRebda. `unda mogaxsenoT, rom Cven- mbobda igi sxvanairad vuyurebT saqmes. Cven ar Segvi Zl ia amJamad momaval i koal icionuri mTavrobis ekonomiu r pol itikaze l aparaki, radgan es

damokidebul i iqneba TviT momaval koalicionur mTavrobaze. Cven amJamad mxol od piradi azris gamoTqma SegviZl ia da am mxriv unda iTqvas Semdegi: saqarTvel os aRdgena SeuZl ebel ia uevropoT. ami tom, Cveni Zuli ebul i viqnebiT maTTan sxvadasxva ekonomiuri xasiaTis xel Sekrul ebebis dadebis dros, zogierTi ekonomiuri politikac... am xel Sekrul ebebTan iyos dakavSirebul i. amdenad, Cveni ekonomiuri politikis gaevropel eba TavisTavad moxdeba. agrarul politikaSi ac miwis yidva-gayidvis principi iqneba dacul i.-

am amonaweris mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTvel os momaval i mTavrobis ekonomiuri kursi n.Jordani am faqtobrivad gansazRvra. magram, imavdrouli adimis Sesaxebac miuTita, rom winaswari varaudebis mixedvit aseT mniSvnelovan sakiTxebze gadawyvetil ebis miReba dauSvebel i iyo. mi Tumetes, saqarTvel o ucxo Zal isgan okupirebul qveyanas warmoadgenda da misi kanonieri mTavroba devnil obaSi imyofeboda. am uRresad angariSgasawev faqtorebze dayrdnobiT, imave sxdomaze S.qarumiZis misamarTite.gegeWkorma uRresad sayuradRebo gancxadeba gaakeTa. `ekonomiuri politikis Sesaxeb gancxadeba_ ambobda igi_ amJamad arc mizanSewonil ia da arc saWiroa. mizanSewonil iar aris imitom, rom rogorc n.Jordani am mogaxsenaT, es aris momaval i koaliciuri mTavrobis saqme, xolo saWiro ar aris imitom, rom imis Semdegrac moxTa SeuZl ebel ic aris faqtiurad sxvanairi ekonomiuri politikis warmoeba. momaval Cvens ekonomiur politikas gansazRvra vis SeTanxmebebi, romelic moxdeba Cvensa da evropas Soris.-

am SemTxvevaSi e.gegeWkori savsebit martal i iyo, radgan saqarTvel odan gaZevebul i kanonieri mTavrobis mxridan, qveynis ekonomiuri politikis winaswar gansazRvraze msjel oba qvij aSi Casxmuli wylis nayvistol fas qmedebas Seicavda da am samusaos Semsrul eblis mxridan iumoris formas Rebul obda. aseTi ram saSualo donis politikosisTvisac miuRebel i unda yofil iyo. mi Tumetes, qveyana dampyrobTa uRl is qveSgminavda da ekonomikuradac gaCanagebis zRvarze idga. am fonze, qveynisTvis gul Sematkivari da WeSmariti politikosisaTvis mxol od erTadertisakiTxi unda yofil iyo dRis wesrigSi gadasawyvetad dasmul i_ saqarTvel os deokupaciis misaRwevad politikur ZalTa konsolidacia da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSaveba. am mimatebuli politikuri nabijis gadadgma, swori pragmatuli gadawyvetil ebis CarCoSi Tavsbododa da saqarTvel os imJamindel yofit sinamdvil es srul ad Seesabameboda. aRni Snuli garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi n.rami Svilis, roca partiaTa SeTanxmebis parizis konferenciis 1922 wlis 21 Tebervlis sxdomaze, ucxo qveynis saokupacio rejimis mocil ebis efeqtur saSual ebad, saqarTvel os mosaxleobis darazmva, misi erT muStad Sekvra da am saqmeSi gansakutrebuli rolis Semsrul eblad politikuri Zal ebis gaertianebarom daasaxel a. igi konferenciis monawil eebis Seaxsenebda, rom marto diplomatiuri gziT saqmis gakeTeba SeuZl ebl i iyo, arsebul i sinamdvile, politikurad sworad gaazrebul i da gaTvil i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebas saWiroebda. n.rami Svilis es pozicia sxdomis umravlesobis mier iqna gaziarebul i. mi Rebul i dadgenil eba daedo safuzvl ad konferenciis monawil eebis mxridan partiaTa SeTanxmebis Sesaxeb damatebiti xel Sekrul ebis ganxilvis dawyebas. aRni Snul sakiTxiTan mimatebaSi arse-

bul i dokumentebi dan Cemi yuradReba SeTanxmebis konferenciis # 1- ma damebam mi iqcia, sadac garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i pol itikuri Zal ebis SeTanxmebis aucil ebl obaze. `cxadia- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- SeTanxmeba unda moxdes, magram nu dagvaviwydeba rom SeTanxmebis Semsrul ebel i mTavari Zal aisev qarTvel i xal xia, xolo SeTanxmebul i muSaobis mTavari aspzrezi_ saqarTvel o. am faqts Tu gavuwevT angariSs, aucil ebel ia mi vaRwi oT iseT SeTanxmebas rac adgil obriv misaRebi iqneba SeTanxmebaSi Semaval i partiebisaTvis.- marTal ia, SeTanxmebis aucil ebl obisa da saqarTvel os specifikis gaTval iswinebis Sesaxeb mi marTul eba sworadiyo dasmul i, magram, partiis LiderTa gansakuTrebul i pol itikuri ambiciurobis da mizanmi marTul i Wirveul obis Sesakvecad araferi iyo naTqvami. meore mxriv, SeTanxmebis fonze, dawyebul i saqme CixSi SeyavdaT im Tval sazrisiT, rom warsulis gaxsenebis da SecdomaTa urTierT gadabral ebis ni Snis mogebiT konsesusis safexuramde misvl as Segnebul ad arTul ebdnen. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT garterTianebul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiis, radikal - demokratiul i da upartioTa j gufis saxel iT, interpartiul konferenciaze gr.veSapel is mier wakiTxul i dekl aracia gamoirCeva. am dokumentiT, saqarTvel os devnil mTavrobas erTwi lani umoqmedobiT adanaSaul ebdnen da mis ganmapirobebel mizezad, pol itikuri partieb is LiderTa bazaze koal iciis ver Seqmnas asaxel ebdnen. `es im bedis bral ia- vkiTxul obT do-kumentSi- romel ic mTavrobis partiam koal iciis principals arguna damoukidebel i saqarTvel os 3 wl is arsebobis ganmavl obaSi.- aqedan gamomdinare, gr.veSapel i kategoriul i formiT svamda sakiTxs Tu ratom iqna warsul Si darRveul i koal iciis principi da ra unda gakeTebul iyo imisTvis, rom aRniSnul i faqti momaval Siac ar ganmeorebul iyo da mas saqarTvel os interesebi ar Sewirvoda. ge.veSapel is mier wakiTxul dekl araciaSi Cadebul i aRniSnul i pretenzia, erTi SexedviT srul WeSmaritebad moeCveneba saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis periodSi momqmedi pol itikuri partieb is obieqturi istoriis ucodinar adami ans. mxedvel obaSi maqvs warsul is gaxseneba da pol itikur partiebTan koal iciuri TanamSroml obis darRvevis- social - demokratiul i partiis Liderebisadmi usafuZvl o gadabral eba. roca saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis istoriis gaxsenebazea saubari, gr.veSapel i Segnebul ad `iviwyebda-: 1) saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebis pirvel ive safexurze, qveynis koal iciur mTavrobaSi 2 adgil is dakavebaze erovnul - demokratebis mxridan uaris Tqmas; 2) im urTul es periodSi, qveynis xval - indel i dRis Sedegebisa da misi wil i pasuxismgebl obisadmi mizanmi marTul ad Tavis aridebas.¹⁴ aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, koal iciis gr.veSapel iseul i formiT dasma, arakoreqtul i iyo im Tval - sazrisiT, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis Seqmnis sawyis safexurze, rogorc aRniSnul i mqonda, qveynis yvel aze kritikul _ bol Sevikebisgan xel isufl ebis gamotacebis momentSi, erovnul - demokratebma koal iciur mTavrobaSi Sesvl aze uari ganaxxada. es iyo qveynis marTvis koal iciuri principisadmi erovnul - demokratebis mxridan boikotis gamocxadebisa da zurgSeqcevis saj aro demonstrireba. aqedan gamomdinare, maTi mxridan warsul Si koal iciuri TanamSroml obisadmi uaris Tqmis sxvisadmi gadabral eba, sinamdvil is fal sifikacias warmoadgenda da arakoreqtul saxes iRebda. rac Seexeba okupirebul i saqarTvel os

ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi pol itikuri Zal ebis konsol idaciisa da koaliciur principze dafuZnebul i erToblivi samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebas, swor da misaReb debul ebas warmoadgenda. miuxedavad amisa, dasaxul imiznis praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba kiTxvis qveSidga. sakiTxis mkvdari wertil idan daZvras iTval iswinebda gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mTavari komitetis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel obisadmi 1921 wl is 30 dekembers gagzavnil i weril i. es dokumenti gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imiTac iqcevs, rom saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel imoZraobis maRal doneze asayvanad da xel mZRvanel obis ukeT gasawevad, 7 ZiriTadi RonisZiebis gatareba aucil ebl obadiyo miCneul i. masSi motanili umniSvnel ovanesi debul ebebi Semdegnairad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1) pol itikuri partiebismxridan dauyovnebl iv momxdariyo erovnul i brZol isTvis saWirotaqtikuri xazis SemuSaveba da yvel a pol itikuri partiamis ZiriTad principi bsdamorCil eboda; 2) yvel a is pol itikuri partiaromelic saokupacio reJims ebrZoda da misimoqmedeba saerTo taqtikur xazsar ewinaaRmdegeboda, misadmi mfarvel obisa da xel mZRvanel obis gaweva aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda; 3) dauyovnebl iv unda momxdariyo evropaSi myofi pol itikuri partiebiskonsolidaciada SeTanxmebul i muSaobis warmoeba. misisaqmi anoba SeTanxmebis organos daqvemdebareboda. xol o saqarTvel os mTavroba da el Cebi aRniSnul i organos mimarTul ebis gamtarebl ebi yofil iyvnen; 4) dauyovnebl iv ganxorciel ebinaT Statebis gadasinj va da minimumamde daeyvanaT. moexdinaT yvel a im qonebis mobil izacia, romel sac mTavroba da damfuZnebul i kreba akontrol ebda. misi ZiriTadi nawil i damkomis gankargul ebaSi gadasul iyo mxol od im mizniT, rom igi erovnul moZraobas moxmareboda; 5) xazini sa da sazogado dawesebul ebaTa Tanxis gamosarkvevad SeeqmnaT Sereul i komisia. am dokumentis xel sawerdnen: saqarTvel os gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mTavari komitetis Tavmj domaris moadgil eal .asaTiani, mTavari komitetis wevrebi: SaqarumiZe, evropis komitetis Tavmj domare idadiani, dedanTan dokumentis siswores s.asaTiani adasturebda xel moweriTa da Sesabamisi beWdiT.

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki zemoT aRniSnul i moTxovnebi social - demokratiul i partiis liderebistvis miuRebel i aRmoCndeboda, unda eRiarebinaT, rom erTiani erovnul i frontis Seeqmnaze maTi mxridan gakeTebul i gancxadebebi, pol itikur farisevl obas warmoadgenda.

ramdenadac dokumentSi warmodgenil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi gansakuTrebul i moTxovnebitar gamoirCeoda, devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobis wevrebi saTvis misaRebi unda yofil iyo. miTumetes, igi sakiTxis erT konkretul mxares exeboda. mimdinare pol itikuri procesebi, gancal kevebul ad moqmedi pol itikuri Zal ebis SeTanxmebas saWi roebda. evropis qveynebis liderebistvis unda daemtkicebinaT, rom maT ZiriTad sazrunavs qveynis gamTli aneba warmoadgenda da ara viwro partiul i interesebis wina pl anze wamoweva. am mimarTul ebit pirvel i qmediTi nabiji stambolis pol itikurma komisi am gadadga. saarqivo masal ebit irkveva, rom maT mier pol itikuri partiebiskomitetis Sesaxeb SemuSavebul i proeqti, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1921 wl is 22 seqtembris sxdomam gani xil a. Sesabamisi Sesworebebis Sedegad dokumentma Semdegi saxemi i Ro: `1. Sesdges saqarTve-

Los interpartiu l i organo_ TiTo partiidan TiTo kaci- partiaTa Soris kontaqtis dasamyarebl ad da antibol Sevikuri frontis gansamtkicebl ad. bol Sevikების I ikvidaciამდე partiebi erTi meoris winaaRmdeg sajar o gamosvl ebs ar awarmoeben; 2. yvel a partia, romel ic damouki debl obis ni adagze dgas da dampyrobTa Zal aufl ebas ar cnobs, val debl ia Tavis damoki debl eba am saganTan ama Tu im formi T gamoamJRavnos ise, rom is aSkara iqnes rogorc qarTvel i xal xis ise evropis sazogadoebisaTvis; 3. dampyrobel - Ta gandevnis Semdeg damfuZnebel i kreba ikribeba mxol od imisTvis, rom daniSnos parl amentis arCevnebi da misces mas droebiTi kredi tebi; 4. parl amenti mowveul i unda iqnes ara ugvianes ori Tvis a damfuZnebel i krebi s Sekrebi dan.

Seni Svna: 3- 4 muxl Si arCevnebis vadis gagrZel eba da damfuZnebel i krebi s mier sxva sakiTxebis ganxil va, gareSe aRniSnul isa, SeiZl eba mxol od koal iciasi myof partiaTa Soris SeTanxmebi T.

5. erTaderT kanonier mTavrobad, axl is Sedgenamde dfamfuZnebel i krebi s mier, iTvl eba axl andel i mTavroba, romel ic sazRvargareT imyofeba; 6. damfuZnebel i kreba adgens koal iciur mTavrobas; 7. I da me-2 muxl is au- srul ebl oba abaTil ebs danarCen muxl ebs.-

dokuments xel s awerdnen: n.Jordania, s.mdivani, ak.Cxenkel i, k.kandel aki, e.gegeWkori, gr.veSapel i.

marTal ia, es SeTanxmeba mTavrobi s imave sxdomaze iqna damtkicebul i, ma- gram, pol itikuri partiebis zogierTi warmomadgenel i mTel rig sakiTx- ebTan mimarTebsi diskusiis gamarTvas moiTxovda da saqarTvel oSi moqme- di pol itikuri partiebis Sexedul ebebis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebis aucil ebl obas mizanSewonil ad miicnevda. am mxriv stambol is pol itikuri komisiis sxdomis monawil e **erovnul - demokrati I j afarize** gamoirCeod- da. misadmi sapasuxo si tyvaSi v.j uRel ma xazgasmi T miuTiTa, rom, ramdena- dac `konkretul i sakiTxebis Sesaxebe SeuZl ebel i Sei qmna raime saerTo dadgenil ebi s gamotana, ami tom Cven maSin SevTanxmdiT wamogveyenebi na swored is princi pebi, romel ic parizmma dagvi dastura. da unda mogaxsenoT, arsebi- Tad es asece unda iyos. mTavari da mniSvel ovani princi pebze SeTanxmebaa, konkretul i sakiTxi ki bevrad damokidebul ia im mdgomareobaze, romel ic bol Sevikების gandevnis Semdeg Sei qmneba.-

vfiqrob sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i im Tval sazrisiT, rom saqarTve- l os sinamdvil e, Sidasaxel mwi foebrivi probl emebis garSemo msjel o- bas al ogikurs xdi da. mi Tumetes, qveyana ucxo Zal is mier iyo okupire- bul i da pirvel i rigis amocanas im safexuris momzadeba warmoadgenda, romel ic deokupaci isken iqneboda mimarTul i. am faqtoris gaTval iswine- bi dan gamomdinare, Tuki ganvixil avT pol itikur partiaTa naazrevs, prag- matul i xasiaTis winadadebebi T social - demokratTa I iderebi gamoir- Ceodnen. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, partiaTa Soris SeTanxmebi s Sesaxebe, n.xomerikis mier stambol is komisiisadmi parizSi damtkicebul i zemoaRniS- nul i dokumentis gacnobis faqti warmoadgens. miuxedavad imisa, rom igi stambol is komisi am mi iRo da dasamtkicebl ad parizs gadaugzavna, masSi cvl il ebebis Setana erovnul - demokratebma aucil ebl obad CaTval a. am mxriv gansakuTrebi T I j afarize aqtiurobda. stambol is pol itikuri ko- misiis sxdomaze aRniSnul i dokumentisadmi mxardaWeris miuxedavad, I j afa-

riZem wi nandel i pozicia Secval a da komisiis wevrebs proeqtTan mi marTe-
 rbaSi Se fasebebis axal i varianti Se Tavaza. misi mtkicebiT, stambool is
 komisiis mier damtkicebul i proeqti imdenad zogadi xasiaTis iyo, rom
 `araviTar axal garemoebas ar qmni da... es dadgenil eba- ambobda I j afariZe-
 saqarTvel oSi aravis daakmayofil ebs, radganac arafers garkveul sar I a-
 parakobs. saWiroa zogi kiTxvebi aq daisvas da maT Sesaxeb gadaWril i ga-
 dawvyetil eba iqnas gamotanil i. es unda vqnaT Cven, Tu marTI a mowadi nebu-
 l i varT CvenSi partiaTa Soris SeTanxmeba moxdes. amgvari zogadi debu-
 l ebebi saqarTvel oSi ac iyo wamoyenebul i interpartiul krebaze, magram
 maTiT aravin dakmayofil da.~ am SemTxvevaSi I j afariZis pretenziebi da
 misi qmedeba I ogikis kategoriebs scil deboda. mi Tumetes, parizidan mosu-
 l i dadgenil eba, stambol is komisiis mier miRebul i proeqtis dublikats
 warmoadgenda da Tu igi pol itikur Zal Ta SeTanxmebis Tval sazrisiT ga-
 mousadegari iyo, stambol is komisiis sxdomaze am dokumentis miRebisa da
 parizSi gadagzavnisTvis mxari ar unda daeWira. I j afariZis es waj eq-
 ukuj eqis kursi, n.xomerikma kargad SeniSna da stambol is komisiis imave sx-
 domaze (1921 wl is 5 oqtomberi), yovel gvare moridebis gareSe adresats Se-
 sabamisi pasuxi gasca. `rac Seexeba I el i j afariZes- ambobda n.xomeriki,-
 me misi moqmedeba makvirvebs. aq Cven am sakiTxebis Sesaxeb didi sj a-
 baasi gvqonda. gamovi muSaveT SeTanxmebis principic. yvel am xel i movawereT,
 moawera xel i TviT I el imac. parizma Cveni mdgomareoba daadastura. ar vici ra
 moxda dRes, rom I el im xel meored wamoayena igive sakiTxebi. Cven gul iT
 mowadi nebul i viyaviT partiaTa Soris SeTanxmeba momxdariyo. amitom Cven
 SevimuSaveT opoziciisTvis misaRebi pl atforma.~ I j afariZis mxridan
 Tavisi pirvandel i poziciis SenarCunebis miuxedavad, stambol is pol iti-
 kuri komisiis 1921 wl is 5 oqtombris krebam, parizis pol itikuri komisiis
 mier SemuSavebul i debul ebebi da axsnaganmartebebi, umravl esobiT mi-
 iRo. xol o saqarTvel oSi moqmedi antibol Sevikuri partiebisdmi misi
 gagzavna mi zanSewoni I ad mi iCni a.

miuxedavad imisa, rom partiaTa Soris konsesusze dafuZnebul i SeTa-
 nxmebis proeqti 1921 wl is oqtomberSi daamtkices, es sakiTxerovnul -
 demokratebma parizis interpartiul i SeTanxmebis 1921 wl is 18 dekembris
 sxdomaze ganaxlebul i formiT daayena da masSi garkveul i cvl il ebeb-
 is Setana moitxoves. aRniSnul i dokumentebis gacnoba iseT STabeWd-
 il ebas qmnis, rom am pol itikuri partiis warmomadgenlebi, pol itikuri
 meZavis kurss mizanmarTul ad axorciel ebda da SeTanxmebis misaRwe-
 vad pragmatul i nabij is gadadgmas Segnebul ad aWianurebda. mxedvel o-
 baSi maqvs sxdomis monawil eebisdmi SeTanxmebis proeqtis axal i variantis
 maTi mxridan SeTavazeba. es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi ir.wereTel s,
 roca imave sxdomaze xazgasmiT miuTiTa: `am SeTanxmebis teqsts pirve-
 l ad vxedav da is me ar makmayofil ebs. mTel i SeTanxmebis Sinaarsi po-
 rtfel ebis ganawil ebaa partiaTa Soris. orSi erTi, an xdeba SeTanxmeba
 partiaTa Soris ara mar to bol SevikebTan brZol is niadagze, aramed im
 momaval dadebit pol itikaze, romel sac isini saqarTvel os ganTavisu-
 fl ebis Semdeg awarmoeben. maSin es programa naCvenebi umnda iyos. an Tu
 aseTi programis SemuSaveba amJamad SeuZl ebel ia, maSin portfel ebis
 ganawil ebis sakiTxic amJamad unda moixsnas da SeTanxmeba unda exebo-

des mxol od bol Sevi kebi s wi naaRmdeg saerTo brZol as.- sakiTxi swora-
daa dasmul i, radgan, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, ucxo saxel m-
wifos mier okupirebul qveyanaSi portfel ebis ganawil ebaze msj el ob-
des devnil i pol itikuri partiebi da mTavroba, anegtotur formas atareb-
da. qveyni sTvis aseT umZimes si tuaciaSi, pirvel i rigis amocanas, rogorc
ir.wereTel i ambobda, saqarTvel os ucxo Zal is batonobi sgan ganTavi su-
fl eba da kanonierebis aRdgena warmoadgenda. im etapze sxva danarCeni,
romel sac erovnul - demokratebi gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas aniWebda,
meorexar isxovani iyo. mi Tumetes, maTi ideis xorcSesxmas, dabruneba-
ardabrunebis gamarTi eba ganapi robebda.

cxare diskusiis miuxedavad, imave sxdomaze konsensus dafuznebul i
erToblivi deklaraciis Sedgenis da am dokumentis saqarTvel oSi par-
tiebis xel mosawerad gadagzavnis sakiTxi daisva dRis wesrigSi. imave
sxdomis masal ebidan irkveva, rom deklaraciis Sedgena n.Jordaniას,
s.mdivans da gr.veSapel s daeval a. erTi SexedviT sakiTxi gadawyveti-
l ad unda CaiTvlil iyo, magram momxdari faqtdan 6 dRis Semdeg, erovnul -
demokratebma Tavianti pozicia isev Secval a da stambol is pol itikuri
komisiis 1921 wl is 24 dekembris sxdomas proeqtis Sesworebul i varian-
ti warudgina. amis Sesaxeb imave sxdomaze I jafariZem sagangebo gancx-
adeba gaakeTa. `me miviRe Cveni mTavari komitetisgan- ambobda igi- pa-
suxi im weril ze, romel ic gavugzavneT partiaTa SeTanxmebis sakiTxze.
Cvens mier miRebul SeTanxmebisE proeqtSi maT SeutaniaT Sesworeba da
SeumuSavebiaT axal i proeqti, romel sac agreTve iziareben eserebi da
`sxivel ebi~. aRni Snul i gancxadebis gakeTebis Semdeg, man saqarTvel o-
dan gamogzavnil i proeqtis teqsti warudgina sxdomis monawil ebs.

erovnul - demokratebis es nabiji, ramdenadac partiaTa Soris adre gaweul i
SeTanxmebis darRvevas da probl emis droSi gawel vas warmoadgenda, vfiqrob
urigo ar iqneba Tuki am axal i proeqtis teqstsac SevTavazeb mkiTxvel
sazogadoebas.

proeqti SeTanxmebisa: 1.saqarTvel oSi arsdeba erovnul i centri, romel -
ic meTaurobs saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis saqmes. am mizniT igi muSaobs
Sin da gareT. razmav ers SeiaraRebul i aj anyebisTvis, ucxoETSi sZebnis
pol itikur simpatiebs da real ur daxmarebas; 2.centridan ar SeiZl eba
gayvanil iqnas arcerTi qarTul i partia, romel ic saq.damouki debel obis ni-
adagze dgas. centrSi partiebi warmodgenil ia Tanabaris raodenobit, par-
tias SeuZlian Tavisi warmomadgenel i Secval os, magram axal i warmomad-
genel ic SeTanxmebis prinsips eqvemdebareba; 3.centri scnobs winandel
mTavrobas ise, rogorc dRes aris. ese igi, sagareo muSaobis asparezze dRi-
dan centris dapi rebisa, mTavroba damouki debel pol itikas ar awarmoebis.
rogorc mTavrobis mTliani samoqmedo programa, ise yovel i misi konkret-
ul i nabiji muSavdeba centrSi mTavrobis warmomadgenel is monawil eobit;
4.arsebul i xel isufl ebis likvidaciis Semdeg, meqanikuraT gadamdgarat
CaiTvl eba Zvel i mTavroba. centri iqceva droebit mTavrobaT, igi iwvevs
damfuznebel krebas, romel ic mas namdvil mTavrobad acxadebs da uxsnis
kreditebs. amastan erTad igi adasturebs im kanonebs da rezol uciebs, ro-
ml ebic win da win SemuSavebul i iqnebian centris mier.-

Tuki am proeqtsa da parizis SeTanxmebis (1921 wl is 22 seqtemberi) proeqts,

romel ic saqarTvel os mTavrobis sxdomaze iqna damtkicebul i, erTmaneTs SevadarebT, maT Soris mTel rig principul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi ganxvaveba aSkarad SeimCneva. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mesaWeobisa da mistvis xel sayrel i pol itikuri situaciis xel onnurad Seqmnis tendencia; b)saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i centris mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi konstituciuri ufl ebebis CamorTmevis mcdel oba da mxol od sagareo saqmeTa ministris doneze dayvana. amis dadasturebas proeqtis # 3- e muxl i warmoadgens, sadac aRniSnul ia, rom `centri scnobs winandel mTavrobas ise, rogorc dRes aris, ese igi sagareo muSaobis asparezze.~ arada, swored devnil i mTavrobis Zal isxmeviT da misi l iderebis avtoritetidan gamomdinare unda momxdariyo yvel a im umZimesi samuSaos Sesrul eba, romel ic evropis qveynebidan saqarTvel os deokupaciisaTvis daxmarebasa da Tanadgomas rom iTval iswinebda. arsebul i sirTul eebis gaTval iswinebiT Tuki mi vudgebiT sakiTxs, saerTaSoriso arenaze bol Sevikuri propagandis mosageriebl ad da Setevaze gadasavl el ad saWiro titanuri Sromis fonze, zemoaRniSnul i proeqti gansakuTrebul i ambi-ciurobiT iyo datvirTul i. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki qarTul i social - demokratiis l iderebi pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri muSaobis maxvil s qarqaSSi Caagebdnen, yovel gvare centris muSaoba saqarTvel oSi winaswar iqneboda ganwirul i. mi Tumetes, rogorc dokumenturi masal iTaa dadasturebul i, is rac 1921- 1924 wl ebSi social - demokratebma gaakeTa, erovnul - demokratebi im samuSaos 1 %- sac ver gawvdeboda. yvel aferi daviwyebas rom mieces, social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebis (n.Jordania, ir.wereTel i, k.CxeiZe, n.ramiSvil i, ak.Cxenkel i, e.gegeWkori...) biol ogiurad moZul e adami anebma, is mainc unda aRiaron, rom dasavl eT evropis qveynebis saxel mwifoebis meTaurebTan maRal doneze Sexvedra- mol aparakebebs, opoziciurad moazrebul i pol itikuri partiebis (erovnul - demokratebi, social ist- federal isteebi...) warmomadgenl ebi namdvil ad ver SeZl ebdnen. es aris sinamdvil e da misi gaTval iswineba, pol itikur partiata SeTanxmehis nebsmier proeqtSi unda yofil iyo Cadebul i.

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul is miuxedavad, radikal uri gancxadebis gakeTebisgan social - demokratebma Tavi Seikaves da garkveul i formiT kompromisul i gzis taqtika airCies. amis erT- erT dadasturebas imave sxdomaze n.xomerikis gancxadeba warmoadgens. `SeTanxmehis am teqsts- ambobda igiCven gavecnobiT da Semdeg vil aparakebT. mxol od me gamovsTqvam survil s, rom daidos erTnairi vada am SeTanxmehis dasabol avebl ad, raTa erTxel da samudamod gamoirkves. amaze damokidebul ia Cveni muSaobis xasiaTi, rogorc axl a ise momaval Si.~

Cems xel T arsebul i dokumenturi masal idan irkveva, rom 1921 wl is 12 seqtembridan- imave wl is 30 dekembri CaTvl iT, pol itikur Zal Ta Sesatanxmehi ad da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SesamuSavebl ad gaweul i yovel i mcdel oba, uSedego aRmoCnda. gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratebis (a.asaTian- QS.qarumiZis j gufi), am marcxis ZiriTad mizezs social - demokratebs abral ebda. amis dadasturebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel i organoebisadmi maT mier 1921 wl is 30 dekembers wardgenil i weril is pirvel i nawil i warmoadgens. arada, dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom SeuTanxmehi o-

bis Tavi da Tavi, gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratebi_ asaTian- qarumiZis j gufi iyo. maT mier warmodgenil i SesaTanxmebel i axal i proeqti, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis konstituciis Sesabamisi muxl ebis (# 46, # 67) moTxovnebis argaTval iswinebaze iyo gaTvl il i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs deokupirebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis Semadgenl obaSi qvotebis raodenobis winaswari garanti ebis mi Rebis mcdel oba. arada, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, imave konstituciis # 46, 67, 68 muxl ebis mixedviT, sakiTxi unda gadaewyvi ta saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis mier (sayovel Tao, Tanaswori, pirdapiri, farul i da proporciul i wesiT) gakeTebul im arCevans, romelic qveynis sakanonmdebl o organos procentul Semadgenl obas daedeboda safuZvl ad. parl amentis wevrTa procentul i Semadgenl obis mixedviT unda gansazRvrul iyo koal iciuri mTavrobis wevrTa raodenobac. erovnul - demokratebi konstituciis am moTxovnebis ignorirebas cdil obda, rasac social - demokratebi miuRebl ad Tv- l idnen. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i social - demokratiis l iderebi koal iciis principze Tanxmobas acxadebdnen mxol od arCevnebis Sedegebidan gamomdinare procentul i maCvenebl ebis gaTval iswinebiT. rac Seexeba pol itikuri partieb is mxridan saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi undobl obis gamocxadebis Sesaxeb baTumSi mi Rebul dadgenil ebas, amasTan dakavSi rebiT, a.asaTian- S.qarumiZis zemoaRniSnul weril Si xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom am weril is avtorebs damaj erebel i pasuxi pol itikur partiaTa parizis 1922 wl is 23 Tebevli sxdomaze n.Jordani am gasca. sxdomis monawil eeb s man erTxel kidev Seaxsena rom `Tu exl a varT koal iciis momxre imitom, rom ucxo- eTSi vimyofebiT, Cveni samSobl o okupaciis qveSaa da misi aRdgena da marTva parl amentis Sekrebamde gansakuTrebul pirobebSi iqneba. rac Seexeba baTumSi opoziciis damokidebul ebas mTavrobisadmi, es marTI ac warmoudgenel i da gaugebaria CvenTvis. imaTi cda, mTavrobisTvis undobl obis gamocxadebis Sesaxeb rom ganxorciel ebul iyo, Cveni saqme mar- TI ac daiRupeboda. Cven dRes arc mTavroba gveyol eboda da arc saxel mwifos ekonomikuri warmomadgenl ebi. Cveni qveynis okupaci iT damTav- vrdeboda saqarTvel os damoukidebel i respubl ikis ufl ebrivi arsebo- bac. damarcxebul i mTavroba yovel Tvis ar unda gadadges, rogorc ar gadamdgara bel giis an serbetis mTavroba maTi qveynis okupaciis Sem- deg. sul sxva iqneboda Cven rom davemarcxebineT CvensaviT patara sax- el mwifos, rogorc somxeTi da azerbaij ania. magram ra gasakvirvel ia ruseTs Cven rom davemarcxebineT, gansakuTrebiT roca osmal eTic im dros Cvens winaarMdeg il aSqrebda. sul sxva iqneboda kavkasia erTad rom yofil iyo da SeerTebul i amierkavkasiis SeiaraRebul Zal ebs rom qonoda omi da igic mar to ruseTTan. magram, somxeTis da azerbaij anis dacemis da iq ruseTis gabatonebis Semdeg, Cveni mdgomareoba rasakvirvel ia uSedego iyo.-

saarqivo dokumentebis siRrmiseul ad mcodne mkvl evari aSkarad dar- wmundeba, rom n.Jordania simarTI es ambobda. dasavl eT evropasi saqarTve- l os devnil i mTavrobis mier gaweul ma udi desma Sromam, saqarTvel os sakiTxis saerTaSoriso konferenciaze gatanam da evropis qveynebis am mimarTul ebiT dai nteresebam, aSkarad daadastura, rom 1921 wl is martSi,

pol itikuri partieb is mier saqarTvel os mTavrobis Sefasebis Sesaxeb baTumSi miRebul i zemoaRni Snul i dadgenil eba Secdoma iyo. mi si Ses-
rul eba sabWoTa ruseTis interesebSi ij da. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki saqarTve-
l os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis TviTI ikvidacia ganxorciel debo-
da, momxdari faqtiT, sabWoTa ruseTis mesveurebs, saqarTvel os mimarT
Cadenil i danaSaul is gamarTI ebis real uri SesaZl ebl obebi saerTa-
Soriso asparezze mi ecemoda. mi Tumetes, saerTaSoriso forumebze modave
da dampirispirebel i samarTI ebrivad aravin eyol eboda.

am fonze, gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratebis pretenziebi, zRvarga-
daci l ebul moTxovnebs warmoadgenda da sakonstitucio samarTI ebriv
CarCos scil deboda. mi Tumetes, social - demokratebma maqsimal uri daTmo-
bis nabij i gadadges. amis Sesaxeb, partiaTa SeTanxmebis parizis konfer-
enciis 1922 wl is 1 martis sxdomaze k.CxeiZe ambobda: `social - demokrati-
ul i partiis warmomadgenl ebma maqsimumi daTmes rac ki SeiZl eboda im
azriT da mi swrafebiT, rom rogor me SeTanxmeba momxdari iyo. amiT ai xsnebo-
da Cven rom dageTanxmeT naxevarze.~ es imas ni Snavs, rom saqarTvel os moma-
val i mTavroba koal iciur principi ebze aigeboda da opoziciuri speqtri
mmarTvel i pol itikuri Zal is Tanabari procentiTi qneboda warmodgeni-
l i. mi uxedavad amisa, erovnul - demokratebi Wirveul obdnen da social -
demokratebis gan ki dev met daTmobas moi Txovdnen. amis mi zezi, sasi cocxl o
mni Svel obis sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi i sev opoziciur partiaTa Soris Se-
uTanxmekl oba iyo. aRni Snul i garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi k.CxeiZes, imave
sxdomaze principul i formiT rom ganacxada: `Cveni gadawyvetil eba pro-
porciis Sesaxeb ukanasknel ia, pasuxismgebl obas SeuTanxmekl obaSi Cveni
del egacia ar kistrul obs, radgan Cvensa da Tqvens Soris koal iciis propo-
rciaze guSinwin Cven ukve SevTanxmdiT_ naxevari maT Soris Tavmj domare
social - demokratiul partias. meore naxevari yvel a sxva SeTanxmebis par-
tiebs. am meore naxevis ganawil ebaze Tqven ver SeTanxmdiT da amaSi pasu-
xismgebl obis Cvenze gadmotana ramdenad samarTI i ania,... Tqven TviTon gan-
saj eT. ris daTmobac SeiZl eboda, imis maqsimumi... ukve davTmeT da Cven aseve
gvesmis koal icia da TanamSroml obis ganxorciel eba. exl a rogorc gnebat
i se moi qeci T.~

xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom stenografiul i angariSi dan Cems mier
motanil amonawerebSi arsad ar figurirebs deokupirebul saqarTvel o-
Si demokratiul i principiT Catarebul i arCevnebis Sedegebi da mi Rebu-
l i procentul i monacemebis gaTval iswinebiT, qveynis mmarTvel obiTi
organos dakompl eqtebis sakiTxi. `vaWroba~ mxol od ise garantieb is
mi Rebaze mi mdinareobda. aseTi qmedebiT, pol itikuri partieb is l iderebi,
arCevnebSi xal xis gadawyvetil ebeb is winaswar ignori rebas axdenda. maTi
mxridan am sakiTxis win wamoweve arcerT sxdomaze ar momxdara. isini
mxol od daTmoba- ar daTmobis formatiT ifargl ebodnen. ramdenadac
sakiTxi Ci xSi Sevida, social ist- federal istma simon mdi vanma, paritetis
probl emis gadawyvetis saqarTvel oSi gadatana mi zanSewonil ad mi i Cni a. mi-
si mtkicebiT, aRni Snul i sakiTxis mogvarebis aucil ebl oba saqarTvel oSi
moqmedi pol itikuri partieb is mTavari organoebisTvis unda mi endoT. mi T-
umetes, maTTvis yvel aze metad iyo cnobil i saqarTvel oSi pol itikuri Za-
l ebis SesaZl ebl obebi da TiToeul i maTgani sadmi saqarTvel os mosaxl e-

obis damokidebul eba. s.mdivanis aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, imave sxdomaze social - demokratebma SiSi gamoTqves, rom es sakiTxi saqarTvel oSi droul ad SeiZl eba ver gadawyvetil iyo da usasrul obaSi gadazrdil i saxe mi-eRo. aseTi poziciis gamo, social ist- federal istebma TavianT gancxadebaSi social - demokratebs probl emasTan mimarTebaSi fsiqol ogiis Secvl a da daTmobis pol itikuri kursisken nabij is gadadgma mostxova.¹⁵

social - demokratiul i partiis mimarT ganxorciel ebul ma SeteviTma proce-sebma, aRniSnul i partiis l iderebi izul ebul i gaxada, pol itikur partia-Ta SeTanxmebis parizis konferenciis 1922 wl is 3 martis sxdomaze sagange-bo gancxadeba gaekeTebina. mxedvel obaSi maqvs damateba # 3- iT warmodge-nil i dokumenti. masSi dasabuTebul i formiTaa gacemul i pasuxi yvel a im pretenziaze, romel ic erovnul - demokratebis mxridan, social - demokrate-bis misamarTiT momdinareobda. imavdroul ad, RonisZiebis monawil eebes es dokumenti erTxel ki dev Seaxsenebda: `konferenciis mizani da kompeten-cia Tavidanve srul iad cxadi da gansazRvrul i iyo. erTi wl is muSaobam saqarTvel oSi da sazRvargareT Cveni qveynis ganTavisufl ebisatvis sakma-od Camoayal iba pirobebi SeTanxmebul i muSaobisa aRniSnul i miznisatvis im partiaTa Soris, romel sac aseTi muSaoba saval debul od miacnda. am pi-robebis Sesaxeb karga xania mol aparakeba swarmoebis. proeqti SeTanxmebisa Cven ukve yvel as xel Ta gvaqvs. ganxil va da sabol ood miReba am proeqti sa-ai mizani konferenciisa.~ sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasmis miuxedavad, igive social - demokratebi, sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan mimarTebaSi pol itikuri partieb is kl asifikacias axdenda da dauSvebl ad Tvl ida bol SevicebTan l oial uri damokidebul ebis mqone mimdinareobebTan SeTanxmebas. am mxriv gansakuTrebul i simkacriT n.xomeriki gamoirCeoda. misi samarTl iani mtki-cebiT, `Seuzl ebel ia SeTanxmebaze l aparaki Tu zogierTni mxol od mudam dRe imaze figroben Tu rogor aicdinon Tavidan bol Sevicebis risxva, ra-dgan TavisTvis ganze seirs uyureben, Tu rogor anadgureben bol Sevicebi social - demokratiisa da gl exebis.-

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom n.xomerikis es gancxadeba sima-rTI es Seesabameboda. metic, zogierTi pol itikuri partia saqarTvel os ukanono da marionetul xel isufl ebasTan TanamSroml obda, misganve Sesabamis dafinansebasac Rebul obda da Zal ismieri gziT emigraciaSi gandevnil i, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis mier arCeul i da damfuZnebel i krebisgan damtkicebul i kanonieri mTavrobis l anZRva- ginebiT iyo garTu- l i. am fonze, gansakuTrebul i ierisi saqarTvel os social - demokrati- ul partiaze miqondaT da bol SevicebTan erTad, mis mimarT yovel gvari saxis sibirZuris srol asac ar Takil obden. amis damadasturebl ad, sa- qarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domaris (n.Jordani as) da wevrebis saxel ze vano qarciვაZis mier wardgenil i moxseneba (1921 wl is 19 noemberi) gamodge- ba. am vrcel dokumentSi dawvril ebITaa saubari `axal i sxivis,~ mema- rcxene social ist- federal iste bis, eserebis, daSnakcuTiunis, erovnul - denmokratebis, didi nawil is sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan TanamSroml o- bis Sesaxeb. gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi erTgul eba rom daemtkicebinaT, `yvel a partiebma- rogorc v.qarcivaZe wers- ierisi so- cial - demokratiaze miitana. maT Tavis viwro partiul i interesebi, eris da samSobl os interesebze maRl a daayenes. an axl a, an arasodes,

fiqrobdnen isini da arafers ar eridebodnen miznis misaRwevad. aseT pirobebSi SeTanxmebaze, saerTo enis gamoZebnaze I aparaki Znel i iyo, magram... am mol aparakebis dros sxivel ebi da nacional - demomkratebi Sexmatkbil ebul i gamodi odnen. maT uazro yoyoCobas da baqi- buqobas sazRvari ar qonda. daSnakel ebi da federal istebic mxars uWerdnen. Tumca am ukanasknel ebs (federal istebs) ufro emCneodaT survil i SeTanxmebisa. magram aqedan araferi gamovi da. mowinaaRmdegeebis ul timatumi, rom 1) mTavroba gamocxaddes daSi il ad; 2) gauqm des damfuZnebel i kreba; 3) Sedges koal iciuri mTavroba, romel Siac umravl esobas isini unda warmoadgendnen; 4) gauqm ebul i iqnas saqarTvel os konstitucia (es moTxovnil eba nacional - demokratebis iyo) da sxva, Cvenebma ra Tqma unda uaryves da Cems iq yofnis dros araviTar axal mol aparakebaze fiqric ar yofil a.~

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans saqarTvel oSi arsebul i pol itikuri partieb is I iderTa ambiciuri pozicia da rac mTavaria, kanondar-Rvevisken nabij is gadadgmis moTxovna. mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis da konstituciis gauqm eba, devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis I egitimaciis dasarul s niSnava. Tuki es ganxorciel deboda, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os marionetul xel isufl ebas moqmedebis farTo asparezi miecemoda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saerTaSoriso konferenciebze gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis warmomadgenel is, sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan wardgenis SesaZl ebl obis faqti. devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavroba Tuki nebayofl obi T moaxdenda Tvi TI ikvidacias, es danaSaul ebrivi qmedeba, okupanti qvey-nisTvis saerTaSoriso arenaze Tavisufl ad moqmedebis da saqarTvel os gasabWoebis samarTI ebrivad gamarTI ebis myar safexurs Seamzadebda. yovel ive zemoaRni Snul is gaTval iswineba daedo safuZvl ad qarTvel i social - demokratebis umkacres pozicias pol itikurad umwifari partieb is warmomadgenl ebisadmi damaxasiaTebel moTxovnebTan mimarTebaSi. mi Tumetes, mimdinare saerTaSoriso pol itikuri procesebi, devnil obaSi myofi mTavrobis wevrTa mxridan aqtiur moqmedebas moiTxovda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saerTaSoriso konferenciebze warmomadgenel is daSvebis mi Rweva da am forumis sabWoTa ruseTis, rogorc dampyobl is samxil ebl ad gamoyeneba. amis misaRwevad brZol is samarTI ebrivi SesaZl ebl obebi mxol od im mTavrobas gaaCnda, roml is Tavmj domared n.Jordania iTvl eboda. sxva gziT `damtkicebul i- mTavrobebi, evropis qveynebis I iderebis mxridan samarTI ebrivi sivrcidan gasul ad iqneboda miCneul i da mis warmomadgenl obas siaxl ovesac ar galkarebdnen. mi Tumetes, am faqts sabWoTa ruseTi xel s CasWi debda da warmatebul ad gamoiyenebda. es garemoeba social ist- federal istebsma droul ad gaacnobieres da principul ad dasves sakiTxi pol itikuri SeTanxmebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas partiaTa SeTanxmebis parizis konferenciis 1922 wl is 1 martis sxdomaze s.mdivnis gamosvl a iqcevs. mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis anal izis fonze, saqarTvel os damouki debl obis misaRwevad, partiaTa SeTanxmebas aucil ebl obad mi iCnevda da am process genuis konferencias ukavSirebda. mis samarTI iani mtki cebiT, genuis konferenciis gaxsnamde partiaTa SeTanxmebas, erTiani pl atformis SemuSavebas da

evropis saxel mwi foebis l iderebis dasanaxad saqarTvel osTan mi marTeba-
Si erTobl ivi gancxadebis gakeTebas, pol itikuri koni unqtura moiTxovda.
am SemTxvevaSi, rogorc smdivani aRniSnavda, partiul interesebze maRI a
erovnul i unda daeyenebinaT da moqmedebis Zi riTadi sadaveebi imave evro-
pis qveynebis mier aRiarebul i saqarTvel os l egitimuri mTavrobisadmi
mmarTvel i pol itikuri partiis social - demokratebisadmi unda daeTmoT.
Tuki am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i nabiji gadaidgmeboda da erovnul -
demokratebi qveynis xval indel i dRis interesebs portfel ebis gadanaw-
il ebas ar gadaayol ebdnen, genuis konferencias qarTul i mxare pol itikurad
konsol idirebul i formiTa da gamorCeul i brZol is unarianobiT Sexvde-
boda.

ramdenadac, genuis konferencia udi des saerTaSoriso donis forumad
iyo moazrebul i, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris saRad moazrovne nawi-
l i am momentis maqsimal urad gamoyenebas da konferenciaze saqarTve-
l os sakiTxis gatanis aucil ebl obas nomer pirvel amocanad mi iCnevda.
dasaxul i mizniTvis warmatebul i brZol a mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxde-
boda SesaZI ebel i Tuki sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os devnil i ka-
nonieri mTavrobis mimarT pol itikur Zal Ta maqsimal ur mxardaWeras
dainaxavda evropis qveynebi. amas eqneboda ara mar to ideol ogi uri, aramed
pol itikuri datvirTvac im Tval sazrisiT, rom saqarTvel os mTavrobis
mesveurT, gabedul i moqmedebisa da gadawyvetil ebebis mi Rebis SesaZI e-
bl obebi mi ecemodaT.

yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os mTa-
vari pol itikuri partiebidan_ social - demokratTa, gaerTianebul i parti-
is (erovnul - demokratebi, erovnul i mi wis mesakuTreTa da radikal - demokra-
tiul i gl exTa partiebi da upartioTa kavSiri) da social ist- federal i-
stTa partiebis l iderebma erTobl ivad SemuSavebul da xel moweriT dada-
sturebul (1922 wl is 6 marti) dekl araciaSi TavianTi pozicia Semdegi fo-
rmiT Camoayal ibes: 1)damouki debel i saqarTvel os saxel iT ucxo saxel m-
wi foebTan mol aparakeba, xel Sekrul ebaTa dadeba da koncesiaTa gacema Se-
uZI ia mxol od damfuZnebel i krebis mier arCeul Jordani as mTavrobas;
2)yovel gvari koncesia da xel Sekrul eba, dadebul i zemoT naCvenebi wesis
darRveviT ruseTis saokupacio mTavrobis mier, qarTvel i xal xisatvis sava-
l debul o ar aris da yovel ive mniSvnel obas mokl ebul ia; 3)sabWoTa ruse-
Ti Tavs daesxa saqarTvel os da iq Tavisi saokupacio reJimi daawesa, romel ic
dRemdis grZel deba. aseTi aqti ruseTisa, srul iad ewinaaRmdegeba im debu-
l ebas, romel ic kanis rezol uciis meeqvse muxl Si aris aRniSnul i da ro-
mel ic did saxel mwi foTa dadgenil ebiT saval debul oa mezobel i saxel m-
wi foTa urTierTobaSi. mTel i qarTvel i xal xis saxel iT Cven moviTxovT
saqarTvel odan ruseTis j aris gayvanas da okupaciis gauqmebas, rasac bune-
brivaT moyveba respubl ikis konstytucii s mier dawesebul i kanonieri reJi-
mis aRdgena; 4)Tu es samarTI iani moTxovnil eba ar iqneba dakmayofil ebu-
l i mSvidobiani gziT, arsebul i saerTaSoriso ufl ebriv normaTa Tanaxmad,
qarTvel i xal xi iZul ebul i gaxdeba mimarTos brZol is yovel gvar saSua-
l ebebs kanonieri saxel mwi foebri v ufl ebaTa aRsadgenad, ruseTis saokupa-
cio mmarTvel obisa da ukanasknel is mosal odnel kontragentTa mier qvey-
nis bunebriv simdidreTa gafi angvis Tavidan asacil ebl ad.- am dokume-

ntis samarTl ebrivi Zal a da mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi gamokveTil i formiTaa dadasturebul i saqarTvel os pol itikuri partieb- is damokidebul eba sabWoTa ruseTis kol oniuri pol itikisadmi. meore mxriv, am aqtiT dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebis miani Snas, rom saqarTvel os pol itikuri speqtri mxarSi udgas okupantebis mier qveyndan gaZevebul kanon- ier xel isufl ebas da misi xel mZRvanel obiT saqarTvel os deokupaciande ibrZol eben dampyrobTa winaaRmdeg. samarTl ebrivi Tval sazrisiT, kidev ufro did datvirTvas atarebda pol itikur partiaTa 1922 wl is 6 martis parizis konferenciaze miRebul i erTobl ivi `mimarTva qarTvel i xal xisa- dmi.- am dokumentSi xazgasmiT iyo miniSnebul i, rom `Cven sami mTavari par- tiis warmomadgenel ni gaverTiandiT saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis dro- Sis qveS. Cven kargad viciT, rom es aris droSa mTel i saqarTvel osi da rom mTel i qarTvel i xal xi dairazmeba am droSis irgvl iv, raTa Seqmnas mTI iani saqarTvel os ganmaTavisufl ebel i Zl evamosil i l aSqari.-

aRni Snul faqts egegeWkorma maRal i Sefaseba mi sca da iqve dasZina: `dRevan- del konferencias me gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas vaZl ev, radgan aqedan iwyeba Cveni gaerTianebul i frontis amoqmedeba.- egegeWkorus es gancxade- ba im real obidan gamomdinareobda, romel sac ruseTis saokupacio Zal ebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i pol itikuri speqtris mxridan, erTobl ivi moqmedebis safexuris Sesamzadebl ad survil is gamoTqma edo safuZvl ad. **mi Tumetes,** saqarTvel os wamyvani pol itikuri Zal ebi, qveynis damoukidebl obis aRd- genis misaRwevad, interpartiul i koal iciis Seqmnaze acxadebdnen Tanx- mobas. maTi es pozicia, parizis interpartiul i konferenciis 1922 wl is 9 martis sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil ebiT iqna dadasturebul i. momx- dari faqti, udidesi pol itikuri mniSvnel obis movl enas warmoadgenda im Tval sazrisiT, rom evropaSi mimdinare urTul esi pol itikuri pro- cesebis fonze, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris erT rgol ad Sekvra da erTobl ivi Zal ebiT sabWouri imperiul i pol itikisadmi dapi rispireba, evropis qveynebis l iderebis mxridan saqarTvel osTvis mxardaWeris mi zni T, xel CasaWid argumentad SeiZl eba gadaqceul iyo. amas im etapze gansakuTre- bul i pol itikuri datvirTva eZl eoda, mi Tumetes, rogorc zemoTac mqon- da aRni Snul i, genuis konferencia axl ovdeboda da masSi monawil e qvey- nebis mxridan saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi poziciebis winaswar SemuSaveba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. Tuki es ganxorciel deboda, saqarTvel os devnil i xel isufl eba politikurad momgebian poziciaSi aRmoCndeboda. swored aRni Snul i faqtori qonda mxedvel obaSi stambol is pol itikuri komisiis 1922 wl is 10 april is sxdomas, romel mac partiaTa Soris SeTa- nxmebis dadgenil ebis gamoqveynebis Sesaxeb sagangebod rom imsj el a. imave sxdomaze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `gamoqveyndes `Tavisufal saqarTvel oSi- partiaTa mowodeba qarTvel i xal xisadmi, agreTve ecnobos ucxo saxel mwi foTa warmomadgenl ebs **partiaTa Soris SeTanxmebis Sesax- eb,** rac Seexeba frangul gazeTebSi gamoqveynebas, es ecnobos parizs.-

saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom pol itikur partiaTa SeTanxmebis Se- saxeb, zemoaRni Snul erTobl iv dekl araciaSi Camoyal ibebul i ZiriTadi debul ebebi, Sesabamisi xel Sekrul ebis teqstiT iqna dadasturebul i. ana- l ogiuri saxis xel Sekrul eba gaformda saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmed xuT pol itikur partias Soris (social - demokratebi, gaerTianebul i ero-

vnul - demokratebi, social ist- federal istebi, social ist- revol ucio- nerebi, damouki debel i social - demokratebi `sxivel ebi-) am faqtTan dakav- Si rebi T, `damouki debel obis komi tetis- Tavmj domaris saxel iT g.faRavas mier, saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domaris- n.Jordaniasadmi 1922 wl is 5 mais gagzvnil weril Si xazgasmiTaa miuTitebul i: `xangrZl ivi mol apar- akebis Semdeg, saqarTvel os yvel a pol itikurma partiebma mi aRwies mimdi- nare wl is april Si saerTo SeTanxmebas. SeTanxmeba damyarebul ia erTis mxriT sayovel Taod cnobil aucil ebl obaze imis Sesaxeb, rom damouki de- bl obis aRsadgenad saWi roa qarTvel i xal xis pol itikuri aqtivobis gaer- Tianeba, xol o meore mxriv Sei cavs im saurTierTo pol itikur daTmobaTa aRnusxvas, romel ic Sesazl oT xdi an pol itikur partiaTa moqmedebis koor- dinacias... am SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze ukve Sesdga **saqar Tvel os damouki de- bl obis komi teti**, roml is dani Snul ebasac Seadgens saerTo xel mZRvanel oba gauwios mTel muSaobas, mimarTul s respubl ikis damouki debel obis aRd- geni saken... **saqarTvel os damouki debel obis komi teti darwmunebul ia**, rom damouki debel obis aRdgena ar Sei Zl eba moxdes Tvi T qarTvel i xal xis pol i- tikuri aqtivobis gareSe, romel ic unda ganvi Tardes saerTaSoriso pol i- tikuri procesebis mi xedvi T... **damouki debel obis komi tets** ganzraxul i aqvs dai Wiros TqvenTan mWidro da uSual o kavSiri, raTa SeTanxmebul i mo- qmedebi T gaZl ierebul i iqnes saerTo mi znisken mimarTul i mecadineobis efeqti, raTa kontaqti saqarTvel os mTavrobis da damouki debel obis komi- tets Soris mtkice ni adagze iqnas damyarebul i. damouki debel obis komi- tets gadawyvetil i aqvs daawesos sagangebo sakontaqto warmomadgenl oba, romel sac pirdapir urTierToba eqneba TqvenTanac da damouki debel obis komi tetTanac. personal uri Semadgenl oba am komi tetisa gecnobebaT dam- atebi T. gigzavni T amasTan erTad am partiaTa Soris dadebul i xel Sek- rul ebis pirs cnobisTvis da saxel mZRvanel od.-

Cems mier zemoT motanil i amonaweris gansakuTrebul i Rirebul eba ima- Si mdgomareobs, rom igi or umni Svnel ovanes faqts adasturebs: **1) saqarTvel o- Si aral egarul ad moqmed partiaTa Soris SeTanxmebis gaformebas da 2) `saqarTvel os damouki debel obis komi tetis- 1922 wl is april is TveSi Seqmnas.** 1922 wl is 5 maisiT da Tari Rebul am weril Si, g.faRava, saqarTvel os damouki debel obis komi tetis Seqmnis dadasturebasTan erTad, imave komi te- tis wevrTa saxel iT acxadebs: **`saqarTvel os damouki debel obis komi teti darwmunebul ia-** da a.S. es imas ni Snavs, rom im momentisaTvis saqarTvel os damouki debel obis komi teti samarTl ebri vad arsebobda. **am faqtis si swores kidev ufro amyarebs:** a) **damouki debel obis komi tetis- Tavmj domaris g.faRavas da imave komi tetis mdi vanis ij avaxi Svil is xel moweriT, saqarTve- l os mTavrobis admi 1922 wl is ivnisis bol o ricxvebSi gagzavnil i weri- l i.** am dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `rogorc ici T, damouki debel obis komi- teti april is ukanasknel ricxvebSi Seudga saqarTvel oSi pol itikuri moqmedebis saerTo xel mZRvanel obas. es muSaoba metad farTo saorga- nizacio da sxvagvari saxis saqmi anobasac gul isxmobs.- b) imave saki TxT- an dakavSi rebi T, k.Cxei Zis, e.Tayal Svil is, b.Cxi kvi Svil is da gr.veSapel is mier 1922 wl is ivnisSi mTavrobis admi gagzavnil erTobl iv weril Si vki Txul obT: `amave wl is april Si, sanam parizis SeTanxmebis teqsts saqarTvel oSi moqmedi pol itikuri partiebi gaecnobodnen, maT mi iRes

interpartiul i SeTanxmehis sxva safuZvel i da daarses saq. `damouki debl obis komiteti,~ romel mac Tavidanve gaiTval iswina aucil ebl oba evropasi interpartiul i warmomadgenl obisa, rac 1922 wl is 5 maisis TariRiT mTavrobis saxel ze mosul i pirvel momarTvaSive aris moxsenebul i.~ xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom saqarTvel os damouki debl obis komitetis Tavmj domaris (g.faRava) da misi mdivanis (i.j anel iZe, i.j avaxiSvil i), damfuZnebel i krebis Tavmj domaris (k.CxeiZe), misi moadgil is (e.TayaiSvil i) da pol itikuri partieb is ori warmomadgenel is (b.CxikviSvil i da gr.veSapel i) mier xel oweriT dadasturebul dokumentSi, damouki debl obis komitetis Seqmnis TariRad 1922 wl is april is dasaxel eba, utyuar mtkicebul ebas warmoadgens. yovel ive aRni Snul is gaTval - iswinebi dan gamomdinare, `saqarTvel os damouki debl obis komitetis- Seqmnis konkretul i drois_ 1922 wl is april idan imave wl is agvistoSi gadatanis l j iqiaseul i mcdel oba sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba.¹⁶ mi Tumetes, misi mier damowmebul i dokumenti, sasamarTl os 1925 wl is 5 agvistos ganaCens warmoadgens, romel ic `cekas- j urRmul ebSi 1924- 1925 wl ebSi dakiTxul i adami anebis Cvenebebi dan aRebul faqtebs emyareba. mi sgan gansxvavebi T, Cems mier damowmebul i saarqivo masal ebi, 1922 wl is 5 maisiT da ivni siTaa da TariRebul i. misi avtorebi arian `damouki debl obis komitetis- Tavmj domare g.faRava da komitetis mdivani (pirvel i weril is) i.j anel iZe. meore weril is ise v g.faRava da i.j avaxiSvil i, xol o mesame weril is avtorebi k.CxeiZe, e.TayaiSvil i, b.CxikviSvil i da gr.veSapel i. es dokumentebi, CamoTvl il i pirovnebebis xel moweriTaa dadasturebul i. rac Seexeba uSual od saqarTvel os pol itikur partiaTa Soris SeTanxmehis Sedegad gaformebul xel Sekrul ebas, amj erad mis srul teqsts SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazogadoebas.

`xel Sekrul eba. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebi sa da misi damouki debl obis aRdgenis mizni T, saqarTvel os pol itikuri partiebi: social - demokratiul i, gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratiul i, social ist- federal istTa, social ist- revol ucionerTa da damouki debl social - demokratiul i, - vsdebT Semdeg xel Sekrul ebas: 1.daarsdes: `saqarTvel os damouki debl obis komiteti- aRni Snul partiaTa TiTo warmomadgenel isgan. komitets daeval os gaerTianeba da saerTo xel mZRvanel oba saqarvel os gasanTavisufl ebl ad mimarTul i mTel i muSaobisa. **Seni Svna:** komitetSi yvel a sakiTxi wydeba SeTanxmehi T. 2.saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis ucxoETSi myofi kanonieri mTavroba ganagrZobs Tavis muSaobas mimarTul s damouki debl obis aRdgenisaken. 3.damouki debl obis komiteti mxars uWers mTavrobis am muSaobas, mTavroba ki Tavis mxriv ar sdgams mniSvel ovan pol itikur, axali urTierTobis Semqmnel nabij s damouki debl obis komitetis dadasturebl ad. 4.mTavroba val debul ia miawodos nivTier i saSual ebani mxol od damouki debl obis komitets erovnul i muSaobis sawarmoebul ad im qonebi dan da Tanxebidan, romel ic saqarTvel os respublikas ekuTvnis, an roml is gamo respublika pasuxismgebel ia. **Seni Svna:** mTavrobasa da damouki debl obis komitets Soris arseobs urTierT finansuri angariS- val debul eba da kontrol i. 5.gardamaval xanaSi, mTavrobis funqciebis asrul eba miendos droebi T mmarTvel obas, romel sac Seadgens damouki debl obis komiteti koal iciis safuZvel ze, yvel a SeTanxmehul partiaTa warmomadgenel Ta-

gan im aucil ebel is pirobiT, rom arcerT partias mmarTvel obaSi erT me-
 samedze meti adgil i ar qondes. 6.droebiTi mmarTvel oba demokratiul re-
 spubl i kas da mis konsti tucias aRdgenil ad acxadebs. 7.adgil obrivi xel i-
 sufl ebis (TviTmmarTvel obis) organoebi ewyobi an droebiT mmarTvel obis
 principi T da proporci iT. ganapira kuTxebsi (afxazeTSi ,baTumsa da mis
 ol qSi, borCal os da axal cixe- axal qal aqis mazrebSi) xel isufl ebis Seqm-
 nis sakiTxi rCeba Ri ad da gadawydeba droebiTi mmarTvel obis mier. **Seni S-
 vna:** droebiT mmarTvel obas ufl eba aqvs gamosces gansakuTrebul i dadge-
 nil eba saerTod adgil obrivi xel isufl ebis Sedgenis Sesaxeb. 8.damfuZne-
 bel i kreba ikri beba pirvel i SemTxvevisTanave da adasturebs droebiT mma-
 rTvel obas. 9.mTavroba Camosvl isTanave warudgeba damfuZnebel krebas mo-
 xsenebiT da gadadgeba. aseve moi qceva da amave dros gadadgeba droebiTi
 mmarTvel oba. amis Semdeg damfuZnebel i kreba adgens koal iciur mTavrobas
 imave principi T, rogorc droebiTi mmarTvel oba. 10.damfuZnebel i kreba
 uxnis kredi ts mTavrobas, imuSavebs kanons erTiani samxedro sistemi s Se-
 saxeb, irCevs sagangebo sagamomZiebl o paritetul komisi as saqarTvel os
 damarcxebis mi zezebis gamosarkvevad, irCevs saarCevno paritetul komi tets
 da iSl eba. **Seni Svna:** damfuZnebel i kreba gaarCevs sxva sakiTxesac, Tu amis
 Sesaxeb special uri SeTanxmeba iqneba parti aTa Soris. 11.ara uadres ori
 Tvisa, damfuZnebel i krebis daSl is Semdeg, an araugvianes oTxi Tvisa xdeba
 saqarTvel os parl amentis arCeva.-

am dokumentis mixedvi T Tu vi msj el ebT, saqarTvel os pol itikurma parti-
 ebma, wi naaRmdegobrivi barieri daZl ies da TiTqmis yvel a umni Svel ovanes
 pol itikur sakiTxze SeTanxmebas mi aRwies. momxdari faqti T, saokupacio
 xel isufl ebis wi naaRmdeg brZol is erTiani gegmis SemuSavebis myari safexuri
 iqna momzadebul i.

amrigad, 1)saqarTvel os revkomi s 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl is dekreti #1-
 iT, qveynis damouki debl obis SesanarCunebl ad mebrZol i pol itikuri
 Zal ebis saqmi anobis `borot moRvaweobad- gamocxadeba, pol itikuri parti-
 ebis l iderTa ideol ogi urad gani araRebaze da sabWoTa xel isufl eba-
 sTan TanamSroml obisTvis iZul ebiTi kursis aRebaze iyo gaTvl il i.
 emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis samomavl od moqme-
 debis gegmis (erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZral bisadmi xel mZRv-
 anel oba da saqarTvel os okupaciasTan dakavSi rebi T sabWouri propaga-
 ndisadmi dapi rispi reba) gasaj aroebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1921 wl is
 april Si gakeTebul i gancxadebi T daedo safuZvel i. am faqti T, saqarTve-
 l os devnil ma xel isufl ebam, dampyrobel i qveynisadmi qarTvel i eris
 Seurigebl obis pol itikuri mesiji gaugzavna saerTaSoriso sazoga-
 doebas.

baTumis interpartiul i komisi is mier dasmul i sakiTxi_ pol itikur
 Zal Ta konsol idaci isa da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis miRebis aucil e-
 bl obis Sesaxeb, im etapze evropaSi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebisa
 da saqarTvel oSi arsebul i sinamdvil is siRrmi seul anal izs efuZnebo-
 da.

2)qarTul i social - demokrati is l iderTa moTxovna_ qveynis deokupa-
 cia dadeboda safuZvl ad pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTianebas, swori debul -
 eba iyo da arsebul i situacias im etapze srul ad Seesabameboda.

erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mxridan saqarTvel os devnil i kanonieri mTavrobisadmi undobl obis gamocxadeba, misi Semadgenl obis Secvli isa da koal iciuri mTavrobis Seqmnis moTxovna, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis konstituciis # 46, 47, 67, 68 muxl ebi s darRvevasTan erTad, pol itikur Secdomas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, evropis saxel mwi foTa Sesabamisi uwebebi, emigraciaSi myofi qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris gadawyvetil ebebiT gansazRvavda saqarTvel os devnil mTavrobasTan TanamSroml obis SesaZl ebl obas. ramdenadac saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavroba, qarTvel i xal xis erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis liderisa da despanis funqciis Semsrul ebel s warmoadgenda evropaSi, nebismieri pol itikuri moRvawe misi reitingis maqsimal urad gazrdas unda cdil iyo. amis aucil ebl obas, im etapze ucxo Zal isgan okupirebul i saqarTvel os pol itikuri interesebi moiTxovda.

3)genuis saerTasoris konferenciis muSaobis dawyebamde, emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os pol itikuri partiebis (social - demokratebi, erovnul - demokratebi, social ist- federal istebi) gaerTianebis faqtis erTobl ivi dekl araci iT (1922 wl is 6 marti) da interpartiul i konferenciis sxdomaze (1922 wl is 9 marti) miRebul i dadgenil ebiT dadastureba, pol itikurad wingadadgmul nabij s warmoadgenda. am gadawyvetil ebiT, qarTul - ma emigraciul ma pol itikurma speqtrma, saqarTvel os devnil kanonier xel isufli ebas, genuis konferenciis monawil e saxel mwi foebis liderebTan Tavisufal i urTierTobisaTvis samarTl ebriv bazisze dafuZnebul i moqmedebis SesaZl ebl oba SeunarCuna.

Tavi II. sabWoTa ruseTis saokupaci o reJi mi s wi naaRmdeg brZol is pirvel i safexuris gakveTil ebi (1921- 1922 ww.)

saqarTvel os Zal datanebiTi gasabWoebis Semdeg, evropasi gaxiznul ma da saqarTvel oSi darCenil ma pol itikuri partieb is umetesobam, eris gadarCenis erTaderTgzad, dampyrob el Tan mimarTebaSi Seurigebel i brZol a mi iCnia. dasaxul i amocanis ganxorciel ebis real ur saSual ebad, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foTa Tanadgoma iqna aRiarebul i. im etapze mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis siRmiseul i anal izidan gamomdinare, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris didi nawil i kargad acnobierebda im sirTul eeb s, romel ic evropis saxel mwi foTa l idereb is yuradReb is centrSi saqarTvel os sakiTxis moqcevas ukavSirdeboda. am mimarTul ebi T warmatebul i nabj is erT- erT pi robad saerTaSoriso konferencieb is gamoyeneba iqna mi Cneul i. am forumbSi aqtiuri monawil eoba da dasavl eT evropis qveynebi sadmi ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel os okupaci is faqtis oficial urad Sexsenebas, im etapze gansakuTrebul i pol itikuri datvirTva hqonda. mi Tumetes, dasavl eT evropis zogierTi maRal Cinosani, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi 1921 wl is Teberval - martSi momxdarze Segnebul ad xuWavda Tval s da okupaci is Sesaxeb gancxadebebs pirvel ad gagonil ad aRiqvamda. amas xel s isic uwyobda, rom sbWoTa propaganda da mis mier daqiravebul i evropel i agentura, saqarTvel os gasabWoeb is gamarTl eb is mi zni T Zal Ronesar i Survebda. aucil ebl oba adeqvaturi RonisZiebeb is gatarebas da evropasi sapropagando ideol ogiuri omis mogebas moiTxovda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul xel Sewyobas evropis social isturi presa iCenda. martal ia, masSi gamoqveynebul publ ikacieb s gansakuTrebul i datvirTva hqonda, magram saerTaSoriso konferencieb is da kongreseb is maRal i tribunidan naTqvasi tyvas da Sesabamis rezol uci as, evropis pol itikur wreebSi yvel aze metad uwevdnen angariSs. aRni Snul is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri nebi smieri SesaZl ebl obeb is maqsimal urad gamoyenebas cdil obda. am mxriv, Cemi yuradReba damouki debel i social - demokratiul i muSaTa parti is 1922 wl is 8 ianvris l aifcigis kongresma mi iqcia. am RonisZiebasTan dakavSirebi T n.rami Svil is mier parizisa da stambol is pol itkomisi eb isadmi berl ini dan gamogzavn il i sainformacio weril idan irkveva, rom sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os okupaci asTan mimarTebaSi, kongresma mkacri rezol ucia mi iRo. am dokumentze dayrdnobi T, saqarTvel os umZimesi mdgomareob is evropis sazogadoeb is wi naSe ukeT warmocenis mi zni T, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrob is mesveurebma, erTa l igis meeqvse yril ob is dRis wesrigSi saqarTvel os sakiTxis Setani saTvis maqsimal uri Zal isxmeva Cades. amis udao dadasturebas, erTa l igis VI yril ob is VIII sxdomis (1922 wl is 20 seqtemberi) stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. igi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imiTac iqcevs, rom am organizaci is wevrma 9 saxel mwifos warmomadgenel ma, j er kidev 1920 wl is 16 dekembers, organizaci aSi saqarTvel os armiRebas misca xma. aqedan gamomdinare, am forumSi monawil e saxel mwi foeb is saqarTvel osadmi damokidebul eba gansakuTrebul interest iZens. saqarTvel os erTa l igaSi Tav is droze armiReba, Tuki ruseTis faqtor iT da ingl isis warmo-

madgenel Ta poziciit iyo ganpirobetul i, momxdari faqtidan 21 Tvis gasvl is Semdeg, erTaA l igis 1922 wl is 20 seqtembris monawil e del e gatebi, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi konkretul i da mkveTri rezol uci is miRebas imave garemoebebiT gaurboda. amis damadasturebl ad debriukeris mier warmodgenil i rezol uciis teqstisadmi sesiis umrav l esobis kritikul i damokidebul eba gamodgeba. am mimarTul ebiT gan sakuTrebiT robert sesil i da fiSeri gamoirCeodnen. maTi `mtkicebiT, rezol uciis teqsti unda Secvl il iyo `im mosazrebiT, rom SeuZl ebel i iqneboda erTa l igisTvis iseTi rezol uciis miReba, romel ic Seicavs xifaTs pol itikuri an samxedro moqmedebebisas... aseTi redaqlia Sei Zl eba gaisinj os rogorc provokacia ruseTis mTavrobis mimarT da misi Sedegi ufro mZime mdgomareobas Seqmnis saqarTvel oSi.~ am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom erTa l igis wevri evropis qveynebis warmomadgen l ebi, saqarTvel oze garegnul ad `zrunvis~ motivaciit, isev pol itikuri meZavis kurss adga da ruseTTan konfrontaciaze wasvl as ar apirebda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os Sesaxeb rezol uciis iseTi teqstis SemuSavebis sakiTxs ayenebdnen, romel Sic qarTvel i erisadmi mxol od moral uri mxardaWera iqneboda warmodgenil i. amasTan dakavSirebiT robert sesil i Tavis gamosvl aSi xazgasmiT miuTiTebda. misi mtkicebiT, erTa l igis mier SemuSavebul i rezol ucia Seicavda saqarTvel osadmi `ara mar to dapi rebas, aramed rCevasac... samarTals romel sac iTxovT dadgeba erT dRes_ ecadeT Tavi SeikavoT sasowarkvetil ebis gadawyvetil ebisagan. naCqarevi da Zal umi moZraoba migiyvanT mxol od ufro did gaWirvebamde. eca deT Tavi SeikavoT, ecadeT gul Si SeinaxoT is cecxli, romel ic giRviviT Tavisufl ebisatvis. rwmena iqoniet mocdaSi. da Tu am si tyvebs moigonebs vinme, Cveni rezol ucia garda momaval i Sedegebi sa, dResve iqonieb s uSual o Sedegs. igi moitans cotaoden simSvides da daaSoSminebs cotaoden xal xs. Cven ukve did saqmes gavakeTebT, Tu erT adgil s bevritgan avacil ebT sisxl is Rvras.~¹

Cems mier motanil i am amonaweris da erTa l igis VI yril obis VIII sxdomaze saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi miRebul i rezol uciis zogadi da zedapirul i frazebiT datvirTul i teqstidan gamomdinare, principi ad ismeba kiTxva: saqarTvel oSi dawyebul erovnul - ganmatavisu fl ebel moZraobas, saWiroebis SemTxvevaSi evropis saxel mwi foebi fu l iTa da iaraRis miwodebiT gauwevda Tu ara daxmarebas. gabedul i po l itikuri qmedebiT, daupirispird eboda Tu ara okupant qveyanas_ sabWo Ta ruseTs. arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis anal izidan ga momdinare Tuki vimsjel ebT, zemoarNiSnul i urTul esi sakiTxis gadawyve ta da pragmatul i saxis gabedul i nabij is gadadgma, evropis qveynebis mx ridan saeWvo xdeboda. arada, sabWota imperial izmisadmi dasapirispire bl ad da monobis uRl is mosacil ebl ad, saqarTvel os erovnul i Zal ebisad mi ful iT da iaraRiT daxmareba pirvel i rigis amocanas warmoadgenda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, stambol is pol itikuri komisiis social - demokra tiul i fraqciis 1922 wl is 21 Tebervl is sxdomaze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `mi eweros parizs, rom an pirdapir gagzavnos rumi neTSi kaci iaraRis Sesaxeb, anda mi andon es saqme aqaur warmomadgenel s, raTa man nabi j i gadadgas ramdenime aTasi Tofis SesaZenad.~ aseTi saxis dadgenil ebis

mi uxedavad, gaurkvevel i rCeba, Tu ra formebsi unda momxdariyo rumi neTsi i araRis SeZena, ramdenad vargisi ani iqneboda igi da rac mTavaria, emigra- ciaSi myof saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas gaaCnda Tu ara im etapze aRni Snul i i araRis SesaZeni finansuri saSual ebebi. Cems xel Tarsebul i masal eb- is mi xedvi T, saqarTvel oSi momqmedi aral egarul i antisabWouri organiza- ciebi da pol itpartiebi uful obas gani cdi da. amis erT- erT dadasture- bas madoneris (n.xomeriki) fsevdonimi T ganibal isadmi (al .zaqariaZe) gag- zavnil veril Si (1922 w.) uful obaze, informaci is mimwodebl isadmi ful is vergadaxdaze, organi zaci ebi s muSaobis gafarToebisaTvis ful is saWi roe- baze da a.S. iyo saubari. mi Tumetes, antisabWouri gamosvl ebis mosawyobad da misi Semdgomi xel mZRvanel obis gasawevad, Sesabamisi financebi aucil e- bl obas war moadgenda. amis Sesaxeb social - demokratiul i partiis cekas prezidiumis mier 1922 wl is 25 marts parizSi gagzavnil veril Si xazgas- mi T iyo mi TiTebul i. am dokumentis mi xedvi T, Tuki ruseTsi anarqia dai wye- boda da saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis gasaRr- mavebl ad xel sayrel i pi robebi Sei qmneboda, am momenti saTvis social - demo- kratiul i partiis central uri komi teti, saqarTvel os mTavrobi sgan dafi- nansebis saki TxTan mi mar TebaSi wi naswari Tadarigis da Wer as moi Txovda. `rac umTavresia- vki Txul obT dokumentSi-... i ara Ri, tansacmel i, puri stam- bol Si magrad unda iyos, Tu es gar Tul eba moxda, maSin aRni Snul i saWi roe- bani unda mi vi RoT saswrafod, vi nai dan uami sod yovel ive gamosvl a damar- cxebi T damTavr deba. Tqven ici T, rom CvenSi saSi nel i Si mSil ia da upurod vercerT razms ver Sevi naxavT. is amxanagebi, romel nic aqeT (saqarTvel oSi S.v.) wamosvl as api reben, i muSaveben maq maragi saTvis da saWi ro dros mov- l en i ara Ri T da sxva daxmarebi T.- dasmul i saki Txis (i ara Ri, puri, tansacme- l i) mogvarebis erT- erT wyarod aRni Snul veril Si stambol ia dasaxel e- bul i, magram, warsul is mware gamocdil ebi dan (1921 wl is marti) dadastu- rebul i iyo: 1) stambol is sawyobebSi vrangel is naqoni uvargisi i ara Ri ina- xeboda; 2) moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis da yarsis 1921 wl is 13 oqtombris xe- l Sekrul ebis gaTval iswinebi T, osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTis `mokavSi red- iTvl eboda. aqedan gamomdinare, osmal eTi dan antisabWouri aj anyebi saTvis saqarTvel oSi saWi ro raodenobi T i araRis Semotana gamoricxul i iyo. mi- Tumetes, yovel gvarebi saxis i araRis saqarTvel oSi Semotana Ziri Tadad aWaris regionidan unda momxdariyo. am SesaZl ebl obebis maqsimal urad Semci rebis mizni T, sabWoTa uSi Sroebam, qar Tul i saxel mwi fosTvis ma- vnebl uri nabij i gadadga. qristiani da musul imani qarTvel ebis urTie- rTdapi ri spi rebas Seecada da am mi mar Tul ebi T Sesabamisi propagandis- tul i saqmi anobac gaswia. mosal odnel i umZimesi Sedegebis acil ebis mi- zni T, saqarTvel os gadarCeni saTvis mebrZol i pol itikuri Zal ebis mxridan Sesabamisi reagireba droul ad iqna gakeTebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mu- sl imani qarTvel ebisadmi saqarTvel os damouki debl obis komi tetis saga- ngebo mi marTva. am dokumentSi dasabuTebul ia: 1) sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mxridan `samusl imano saqarTvel oSi- meCeTebis darbevis faqtis, qristi- ani qarTvel ebisadmi gadabral eba, bol Seviki agitatorebis mier iyo mo- goni l i da qarTvel Ta Si da dapi ri spi rebas isaxavda mi znad; 2) i mave do- kumentSi xazgasmiT iyo mi TiTebul i, rom saqristiano da `samusl imano saqarTvel o,- rusebis mier iyo dapyrobi l i da qarTvel i eris amocanas,

misi saqarTvel odan gandejna warmoadgenda. dasaxul i miznis warmatebiT ganxorciel eba, mxol od qristiani da musl imani qarTvel ebis mxardamxar brZol iT iqneboda SesaZl ebel i. `saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis komiteti- vkiTxul obT mimarTvaSi- mogiwodebs Tqven ifiqroT ara qveynis mitovebasa da ucxoETSi gadasaxl ebaze, sadac udi desi gaWirveba da siRatake mogel iT, aramed imaze, rom Tqven ZmebTan qristian qarTvel ebTan erTad saerTo mteri- rusebi, romel Tagan Tqven kuTxes ara erTi da ori aoxreba ganucdia- es mteri davamarcxoT da Cveni qveynis patroni TviTonve gavxdeT. Svel a am Cvens erTobaSia. Tqvenc Sehkar iT organizaciebi, daawyveT mebrZol Tarigebi, rom saWiroebis dros daundobel mters sasi kvdi- l o l axvari CasceT gul Si. Sors ar aris is dro, roca saqarTvel os miwawyal ze Tavisufl ebis mze kvl av amobrwyindeba, maSin samusl imano saqarTvel os eqneba Tavisufl TviTmmarTvel oba da aravin SebRal avsimis adaT- Cvevebasa da sarwmunoebas.- am amonawerSi dasmul i ZiriTadi debul ebebi, ideol ogiurTan erTad pol itikur datvirTvasac atarebda. igi aWaris mosaxl eobas garkveviT mi aniSnebda, rom is RonisZiebebi romel ic aWaris regionSi tardeboda, musl iman qarTvel Ta interesebis sawinaaRmdego qmedebas Seicavda da okupanti qveynis winaswari gegmis erT- erT Semadgenel nawil s warmoadgenda. dampyrobli is SesaCerebl ad da regionis gadasarCenad, sabWouri diqtatisadmi adgil obriv moxel eebSi Seurigebl obis muxtis gaRvivebas, igive mimarTva pirvel xarisxovan amocanad mi iCnevda. es sakiTxi, Sedar- ebiT ufrosrul yofil i formiT, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis central uri komitetis mowodebaSi iyo warmodgenil i. `kaniT wiTel i da gul iT Savi ruseTi_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ miznaT isaxavs Cvens mospobas da amitom erTaderTi gza qarTvel i xal xis gadarCenis aris da iqneba brZol isa da ganTavisufl ebis gza. amitom, mtrebis gaafTebul banditizms, mis jal aTur gaborotebas, qarTvel ma xal xma, rogorc erTma kacma unda upasuxos Tavisufl ebis udi desi darazmviT. brZol is energiis gaorkecebiT da tiranebis mimarT im wmindasiZul vil iT, romel ic amsvrevis monobis borkil s da aTavisufl ebs xal xs. arcerTi qarTvel i am brZol is gareSe ar unda dadges. qarTvel i xal xis axl andel ma mdgomareobam unda Caafiqros TviT iseTi qarTvel i komunistebic ki, roml ebsac gul wrefel ad swamdaT rusul i komunistis sikeTe, magram, romel Tac dResac ar Seuzl iaT am komunistis samosel Si ar dai naxon usaSinl esi reaqcia da gaSiSvl ebul i vel i korosiul i kaciWamia nacional izmi. hkiTxon Tavis sindiss, visac aseTi ki dev SemorCa. gana imisTvis i brZodnen, rom rusis sal daTs damonebina qarTvel i xal xi, aekl o qarTvel i gl exis saxl kari da yvel a gza- j varedinze saxrCobel a aRemarTa?~

marTalia, aqsrul adaa gaSiSvl ebul i sabWoTaxel isufl ebis mesveur- Ta mier qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i RonisZiebebi da eris gadarCenis erTaderT gza, dampyrobli is winaaRmdeg Seurigebel i brZol is aucil ebl oba miCneuli, magram, saqarTvel oSi Seqmnili pol itikuri situacia, survil sa da SesaZl ebl obebs erTmaneTisgan mkveTrad mij navda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs im finansuri bazis safexuris ararseboba, romel sac erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebel i brZol is momzadeba da misi Semdgomi msvl el oba unda damyareboda. Tumca, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobaSi okupantisadmi daumorCil ebl obis da protestis muxti maRal i iyo. amis da-

dasturebas Tbilisi, qutaisi, batumi, fotsi, zestafoni, ozurgetsi da sxva qal aqebSi gamartuli moswavi axal gazrdobis msvidobiani samgl oviaro msvl el obebi warmoadgenda.² anal ogiuri saxis saprotesto gamosvl ebi moawyo sportul ma organizacia `Sevardeni--s wevrebmac.

saqartvel os mosaxl eobis msvidobianma antisabwourma gamosvl ebma gansakutrebuli masobrivi xasiaTi 1922 wl is 24- 26 maiss miRo. igi imdenad masstaburi iyo, rom man, arsebul i xel isufl eba daafRTxo da qarTvel i eris Tavisufl ebisaken swrafva zearmatebul formebsi gamoavl ina. im uamravi dokumenturi masal ebidan, roml ebic aRniSnul movl e-nebs exeba, gansakutrebuli yuradRebas ganibal isadmi (al .zaqariaZe) muradxanis fsevdonimiT 1922 wl is 22 ivni ss saqartvel odan gagzavnili werili iqcevs. `maisis amebma- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- Tavisufl kval i datova rogorc qarTvel i xal xis ise amierkavkasiis xal xis cxovrebaSi. man daamtka qarTvel i xal xis gadawyvetileba, misi neba; ki devmaRli aswia fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobil eba da mteri gaamartova. maisis dReebma daafiqra ruseTic. maisis dReebi iyo erTi mTliani gamoxatul ebis fronti... 26 maisis dRe aerTianebs aramarto qarTvel ebs, aramed saqartvel os xal xs.- swored aRniSnuli garemebiT iyo ganpirobebuli is umkacresi represiebi, romelic sabwourma xel isufl ebam ganaxoeciel a msvidobiani msvl el obis monawile demonstratebTan mimarTebsi. aRniSnul sakiTxze gamoqveynebul samecniero literaturasi da Cems mier mopovebul saarqivo dokumentebSi arwerilia is umkacresi sadamsjel o RonisZiebebi, roml ebic saqartvel os Titqmis yvel a regionSi iqna gatarebuli. momxdar faqtTan mimarTebsi, imave werili vkiTxul obT: `sagrZnobia mokl ul ebi, dawril ebi, dacexilebi, nacem- dasaxicrebulebi, magram maisis dReebis axal i safl avebi srul iad axal i didi movl enaa eris cxovrebaSi da amas qarTvel i xal xis rigebSi erTi ubral o dafiqrebac ar gamouwvevia, piriqit, daamtka xal xis neba, ganwyobil eba da didi safuzveli Cauyara qarTvel i xal xis momaval s.- am amonaweridan kargad Cansis SemarTebsi, romelic erovnuli cnobierebit datvirTuli erisTvis aris damaxasiaTebebi. meore mxriv, srul iad saqartvel os masstabiT 26 maisis Cumma, magram Sinaganad daZabul ma msvidobianma demonstraciebma, xel isufl eba daarwmuna, rom Tavisufl ebisken qarTvel Tamiswrafeba safexurebrivad armasvl as gancidida. bol Sevikuri xel isufl ebis mier politikuri patimrebi umkacresad wamebisa da msvidobiani momitingeebis sanimusod dasjis faqtebma, meryev poziciaze mdgomi politikosebi daarwmuna, rom Tavisufl ebis mopoveba im etapze mxol od brZolis gziT iyo Sesazlebeli.

rac Seexeba Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebas da SeiaraRebuli aj anyebiT saokupacio rejimis mocil ebas, qartuli politiki speqtris erTinawili im etapze naadrevad miCnevda. am poziciasisini Sesabamisi pirobebis moumwi febl obit asabutebdnen. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, saqartvel os social - demokratiuli muSata partiis cekas prezidiumis mdivnis- sandros fsevdonimiT stambolSi politiki komisiisadmi gagzavnili werili warmoadgens. masSi garkvevitaamitiTebuli, rom svaneTis aj anyebam ramdenadac farTo xasiaTiiRo, `cven vcdil obT es aj anyeba ufro ar gartul des da ar CagvTrios, vinadan gamarjvebisatvis xel - sayrel i pirobebi araa.³ am SemTxvevasi, werili avtors aj anyebis lo-

kal uri xasiaTi hqonda mxedvel obaSi. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom am aj anyebas srul iad saqarTvel os da mezobel i respubl ikebis (azerbaj ani, somxeTi, Crdil o kavkasia_daRestani) masStabiT SeiaraRebul i gamosvl ebiT mxardaWera ar hqonia. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os ama Tu im kuTxeSi aj anyebis droSis aRmarTvis mcdel obas, misi araorganizebul obisa da spontanuri xasiaTis gamo, okupanti xel isufl ebis mesveurT am wamowyebis saTaveSive l ikvidaciis SesaZl ebl oba mieca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs aj anyebul i svaneTis winaaRmdeg didZal i samxedro SenaerTebis uprobl emod gadasrol is faqti. aseT situaciaSi, aj anyebul ebisadmi garkveul i formiT Tanadgoma aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. am mimarTul ebiT gatarebul i RonisZiebedan, svaneTis del egaciis warmomadgenl ebisadmi daxmarebis Tval sazrisiT, 20 mil ioni maneTis gadacema gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevs. mi uxedavad ami sa, gani bal isadmi (al .zaqariaZe) gagzavni l weril Si madoneri (n.xomeriki) am Tanxas arasakmarisad mi iCnevda da damatebiTi ful is parizidan dauyovnebl iv gamogzavnas moiTxovda. imavdroul ad, svaneTis aj anyebul Ta mimarT gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis gamoCenis sakiTxsac ayenebda, Tundac gamamxnevebel i weril is formiT. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi imis Sesaxebacaa mi TiTebul i Tu ra aRfrTo-vaneba gamoiwvia del egaciis wevrebSi n.Jordani as saxel iT Sedgenil ma yal bma baraTma, sadac xazgasmiT iyo mi TiTebul i_ `sal ami mamac xal xs, gamarj veba da kargad yofna.- saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis cekas warmomadgenel ma, aRni Snul i faqtiT, emigraciaSi myof xel isufl ebis mesveurT garkveviT mi ani Sna: saWi roebisamebr finansur daxmarebas Tuki ver SeZl ebdnen, okupantebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i razmebis gasamxnevebel i weril ebi aucil ebl ad gamoegzavnaT. im Znel bedobis pi robebSi aseTi saxis dokumentebs ideol ogiuri da fsiqo-l ogiuri datvirTvis funqciis Sesrul eba SeeZl o. mi Tumetes, aRmasvl is safexurze myofma aj anyebul ma svanebma, 1922 wl is 3 marts, cageris, quTaisis da nal Cik-yubanis mxridan Setevaze gadasul i ruseTis ramdenime pol ki mTI ianad gaanadgura, xol o 270 wiTel armiel i tyved aiyvana. saarqivo masal iTaa dadasturebul i, rom svanTa am warmatebam, l eCxumisa da raWis mosaxl eoba fexze daayena. maTi TanadgomiTa da erTobl ivi samxedro operaci iT, aj anyebul ebma cageris aReba SeZl es, misi Semogareni rusi okupantebis gan mTI ianad gawmindes da imavdroul ad onis mimarTul ebiT arsebul i strategiul i punqtebis dakaveba da gamagreba moaxdines.⁴ aRni Snul i faqti gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel obis movl enas warmoadgenda im Tval sazrisiT, rom mtrisadmi moul odnel ma dar tymam, dampyrobTa rigebSi Sokismomgvrel i zemoqmedeba moaxdina. imave dokumenturi masal ebidan irkveva, rom saqarTvel os bol Sevikurma xel isufl ebam, Zal ebis maqsimal uri mobil izacia SeZl o. Tbil isidan da kavkasiidan gamogzavnil i eSel onebi da upirispira aj anyebul svanebs. amis dadasturebas quTaisis mimarTul ebiT moqmedi wiTel i jaris pol itkomisaris l ariCkinis mier kavkasiis armiis ufrosisadmi gagzavnil i daSifruil i weril ebi warmoadgens. imave saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom wiTel i armiis nawil ebsa da aj anyebul svanebs Soris mimdinare brZol is procesebi uaRresad damZimda. Seqmni l vi Tar ebas, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurni sagangebod `mal avdnen.- mxedvel obaSi maqvs im periodis sabWouri sainformacio saSual ebebi. rac Seexeba saxe-

I isufli ebo Stoebidan zogierTi xasiaTis mwi r gancxadebebs, maTi warmomadgenel is mxridan svaneTis aj anyeba yaCaRebis qmedebad iyo Sefasebul i. isini angariSs ar uwevdnen I ogikas mokl ebul da wi naaRmdegobebi T aR-savse maTive gancxadebebis xasiaTs. Tundac im el ementarul sinamdvil es, rom yaCaRTa brbo, ruseTis regul arul i armi is nawil ebTan zemoaRni Snul samxedro operaciebs namdvil ad ver Caatarebda. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom svaneTis aj anyebul Ta gansakuTrebul warmatebas, bunebriv rel ief-Tan erTad, erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis gansakuTrebul i muxti da Tavisufli ebis wyurvil is Sinagani SemarTeba gansazRvravda. am faqtis siswores TviT sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mesveurebic aRiarebda.

svaneTis aj anyebul Ta wi naaRmdeg mebrZol i wiTel i jaris sardl obis mier Stabisadmi gagzavnil SetyobinebaSi garkveviT iyo miTiTebul i: `mesame dRea SevaCere Seteva, radganac metad Znel ia am pirobebSi omis warmoeba, Tanac ramdenime xnis avdrebis gamo. Cven gvacnobes svaneTis parl amentar-ebma, rom maTi brZol a erovnul - pol itikuria da gadaWriT moiTxoven saqarTvel odan okupaci is moxsnas. moiTxoven agreTve tyvebis gacvl as da gvpirdebian erT maT tyveSi sami ruis gamogzavnas.- svaneTis del e-gaci is mxridan gakeTebul i moTxovnebis (saqarTvel odan ruis jaris gayvana, okupaci is moxсна, qveyanaSi Tavisufal i arCevnebis Cataraba) saokupacio jaris wi naaRmdeg gamarTul i brZol ebis dros mopovebul warmatebaze iyo dafuznebul i da qveynis damouki debl obis mopovebas iTval - i swinebda.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, roca svaneTis mosaxl eobam, saokupacio reJi mis wi naaRmdeg i araRi aRmarTa da saomarma moqmedebebma piks mi aRwia, saqarTvel os sxva regionebi TiTqmis dumda. Crdil oetis gaavebul afTarTan dapi rispireba, faqtobrivad svanebs martod- marto mouxda. amitom, Tavisufli ebis misaRwevad maTi swrafva, pirvel ive safexurze iyo ganwirul i. marTalia, svaneTis aj anyebam garkveul i gamoZaxil i evropaSi ac hpova da es faqti saqarTvel os devnil i xel isufli ebis mier genuis konferenci aze sabWoTa ruseTis wi naaRmdegac iqna gamoyenebul i, magram, yovel ive amas ideol ogiuri datvirTvis garda, pragmatul i Sedegi ar moyolia. piriqiT, svaneTis aj anyebis gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mesveurebma dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi damsjel i saeqspedicio saj ariso SenaerTebi gadaisrol es. amis Tval saCinoebis magal iTs guri is regi- oni warmoadgens. 1922 wl is 27 martiT daTariRebul erT- erT dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i rom adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis ganiaraRebis da misi daSinebis mizniT, guriaSi xel isufli ebam samxedro kursantebi, kaval e- ria da artil eria gagzavna. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os soci- al - demokratiul i muSaTa parti is guri is komitetis mowodebaSi_ `guri is mSromel xal xs- im mosal odnel safrTxeebzea miniSnebul i, romel ic damp- yrobl ebis mxridan saqarTvel os emuqreboda. am fonze, dokumenti guri is mosaxl eobas gamafriTxil ebel i formiT mimarTavda: `gabanditebul i Ceki- stebi da gamTavrobebul i banditebi, sxvadasxva gziT erTsa da imave mi- zans emsaxurebian. es mizania qarTvel i eris ganadgureba da uqarTvel o saqarTvel oSi moskovis jal aTebis gabatoneba.- marTalia, dampyrobl is mizani da amocanebi sworad iyo danaxul i, magram sabWoTa imperi is Sesaz- l ebl obebi minimal uradac ar iyo gaTval iswinebul i. mxedvel obaSi ma-

qvs antisabWouri gamosvl ebis araorgani zebul oba, qveynis SigniT pol i- tikuri situaciis argaTval iswineba, svaneTisa da xevsureTis aj anyebebis Crdil o kavkasiaSi mimdinare procesebisadmi ar dakavSi reba. Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mopovebul i dokumenturi masal ebis mixedviT, 1922 wl is martidan Crdil o kavkasia da daRestanSi SimSil obis niadagze dawyebul partizanul Seiararebul gamosvl ebs, novorosiiskSi dawyebul aj anyebas dadebiTi Sedegi ar moyolia, radgan igi spontanur xasiaTs atarebda. sabWoTa xel isufl ebam maTdami angarisworeba advil ad SeZl o. momxdari faqtidan xuTi Tvis Semdeg daiwyo daRestanSi (yuznaxSi) aj anyeba Samil is Svil isvil is- amiris meTaurobiT (1922 wl is 4 agvisto). aj anyebul ebma pirvel etapze warmatebas miarwies, aiRes Temir-xan-sura da iq gubernatorad Taviant i warmomadgenel i gibilievi daniSnes. 9 agvistos daikaves simagre vedenno, magram misi Senarcuneba ver SeZl es da 14 agvistos dakarges. aseTive araorgani zebul i formiT mimdinareobda `mwvane armiel Tarazmebis sabrZol o moqmedebebi wiTel i armis nawil ebTan.

zemoaRniSnul faqtebze yuradReba imitom SevaCere, rom mkiTxvel isadmi meCveneбина Turara araorgani zebul da erTmaneTisgan SeuTanxmebel formebsi mimdinareobda antisabWoTa aj anyebebi. Crdil o kavkasiaSi aj anyebis damarcxebis Semdeg iwyebs svaneTisa da xevsureTis aj anyeba. antisabwouri daqsaqsul i Seiararebul i gamosvl ebi, erTiani makoordinirebel i centr is ararsebobiT iyo ganpirobepul i. aseTi araorgani zebul oba, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurt, misi mowinaaRmdegeebis iol ad ganadgurebis da represiebis umkacresi formebiT gatarebis SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvleul i dokumentebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, social - demokratiul i partiis liderებს, antisabWouri gamosvl ebis daqsaqsul ad da araorgani zebul ad dawyebs dauSvebl ad miacnda. spontanuri formiT dawyebul i gamosvl ebis garduval damarcxebaze isini jer kidev 1922 wl is martis dasawyisSi afrTxil ebda saqarTvel oSi aral egar l urad moqmed pol itikur partiebsa da organizaciebs. amis erT- erT dadasturebas social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis xel moweriT (1922 wl is marti) gavr cel ebul i mowodeba `moqal aqenol!- warmoadgens. Cems mier aRniSnul faqtTan mimarTebsi, dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: bol Sevi kebi `cdil oben Seqmnan saqarTvel oSi Tavistvis advil ad gasamarj vebel i cal - cal ke frontebi. daqsaqsul i gamosvl ebis daCqarebiT swyuriaT maTTvis miukarebel saqarTvel oze SurisZieba, misi cocxal i Zal is Cakvla, misi revol uciuri energi is ganiaraReba. es iqneba maTi namdvil i gamarj veba saqarTvel oze. amaze ocneboben isini. amiti cil eben viTom Tavidan moaxl oebul i katastrofis aCrdil s.⁵ aseTi gafrTxil ebis miuxedavad, social - demokratebma da sxva pol itikurma partiebmac antisabWouri Zal ebis konsolidaciis organizeba ver SesZl o. da rac mTavaria, iaraRiT, ful iTa da sursaTiT srul fasovnad momarageba ver uzrunvel yo. es nakl ovani mxareebi svaneTis aj anyebis mimdinareobis dros aSkarad warmocnda. yovel ive aman, sabWoTa xel isufl ebas Setevaze gadasvl is da represiebis ganxorciel ebis SesaZl ebl oba misca. Ziritad mizans, urCi regione bis mosaxl eobisadmi umkacresi dar tymba da maTi advil samarTav mdgomareobaSi Cayeneba warmoadgenda. dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad, meryevi el ementebis mosyidva da saj aSuSo qsel is gaaqti ureba iqna miCneul i. am mimarTu-

I ebiT gansakuTrebul i yuradReba guriis regionze gadai tanes. amis Ziri-
Tad mizezs, guriaSi moqmedi samxedro centrisadmi daqvemdebarebul i ori
antisabWoTa pol kis arsebobis aRmoCena warmoadgenda.⁶

saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, xel isufl ebam, adgil o-
brivi mosaxl eobis provoci reba da momxdari faqtis regionis darbevis ga-
marTI ebis sababad gamoyeneba dai saxa mi znad. gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os
mmarTvel i wreebis es mavnebl uri Canafiqri, saqarTvel os social - demokra-
tiul i muSaTa partiis guriis komitetis wevrebis mier droul ad iqna ga-
Sifrul i imave komitetis mier gavr cel ebul mowodebaSi, srul fasovnadaa
danaxul i is miznebi da amocanebi, rasac saqarTvel os okupanti qveyana da
mis mier xel dasmul i marioneti xel isufl eba iTval iswinebda. dokumentSi
dasmul i sakiTxebi punqtobrivad Semdegnairad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1) gas-
abWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier guriis mosaxl eobis qonebis
cecxl iT gadawva, qal ebisa da bavSvebis dapa timrebebi, adgil obrivi mosax-
l eobis srul morCil ebaSi moqcevas isaxavda mi znad; 2) regionSi ganxorci-
el ebul i umkacresi represiebi, rogorc dokumentSia mi TiTebul i `dapyro-
bil i guriis xel axal okupaciaze,~ guriis mosaxl eobisadmi `sasikvdil o
maxvil is pirdapir gul Si Cacemaze- iyo gaTvl il i; 3) provokatorebisa da
j aSuSTa (damsmenTa) qsel is amoqmedeba, bandi tizmis mi zanmi marTul ad gaaq-
tiureba, regionSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis monawil eTa
diskreditacias iTval iswinebda. meore mxriv, bandi tebis da misi TanamgrZnobi
mosaxl eobis winaaRmdeg brZol is dawyebis motivaci iT, `guriis mi wasTan
gasworeba- unda momxdariyo. am mosal odnel i safrTxis Sesaxeb, zemoaRniS-
nul i dokumenti, guriis mosaxl eobas gamafrTxil ebel i formiT mi marTav-
da: `guriis mSromel no frTxil ad! erTi wuTi Tac ar dai viwoT, rom Cekas
mauzerebiT SeiaraRebul i banditebi da l enin- trockis mTavroba sxva-
dasxva mizeziT erTsa da imave saqmes emsaxurebian. qarTvel i eris dau-
Zl urebas da damorCil ebas cdil oben. ar dai viwoT, rom dRes devnil i
naZiri ebi xval aSkara CekistebaT da j aSuSebaT gamovl en Tqvens winaaRm-
deg.~

am amonaweridan TiTqmis srul yofil adaa warmoceni l i sabWoTa xe-
l isufl ebis mesveurTa mxridan guriis regionis mosaxl eobisadmi damok-
idebul ebis, maTi morCil ebaSi moyvanis gansaxorciel ebel i gzebis Zir-
iTadi formebi da saSual ebebi. imave saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba,
rom xel isufl ebis Senarcunebis mi znit, egorov- orj onikize- oraxel aS-
vil is `partiul i gundi,~ muSaTa da gl exTa mTavrobis saxel iT, imave
muSebisa da gl exebis sawinaaRmdegod moqmedebdnen. maTi yovel i gadaw-
vyetil eba umkacres formebsi rom asrul ebul iyo, gurias naxebrad ve-
l uri riazanel i da viatkel i jariskacebi mi usies. am sakiTxTan dakav-
SirebiT saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri ko-
mitetis mier qarTvel i sazogadoebisadmi 1923 wl is dasawyisSi gavr-
cel ebul mowodebaSi vkiTxul obT: `guria da misi gl exoba kanonsgare-
Sea gamocxadebul i... qarTvel i xal xisa da mTel i ganaTI ebul i kaco-
briobis winase Cven vacxadebT, rom guriis aoxrebis j oj oxeturi gegma
Sesdga Tbil isSi, okupantebis kabinetebSi. Cven viciT, rom rusis saoku-
pacio j arebis sardi oba, roml is didi umetesoba mefis reaQcioneri
oficrebisagan Sedgeba, j er ki dev gasul wel s (1922 wel i S.v.) Txoul ob-

da guriaSi `moqmedebis Tavisufl ebas.- es unda icodes yvel a muSam, Sinaurma da gareSem.- marTal ia, represiebi mTel i saqarTvl os masSta- biT mimdinareobda, magram gansakuTrebul i simkacre xel isufl ebam guriis regionis mimarT gamoiCina. im saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT, romel ic Cems mier iqna mikvl eul i, yuradRebas stambol is pol itikuri komisi- isadmi fransuas (n.xomeriki) fsevdonimiT 1923 wl is 23 ivniss gagzavnil i moxsenebiTi baraTi iqcevs. am dokumentis mixedviT, guriaSi 4000 rusis jariskaci Caayenes egzekuciis mizniT. 400 kaci daxvrites, xol o 15 aTasi patimrobaSi aiyvanes. patimarTa erTi nawil i (600 kaci) 1923 wl is 20 Teberval s patimrebiSTvis gankuTvnil 5 vagonSi `Catenes- da Tbil isSi- metexis cixeSi gadaiyvanes.

guriaSi mimdinare ganukiTxav represiebs `sagangebo xuTeul i- xel mZR- vanel obda. nebismeri ganaCeni, maTi mxridan adgil ze miRebul i gadaw- yvetil ebiT srul deboda. imave `sagangebo xuTeul is- miTitebiT, anti- sabWoTa moZraobis aqtiuri wevrebis 20 saxl i dawves, 13 daSal es da ficrebis saxiT dainawil es. aseTi umkacresi pol itikuri kursi guriis regi onTan mimarTebaSi SemTxveviTobiT ar iyo ganpi robebul i. mis safuZ- vel Ta- safuZvel s guriaSi aral egarul ad momqmedi social - demokra- tiul i partiis arseboba warmoadgenda. misi funqcionirebis Sewyvetisa da ganadgurebis mizniT, patimrebs partiidan gasvl is Sesaxeb oficial - uri gancxadebebis gakeTebas sTxovdnen. im periodis sabWouri presis furcl ebi aseTi saxis gancxadebebma TiTqmis gadafara. yovel mxriv Sevi- wroebul i, umkacresad represirebul i, ekonomikurad da moral urad ga- nadgurebul i patimrobaSi myofi adami anebis, izul ebul ni iyvnen kompro- misze wasul iyvnen. miTumetes, maT danatovar oj axebSi riazanel i da viatkel i 4000 rusis jariskaci `navardobda.- xel isufl eba `gamarj ve- bas zeimobda.-

Cems mier motanil i faqtebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, araorgani zebu- l ad da moumzadebl ad dawyebul i antisabWouri Seiararebul i gamosvl ebi Secdomas warmoadgenda da okupantTa sasargebl od myari safexuris Semza- debis winapirobas qmni da. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) sazogadoebis farTo wreebSi uimedobis damkvirdrebi s procesis gaRrmavebis dawyeba; 2) organizaciul i saqmis mcodne da pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis mimRebi adami anebis ganad- gureba an qveynis fargl ebs gareT gasaxl eba; 3) antisabWoTa moZraobis si- vrceSi, regionebsi xel mZRvanel i birTvis saxiT vakumis Seqmna. aRni Snul i faqtorebi, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis safexurebrivad aRma- vl obaze uaryofiT zemoqmedebas axdenda. aqedan gamomdi nare, 1921- 1922 wl ebi s Seiararebul i antisabWouri gamosvl ebi naCqarev process warmoadgenda da mas, genuis konferenciis msvl el obis periodSi ideol ogiuri- sapropagan- do datvirTvis garda aranairi Sedegi ar moutania. piriqiT, sabWoTa xel i- sufl ebis Sesabamisi uwebebi gamoafxizl a, mowinaaRmdege Zal ebis gsanad- gurebl ad axal i formebsa da meTodebis SemuSaveba- daxvewi saken ubi Zga.

amrigad, 1) sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqrTvel os okupaci asTan mimarTeba- Si evropasi gavr cel ebul i yal bi informaciis gamoaSkaravebaSi, saqarTve- l os emigraciul mTavrobas daxmareba mxol od meore internacional ma gauwia. maTi presiTa da radios gamoyenebiT gaxda SesaZl ebel i, dasav- l eT evropis mosaxl eobisadmi obieqturi masal ebis miwodeba. erTa l igis

VI yril obis VIII sxdomaze (1922 wl is 20 seqtemberi), sabWoTa ruseTis agresorad gamocxadebis rezol uiciis miRebis mcdel oba, devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis marcxiT damTavrda. dapyrobl i saqarTvel os Sesaxeb miRebul rezol ucias, evropis qveynebis warmomadgenl ebis Zal isxmeviT, zogadi da zedapirul i saxe misces. agresori qveynis qmedeba obieqturad ar Seafases.

2) gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis winaarmdeg mowyobil i 1922 wl is 26 maisis saprotesto aqciebis maStaburoba, qarTvel i eris Tavisufli ebisTvis swrafvis zearmatebul formebsi gamoavl inebas warmoadgenda. umkacresi represiebis miuxedavad, bol Sevikebma misi cakvl a ver SeZl o. antisabWouri erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis l ogikur gagrZel ebas, svaneTis 1922 wl is aj anyeba warmoadgenda, romel sac eris Tavisufli eba da erovnul i Rirseba edo safuZvl ad. winaswari mosamzadebel i RonisZiebebis gautarebl obam da moZraobisadmi srul iad kavkasiuri saxis armicemam, aj anyebis damarcxeba ganapiroba.

genuis konferenciis msvl el obis periodSi, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis mier svaneTis aj anyebis wina pl anze wamowevam da sabWoTa ruseTis dapyrobl uri politikis mxil ebam, evropel ebze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis datvirTvis funqcia Seasrul a. miuxedavad amisa, momxdar faqtTan mimarTebaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis sawinaarmdegod, evropis l iderebs pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebi ar miuRia.

3) 1921- 1922 wl ebis antisabWouri gamosvl ebi, erTiani saorganizacio centris xel mZrvanel obas iyo mokl ebul i. mis meTaurebs, moqmedebis winaswari samxedro gegma ar gaaCnda da gadawyvetil ebebs piradi Sexedul ebisamebr iRebden. aRniSnul ma faqtorebma, saqarTvel os Sesabamis uwebebs, erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebl i moZraobis aqtivistebis `SemorigebiT,~ maTi patimrobaSi ayvanis da ganadgurebis Sesazl ebl oba misca. regionebsi Seqmnil i `sagangebo xuTeul ebis- saqmi anoba, mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis umkacres represiebz da fsiqol ogiur dateroreze iyo gaTvl il i.

Tavi III. anti sabWoTa Sei araRebul i aj anyebis safuZvl i anad momzadebis sakiTxi da qarTul i emigracia (1922- 1924 ww.)

§. 1. Sei araRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegma

saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis gadasarCenad qarTvel i eris erTsu- l ovnebam da Tavdadebam daadastura: 1) qarTvel Ta cnobierebaSi erovnul i saxel mwifos arseboba siRrmiseul ad iyo Cakirul i; 2) misi SenarCunebi- saTvis TavSewirva, yvel a qarTvel isaTvis siamayis gamovl inebis demonstri- rebad aRiqmeboda. roca pirovneba, pirad keTil dReobaze maRI a samSobl os interesebs ayenebs da momaval i Taobebis winaSe gansakuTrebul pasuxism- gebl obas iCens, Zal momreobis gziT misi damorCil eba SeuZl ebel i xdeba. aseTi erovnul i cnobierebis mqone qarTvel obasTan hqonda saqme gasul i saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi sabWoTa ruseTs. marTalia, 1921 wl is Teberval - martis movl enebi qarTvel Ta damarcxebiT da ruseTis saqarTvel oSi meo- red dabrunebiT damTavrda, magram, monobis uRel s qarTvel oba da gan- sakuTrebiT pol itikuri el ita ar Serigebia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTve- l os gasabWoebis dRidan qveyanaSi mimdinare erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebe- l i moZraobis aRmavl obis procesi. aRniSnul probl emasTan mimarTebaSi qarTvel i istorikosebis mier sakmao raodenobis samecni ero xasiaTis weri- l ebi da monografi ebia dabewdil i. miuxedavad amisa, mTel i rigi umniSvne- l ovanesi sakiTxebi siRrmiseul i kvl evis aucil ebl obas eqvemdebareba. wi na- mdebare naSromis es monakveTi am xarvezis garkveul i formiT amovsebis mcdel obas warmoadgens. saqme exeba Sei araRebul i aj anyebis gegmas. marTa- lia, Cemi kol egebi am gegmis arsebobaze miuTiteben, magram: 1) arafers ambo- ben Tu ra princi piTaa igi Sedgenil i da qveynis ganTavisufl ebis ra forme- bzea masSi ZiriTadi yuradReba gadatanil i; 2) dokumentis yovel i debul eba ra konkretul monacemebs emyareba; 3) ra gziT xdeboda gegmis Semdgenel av- torTa mier motanil i faqtebis mopoveba da a.S.

am Tval sazrisiT, Cemi yuradReba orma umniSvnel ovanesma dokumentma miq- cia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs val iko j uRel is da gani bal is (al eqsandre zaqari- aZe) samxedro moxsenebebi. pirvel i maTgani 1922 wl is 10 ivnisiT, xol o me- ore, imave wl is 7 seqtembriTaa daTariRebul i. orive dokumenti xel is ma- nqanaze dabewdil 42 gverds Seicavs da gri fi_ `srul iad saiduml o- adevs. dokumentebs aj anyebis gegmis SesatyvisobaSi moyvanil i ori feradi ruka da osmal eTis armi is raodenobis, samxedro Sei araRebis da disl okaci is adgil ebis dawvril ebiTi monacemebi aqvs darTul i. aRniSnul i faqtobrivi masal is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, osmal eTis armi is gan mosal odne- l i safrTxeebi, orive moxsenebaSi maqsimal uradaa gaTval iswi nebul i. rac Seexeba gani bal is moxsenebas, Jurnal ma `mxedar ma,~ publ ikaci is avtoris dasaxel ebisa da komentarebis gareSe 1992 wel s dabewda. teqstSi Semokl e- bul i formiT motanil i saxel wodebebi da momxsenebl is fsevdonimi gauSi- fravi datova. aRniSnul i da sxva xarvezebis gamo, publ ikacia mkiTxvel ze nakl eb efeqtur zemoqmedebas axdens. es arcaa gasakviri, radgan igi saerTo gegmis mxol od erT nawil s warmoadgens. es faqtori misi samecni ero brun- vaSi arSemotanis ZiriTad ganmapirobebel mi zezad unda mi vi Cni oT.

v.j uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis zemoaRni Snul i moxsenebebi dan, speci fiuro- bis Tval sazrisiT, v.j uRel is samxedro moxseneba gamoirCeva. igi pirobi- Tad or nawil ad SeiZl eba gaiyos: **a)politikur da b)samxedrod.** xol o al .zaqariaZis moxseneba wmindam samxedro xasiaTisaa. marTal ia, am dokume- ntebis SeqmniS Sual edi 2 Tvea, magram is sakiTxebi, roml ebic samxedro ku- TxiTaa ganxil ul i, masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi erTmaneTs avsebs. aqdan gamomdinare, pirvel i moxsenebi sgan meoris xel ovnurad gamoyofa da cal - cal ke ganxil va_ yovl ad dauSvebel ia.

rac Seexeba v.j uRel is moxsenebis pirvel nawil s, saqarTvel os okupaciis Semdeg qveyanaSi Seqmnil i umZimesi pol itikuri da ekonomikuri situaci a kargadaa danaxul i da obieqturadaa Sefasebul i. gansakuTrebul i yura- dReba eris sul ieri aRmavl obis proceszea gadatanil i da misadmi droul - l ad miSvel eba, pirvel xarisxovan amocanadaa miCneul i. dokumentis am nawi- l is avtoris (v.j uRel i) mtkicebiT, Tuki es momenti xel idan iqneboda gaSve- bul i da qarTvel i eris Sinagan cnobierebaSi uimedoba daisadgurebda, erovnul Tavisu febaze fiqrs qarTvel oba didi xniT unda gamoTxoveboda. dampyrobli s winaaRmdeg qarTvel xal xSi im etapze ukanasknel i Zal ebis mokrebi s Sinagani procesis mimdinareobis wina pl anze wamoweviT, qveyni s ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxis droul ad dasmas v.j uRel i gadaudebel amoca- nad miCnevda. es dokumenti gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imiTac iqcevs, rom mis pirvel nawil Si konkretul adaa dasmul i sakiTxi_ SeiZl eboda Tu ara mSvidobiani gziT saqarTvel osaTvis Tavisufl ebis mopoveba. evropisa da ruseTis masStabiT mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis siRmi seul i anal i- zidan gamomdinare, **saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis 4 ZiriTadi SesaZl e- bl obaa** dokumentSi ganxil ul i da dasabuTebul i formiTaa naCvenebi Ti- Toeul i maTgani s efeqtianobis done.

I. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis pirvel i SesaZl ebl oba: 1)evropis daxma- reba: dokumentis am nawil Si konkretul adaa miTitebul i evropisgan saqarTvel osadmi Tanadgomis sam ZiriTad_ **dipl omatiur, pol itikur da material ur** SesaZl ebl obebze. rac Seexeba SeiaraRebul i Zal iT daxmare- bas- anu intervencias, evropis sazogadoebriv- pol itikuri azris sawina- aRmdego damoki debul ebi dan gamomdinare, im etapze aseTi nabij is gadadgma maTi mxridan gamoricxul i iyo. misi daSveba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxde- boda SesaZl ebel i, Tuki ruseTi evropis romel ime saxel mwi fosTan saomar mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda. genuis konferenciis Sedegebis anal izis gaTval iswinebiT, **dokumentSi daskvni s saxiT savsebiT sworadaa miTite- bul i, rom dipl omatiis gziT, saqarTvel odan saokupacio jarebis gayvanis il uziis tyveobidan, qarTul i pol itikuri el itis mesveurebi samudamod unda ganTavisufl ebul iyo.** miTumetes, **a)**mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis gaTval iswinebiT, im etapze saqarTvel o imaze mets verafers mi iRebda, rac genuis konferenciam misca; **b)**imave konferenciis msvl el obam daadastura, rom evropis saxel mwi foebis mizans, ruseTTan morigeba da wiaRi seul i simdi dreebis dpatroneba war moadgenda; **g)**es procesi, rogorc dokumentSi aRni Snul i, droTa ganmavl obaSi ki dev ufro gai zrdeboda da evropel i pol itikosebis saqmianobis dRis wesrigidan saqarTvel os sak- iTxi ukana pl anze gadai weoda.

II. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis meore SesaZl ebl oba: 2)muSaTa saer-

TaSoriso internacional i: saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis saqmeebSi am organizaciis Careva, mxol od ideol ogiuri da propagandistul i Tval sazrisiT iqneboda garkveul i efeqtis momtani. qveynis deokupacias da ruseTis jaris gayvanas igi ver uzrunvel yofda. berl inis konferencia da cxraTa komisiis daSl a amis naTel i dadastureba iyo.

III. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis mesame SesaZI ebl oba: 3)kreml is dacema, Sida saxel mwifoebri vi gadatrial eba: es procesi qarTvel i erisTvis yvel aze metad iyo misaRebi, radgan mas qveynis damouki debl obis aRdgena moyveboda. arsebul i sinamdvil idan gamomdi nare, im etapze am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT fiqri, rogorc dokumentSia miTiTebul i- fuW ocnebas warmoadgenda.

saqarTvel os SesaZI o ganTavisufl ebis zemoT CamoTvl il i samive forme bis anal izis Sedegad, dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `arcerTi zemoaRniSnul i gza ar aris srul iad saimedo da utyuari. zogi maTgani susti da uZI uria da zogic metad probl ematuri. magram, niSnavs Tu ara es, rom qarTvel ma xal x- ma sasowarkveTil ebas mieces,... dakargos aqtiuri perspeqtiva da istoriis inercias danebdes? srul iadac ara, vinaidan rCeba kidev meoTxe da uk- nasknel i gza.-

IV. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis meoTxe SesaZI ebl oba: 4)ukanasknel i gza_ Seiararebul i aj anyeba. mis mizans, mezobel respublikebTan (saqarTvel o, somxeTi, azerbaijani, daRestani) erTad sayovel Tao aj anyeba, erovnul i Zal ebis srul i darazmva warmoadgenda. dokumentebis Semd- genel Ta (vj uRel i, al .zaqariaZe) azriT, es gza umZimesi da ukiduresi for- ma iyo, magram Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad qarTvel ers sxva gamosaval i ar hqonda. maTive mtkicebiT, am gzaze Rirseul ad gavl a mxol od im ers SeeZ- l o, romel sac srul fasovnad hqonda Segnebul i da gacnobierebul i saxel- l mwifo interesebi. miTumetes, damarcxebis SemTxvevaSi sabWoTa xel isu- fl eba aj anyebul ebisadmi umkacresi RonisZieebis gatarebas moaxdenda. `es Cven yovel Tvis kargad unda gvaxsovdes_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ da aj anyebis sakiTxis ganxil vis dros ar unda davkmayofil deT mar to saqarTve- l os viwro fargl ebiT, mxedvel obaSi unda miviRoT rogorc ruseTis saer- To mdgomareoba, ise evropis Cvendami damokidebul eba.-

am SemTxvevaSi sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i. evropis qveynebi dan samxedro Zal iT dauxmarebl obis da ruseTis potenciuri SesaZI ebl obebis gaTval - i swinebi dan gamomdi nare, aj anyebis mosawyobad Sesabamsi safexuris maRal doneze momzadebis aucil ebl obas dokumentebSi gansakuTrebul i yuradRe- ba aqvs daTmobil i. xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i im qonebri vi da fizikuri ms- xverpl is gaRebis garduval obaze, romel ic mterze gamarj vebas unda da- deboda safuZvl ad. dasabuTebul ia, rom kavkasiis masStabiT aj anyebis mow- yobis iniciativa da xel mZRvanel oba saqarTvel os unda etvirTa. am mima- rTul ebiT pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebis miReba da Sesabamsi nabij is gada- dgma mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda gamarTl ebul i, Tuki: a)evropis sax- el mwifoebi iaraRiTa da ful iT aj anyebul ebisadmi daxmarebas uzrun- vel yofda; b)aj anyebis dawyeba, ruseTis did saomar moqmedebesSi Cabmis, an qveynis SigniT saxel mwifo gadatrial ebis SemTxvevaSi ac CaiTvl ebo- da mi zanSewonil ad; g)osmal eTis mxridan neutral itetis dacva wi naswar iqneboda garanti rebul i. dokumentebis Semdgenel Ta mtkicebiT, osmal e-

Tis mxridan nei tral itetze daTanxmeba Semdegi pi robebis gaTval i swinebi T gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i: **1)**ruseTis nacvl ad, i araRis SeZenis garantias osmal eTi dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebidan Tuki miiRebda da **2)**somxeTis xel isufl eba, `osmal eTis somxeTisadmi - gansakuTrebul pretenzi ebs moxsnida; rac Seexeba osmal eTis mier gacemul i nei tral itetisadmi ndobas, mxol od evropis romel ime Zl ieri saxel mwifos pasuxismgebl obis aRebis SemTxvevaSi iyo dasaSvebi. amis aucil ebl obas ganapirobebda: **a)**osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTis `megobar da mokavSire- qveynad iTvl eboda; **b)**osmal eTis parlamentis 1920 wl is 28 ianvris `erovnul i paqtis- meore muxl is Tanaxmad, osmal eTi baTumis okrugze mdinare Col oqamde acxadebda pretenzias. am faqtorebis gaTval i swinebi T, saqarTvel os sazRvrispira perimetrze ganlagebul i 30 aTasi osmal o jariskacis saqarTvel os mimarTul ebi T da Zvra_ real obas warmoadgenda. osmal Ta nei tral itetis safuZvel ze Tuki aj anyebul Ta zurgis usafrTxoebis garantia Sei qmneboda, es faqtori, aj anyebis monawil eTa moqmedebas met gabedul ebas SesZenda.

srul iad kavkasi is masStabi T aj anyebis ganxorciel ebis SemTxvevaSi, dokumentebis avtorTa mtkicebi T, xel mZRvanel i samxedro centri Tbil isSi unda ganTavsebul iyo. misi struqturis ageba Semdegnairad iyo gaTval i swinebul i: **1)**centris ZiriTadi dasayrdeni baza, Zvel i gvardi is organizaciebi da samxedro Zal ebi iqneboda; **2)**organizaci is xel mZRvanel is funqcias mTavari Stabi Seasrul ebda, romel ic Sesabamis miTiTebebs pol itikuri centridan miiRebda; **3)**aj anyebis mowyoba da xel mZRvanel oba mTavar Stabs daeval eboda, roml is Semadgenl obaSi pol itikuri moRvaweebi da samxedro special istebi Sevidodnen; **4)**aRniSnul i organizaci is Stabebi, im momentSi mTel i saqarTvel os teritoriaze_ yovel mazraSi unda yofil iyo ganTavsebul i. dokumentebSi motanil i statistikuri monacemebi T, centris daqvemdebarebaSi 20 aTasamde kaci iyo navaraudebi, romel Tagan 16 aTasi SeiaraRebul i iqneboda.

samxedro centris mier `OKA--s (kavkasi is sagangebo armia) Semadgenl obaSi Segzavnil i adami anebis gan miRebul i informaci is safuZvel ze, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebis aTvis cnobil i iyo: **1)**ra raodenobis Zal ebi da SesaZl ebl obebi gaaCnda sabWoTa ruseTs saqarTvel oSi da **2)**mtrisadmi dasapirispirebl ad ra Zal ebis gamoyvana dasWirdeboda samxedro centrs. 1922 wl is martis monacemebi T, kavkasi is oTxive respubl ikaSi `OKA--s saj ariso SenaerTebis, ZiriTadad komunistebsa da wiTel armi el ebs warmoadgenda. misi raodenoba 40 aTas kacss Sedgenda da ZiriTadi birTvi (22 aTasi) saqarTvel oSi iyo disl ocirebul i da Stabis xel mZRvanel obac Tbil isSi imyofeboda. rac Seexeba aRniSnul i samxedro SenaerTebis kavkasi is masStabi T oTxive respubl ikaSi raodenobrivad gadanawil ebas, sabWoTa ruseTisadmi mosal odnel i safrTxeebis gaTval i swinebas emyareboda. **(ix. cxril i # 1)**

rusul i saj ariso SenaerTebis kavkasi is masStabi T ganlagebis, punqtebi sa da ricxobrivi raodenobis dazustebis Semaj amebel i analizis Semdeg, dokumentebSi principul adaa dasmul i sakiTxi: **1)**momaval i SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis aTvis ramdenad momzadebul i iyo somxeTi, azerbaijani da daRestani; **2)**TiToeul respubl ikaSi hyavda Tu ara sakmarisi raodenobis sando da maRal kval ificiuri oficrebi. am mxriv, rogorc dokumentebSi a aRniSnul i, isini umZimes mdgomareobaSi imyofebodnen. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os,

im etapze 3000- ze meti profesional i da saimedo oficeri hyavda. aqedan gamomdinare, mezobel i respubl ikebisadmi dasaxmarebl ad 500 oficeris gagzavnas varaudobdnen. imave dokumentebSi oTxive respubl ikis samxedro potenciuri SesaZl ebl obebia dzustebul i da xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i, rom amierkavkasiis regionSi disl ocirebul i 40 aTasi rusul i samxedro SenaerTisaTvis, im etapze 65 aTasi kavkasiel i meamboxis dapi rispireba iyo SesaZl ebel i. gansakuTrebul i aqcenti am SemTxvevaSi saqarTveozea gakeTebul i, radgan 1922 wl is 1 ivni sis monacemebi T, `OKA--s winaaRmdeg saqarTvel os 22 aTasi, xol o kavkasiis oTxive respubl ikas 55000 aj anyebul is gamoyvana SeeZl o (ix. cxril i # 2); dokumentebis Semdgenl ebis mier aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi aj anyebaSi monawil eTa savaraudo raodenobis is statistikuri monacemebi, romel ic Cems mier Sedgenil # 3- e cxril Sia motanil i, okupanti qveyni sadmi qarTvel i jariskacebis, oficrebi sa da mosaxl eobis damokidebul ebazea dafuZnebul i. am fonze, mterze gamarj vebis umniSvnel ovanes pi robad, aj anyebul Ta erTdroul ad moqmedeba da si swrafea dasaxel ebul i. gegmiT gaTval iswinebul i moTxovnebis maqsimal urad dacvis Sedegad, saqarTvel os monobis uRel i unda gadaegdo da mezobel i respubl ikebisadmi droul i daxmareba gaewia. dauyovnebl iv Caeketa mexadiri sa da darubandis `Wi Skari-.

dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT Sesasrul ebl ad, aj anyebis momzadebi sa da misi ganxorciel ebis gegma, dokumentebSi **sam ZiriTad** nawil adaa dayofil i: **1)aj anyebis winaswari samzadisi; 2)TviT aj anyeba da 3)aj anyebis gamarj vebis meore dRe_ Semdegi etapi.**

1)winaswari samzadisi: dokumentebis mixedviT, aj anyebis winaswar samzadiss eqvemdebareboda: **1)otxive respubl ikis (saqarTvel o, somxeTi, azerbaijani, daRestani) Zal ebis mobil izacia, sabrZol o mzadyofnaSi moyvana da maT Soris mtkice kavSiris danyareba; 2)ramdenime gamocdil i da maRal i donis organizaciul i RonisZiebebis gatarebiS SesaZl ebl obebis mqone pirovnebisgan (viwro wrisgan) mtkice xel mZRvanel i Stabebis Seqmna da kavkasiis aj anyebis Zafebis maT xel Si Tavmoyra; 3)aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i mTavari Stabis Tbil isSi ganTavseba; 4)aj anyebisadmi farTo da masStaburi xasi aTis misacemad, azerbaijanSi, somxeTSi, mTasi (daRestani), yubanSi da soWis okrugSi Stabebis mosawyobad saimedo warmomadgenl ebis samuSaod winaswar gagzavna; 5)Ti Toeul i ol qisa da raionis Stabebis mier, adgil obrivi specifikisadmi morgebul i aj anyebis gegmis Sedgena, centrTan misi SeTanxmeba da moqmedebis erTdroul ad dawyebis uzrunvel yofa; 6)Crdil o kavkasiaSi aj anyebis droul ad verdawyebis SemTxvevaSi, pirvel rigSi im strategiul i gzebis gafuWeba (rostovis rkinigzis xidis afeTqeba) unda moexdinaT, romel sac moskovi, kavkasiis aj anyebul Ta sawinaaRmdegod, rusul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis gadasayvanad gamoiyenebda.**

es dokumentebi, aj anyebis mTel i samzadisis 4- 5 TveSi damTavrebas iTval iswinebda. dasaxul i miznis misaRwevd, yvel a saxebis SesaZl ebl obebi maqsimal urad unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i da moul odnel i dartyimT, qveyana dampyrobli ebi sagan gaenTavisufl ebinaT. `Tu saSemodgomod es samzadisi ver movaTaveT- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi,- aj anyebis ukanasknel vadaT unda CaiTval os momaval i [wl is S.v.] gazafxul i da Tu verc maSin movawyveT es aj anyeba,- cxadi iqneba, rom misi SeZl eba

aRar gvaqvs da Cvens sakuTar Zal ebze xel i unda aviRoT, istoriul i inerciis usicocxl o tal Rebs unda mi vendoT. es iqneboda Cveni sikotris da srul i uZurebis maCvenebel i.~

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom aRni Snul i gegma drois SezRudul monakveTze iyo gaTvl il i. moqmedebis dawyebas 1922 wl is gviani Semodgomidan, an maqsimum 1923 wl is adre gazafxul idan iTval iswinebda. dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebis aseT mkacr CarCoSi moqceva, im etapze arsebul saerTaSoriso (gansakuTrebiT sabWoTa ruseTis) pol itikur da ekonomikur faqtorebs emyareboda. mosal odnel i Secdomebi sgan dazRvevis mizniT, aj anyebis gegmis Semdgenl ebs safuZvl i anad hqondaT Seswavl il i da maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebul i ukrainel Ta aj anyebis damarcxebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebi. aqedan gamomdinare, gasatarebel Roni sZiebaTa nusxaSi, pirvel i rigis amocanad iyo Setani l i: **1)** samxedro operaciis dawyebamde, yvel a ni uansis gaTval iswinebiT moexdinaT Tbil isis Seswavl a da daedginaT mtris Zal ebis ganl ageba; **2)** aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i centris daval ebis maRal doneze Semsrul ebel i samxedro dargis profesional i xel mZRvanel ebi, Tbil isis samxedro raionebsi da ubnebsi, dasaxul i gegmis dawyebamde ramdenime dRiT adre unda daeni SnaT; **3)** konspiraciis dacvis mizniT, 200 -mde gadacmul i mtkice mebrZol i, sacxovrebel i raionebis mixedviT unda SeeyvanaT Tbil isSi, romel sac 400- mde adgil obrivi meamboxe SeuerTdeboda; **4)** am 600 kaci ani razmis wevrebs, Tbil isSi myofi ramdenime aTasi mebrZol is SekavSireba, maTdami saTaveSi Cadgoma da brZol is xel mZRvanel oba eval eboda.

2)aj anyeba: rac Seexeba aj anyebis xel mZRvanel ebs da damwyeb organizatorebs, winaswar unda gaTval iswinebinaT Semdegi garemoebebi: **1)** Tbil isis topografiul specificasTan erTad, misi geografiul i mdebareoba da mdinare mtkvrisgan or nawil ad gancal keveba. dokumentebSi motani l i faqtobrivi masal is anal izidan gamomdinare, ramdenadac gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTel i pol itikuri da administraciul i centri mdinaris marj vena mxares iyo ganl agebul i, xol o samxedro yazarnebis da jaris ZiriTadi nawil i marcxena mxares, es faqtori, Tbil isis centris xel Si Cagdebis real ur Sesazl ebl obas qmni da. am operaciis warmatebiT ganxorciel eba, Tbil isis marcxena napiris bedsac gadawyvetda; **2)** Tbil isis aReba erTi xel is dakvriT unda momxdariyo. dauyovnebl iv ganxorciel ebinaT strategiul i mniSvel obis punqtebis (saxkomsabWos, cekas, `Ceka--s, `OKA--s Stabebis) dakaveba da maTi xel mZRvanel ebis dapati mreba. paral el urad dakavebinaT fosta- tel egrafis, tel efonis sadguris, rkinigzis sadguris gamgeobis da radios Senobebi. gaenTavisufl ebinaT cixis patimrebi. imavdroul ad dapatronebodnen j avSnian avtomobil ebsa da j avSnian matarebl ebs. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki romel ime j avSnosanis damorCil eba SeuZl ebel i gaxdeboda, igi dauyovnebl iv unda afeTqebinaT. dokumentebSi motani l i statistikuri monacemebis mixedviT, am operaciis dawyebis momentSi, aj anyebul Ta da mtris Zal Ta raodenoba TiTqmis Tanabari iyo (**ix. cxril i # 3**); **3)** aj anyeba RamiT unda dawyebul iyo da winaswari gegmis Sesabamisad, zemoARni Snul punqtebTan erTad, xel mZRvanel i Stabis miTiTebiT, aj anyebul ebs Tbil isis (qal aqis) garSemo arsebul i strategiul i mniSvel obis simaRl eebis droul ad dakaveba unda ganxorciel ebina (**ix. cxril i # 4**); **4)** aj anyebul Tbil iss, gaTenebis sas qal aqis gareubnis 2000 kaci ani aj anyebul Ta razmi daexmareboda. rac Seexeba aj an-

yebul Ta 450 kacian rezervs, yazarmebSi myof bol SevikTa rCeul Zal ebze moul odnel i TavdsxmiT, maTi srul i gani araReba qonda daval ebul i; 5)Tbil i- sis paral el urad (imave Rames) aj anyeba unda dawyebul iyo quTai sSi, baTum- Si, soxumSi da sxva qal aqebSi. saqarTvel oSi aj anyebis damTavreba 4- 5 dRe- Si iyo navaraudevi. gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, mezobel i respubl ikebis aj anye- bul ebs saqarTvel o garkveul daxmarebas gauwevda; 6)aj anyebis centra- l uri Stabis miTiTebiT, imave dResve Tu ara, meore dRes aj anyebebi unda dawyebul iyo erevanSi, baqoSi da Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi. maT ZiriTad amocanas Seadgenda: a) **CKBO--s (rostovSi arsebul i Crdil oeT kavkasi is samxedro ol qis Stabi)** wevrTa dapatimreba; b)strategiul i mniSvel obis obieqteb- is xel Si Cagdeba da g)adgil obrivi garnizonebi sTvis amierkavkasi is mi ma- rTul ebiT gadaadgil ebis maqsimal urad SezRudvis mcdel oba. rogorc dokumentebSi a miTiTebul i, aj anyebis cecxl i unda `danTebul iyo- **ros- tovi_ yizl ari_ baqo_ l enqorani_ erevani_ baTumi_ soCa** sivrceSi da mTavari RerZis funqcia saqarTvel os- Tbil iss Seesrul ebina. **(ix ruka # 1)** amasTan dakavSi rebiT imave dokumentebSi vkiTxul obT: `kavkasi is ganmaT- avisufl ebel i moZraobis mizani unda iyos aj anyebis cecxl is danTeba ro- stovidan l enqoranamde da yizl aridan vidre baTumamde. magram mTavari RerZi da Zal Ta moZraobis unda iqnes amierkavkasia saqarTvel os meTauro- biT. yvel aze umj obesi da sasurvel ia erTbaSad moxdes **CKBO--s** srul i gani araReba da damorCil eba. magram Tu es erTi dakvriT ar moxerxda, pi- r- vel xanebSi sakmarisi iqneba, Crdil oeT kavkasi is sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi mo- xdes iseTi cal ke aj anyebebi, roml ebic adgil obrivi mtris Zal ebis dezo- rganizacias gamoiwveven da maTi daZvra amierkavkasi is wi naaRmdeg SeuZl e- bel i iqneba da ise daazianeben ruseTidan momaval strategiul gzebs, rom j arebis gadmoyvanas metad gaaZnel eben. aseT pi robebSi, amierkavkasia Sei- Zl eba gaxdes im TavSesafrad, sadac TavS moiyris da moRonierdeba anti bo- l Sevikuri mebrZol i Zal a, romel ic Semdeg aqtiurad daexmareba meamboxe Crdil oeT kavkasi as da sabol ood masac ganadevni nebs okupantebs.-

am vr cel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi, damp- yrobl ebis gan saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxs ganixil avdnen ara viwro karCaketil i formiT, aramed arsebul i probl emis warmatebiT gada- Wris SesaZl ebl obas, srul i ad kavkasi is (Crdil o da samxreTi kavkasia) re- spubl ikebis erTobl ivi Zal ebis koordinebul moqmedebaSi xedavdnen. mi Tumetes, gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, mopovebul i warmatebis SenarCuneba gan- sakuTrebul sirTul eebTan iqneboda dakavSi rebul i. es uaRresad mni Svne- l ovani faqtori, zemoaRni Snul i dokumentebis Semdgenel i avtorebis mi er safuZvl ianadaa gaTval iswinebul i. amis utyuar dadasturebas imave doku- mentebis erT- erTi qveTavi_ `aj anyebis gamarj vebis meore dRe- war moad- gens.

3)aj anyebis gamarj vebis meore dRe: dokumentebis Semdgenl ebis sama- rTl iani mtkicebiT, yvel aze rTul i momenti gamarj vebis meore dRidan, mopovebul i warmatebis SesanarCunebl ad daiwyeboda. mi Tumetes, ruseTi damarcxebas ar Seurigdeboda da meamboxe respubl ikebis wi naaRmdeg sad- amsj el o Roni sZiebas ganaxorciel ebda. am faqtoris maqsimal urad gaTval - iswinebi dan gamomdinare, aj anyebis dawyebis konkretul drod, Semodgoma da gazafxul ia dasaxel ebul i. im momenti saTvis upi ratesoba gvi an Semodgomas

aqvs miniWebul i da igi Semdegi argumentebi Taa dasabuTebul i: 1) Sua seqtembridan kavkasionis uRel texil ebi Tovl iT ifareboda da gzebis bunebrivi Caketva, mtris Semotevis Semaferxebel i barieri gaxdeboda. uki dures SemTxvevaSi mowinaaRmdegis gadaadgil ebas maqsimal urad SezRudavda; 2) gvi an Semodgomaze mdinare vol ga iyineboda da samxedro amunciis gadazidvis mTel i simZime mxol od ruseTis rkinigzas daawveboda; 3) Semodgomi dan ruseTis rkinigzebi sazamTro momaragebis gadazidvebiT iyo dakavebul i da samxedro eSel onebis gadaadgil ebis procesebis dawyeba, urTierT xel SemSl el da droSi didad Semaferxebel faqtorad gadaiqceoda; 4) Semodgomis meore naxevridan saqarTvel oSi gl exobas mosaval i dabinavebul i hqonda, xal xi ufro Tavisufal i iyo da mtris winaaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad meti SemarTebi T gamovi doda.

yovel ive zemoaRni Snul is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, aj anyebul regioneze ruseTi moulnodnel darty mas ver ganaxorciel ebda. es upirate-soba aj anyebis xel mZRvanel ebs maqsimal urad unda gamoeyenebinaT da aj anyebul Tarigebis raodenobrivad gazrdil i kontingenti i araRiT uzrunvel eyoT. gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, aj anyebis gegmis avtorTa monacemebi T, mtris jariskacebis gani araRebi T da samxedro sawyobebis dauflebi T, aj anyebul ebs i araRis saxiT darCeboda: 60 aTasi Tofi, 100 zarbazani, 500 tyvi amfrqvevi, 12 j avSnosani avtomobil i, 5 j avSnosani matarebel i, 20 milioni vazna. am raodenobis i araRiT, saqarTvel os 40 aTasamde mebrZol is uzrunvel yofa SeeZl o.

aRni Snul i dokumentebis mixedvi T, aj anyebis xel mZRvanel centrs, gamarj vebis pirvel ive dRidanve unda moexdina aj anyebul ebisadmi mxardamWeri wiTel i jaris daCqarebul i tempi T gaorkeceba, misi raodenobis 40 batal-ionamde (Ti Toeul Si 750 kaci) gazrda da qarTul i Sei araRebul i Zal ebis raodenobrivad 30 aTas mebrZol amde ayvana. am mi marTul ebi T qmedi Ti nabjis gadadgma, sabWoTa ruseTidan ganmeorebi Ti darty mis garduval obi T iyo ganpi robebul i. dasaxul i amocanis warmatebi T gadasawyvetad, rogorc dokumentebSi amiti Tebul i, saqarTvel os Sesabamisi potencial i gaaCnda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) maRal kval ificiuri donis 3 aTasze meti oficeri; 2) sami aTasze meti artil eristi; 3) 2500 kaval eristi; 4) 3000 metyvi amfrqveve; 5) j avSniani matarebel ebis da avtomobil ebis specifikis 500-ze meti mcodne. yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, dasmul i probl emis mogvareba orkviraSi unda damTavrebul iyo da ruseTidan amierkavkasiaSi Semosavl el iyvel agzis dauyovnebl ivi gamagreba momxdariyo. (ix. cxrili # 5) am pirvel adi Tavdacvi Ti samuSaos Catarebis Semdeg, erT TveSi amierkavkasiaS 100 aTasze meti meomris dayeneba SeeZl o TofqveS. misi i araRiT uzrunvel yofa, sabWouri samxedro sawyobebidan ganxorciel deboda. rac Seexeba axal i mobil izacii T mTel i kavkasiis masStabi T jarSi gawveul Ta raodenobas, 200 aTas kacamde iyo navaraudevi. axal wveul Ta Sei araReba mxol od dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foTa daxmarebi T unda momxdariyo. xazgasmiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom orive dokumenti, yovel gvare il uzi ebi sganaa dazRveul i da pragmatul i xedvi T gansaazRvavs evropis saxel mwi foTa SesaZl o daxmarebis ganmapirobebel Zi ri Tad faqtorebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs is konkretul i mi Ti Tebebi, romelic pirdapir mi ani Snebda, Tu ra SemTxvevaSi SeeZl o evropas, kavkasiis respubli kebi sadmi daxmarebis `msxverpl is- gaReba. am sa-

kiTxTan dakavSi rebiT dokumentSi garkveviTaa naTqvami, rom evropax daxmarebis nabij s mxol od maSin gadadgamda Tuki: 1)kavkasiis respublikaebis 100 aTasi aj anyebuli, sabWota ruseTis ganaxl ebul ierisSs 2-3 Tvis ganmavli obaSi gaumkl avdeboda da aj anyebuli Ta mxridan gamarjvebis perspektivas Seqmnida; 2)kavkasiis bunebrivi wiaRiseuli simdidris ruseTis xelidan gamoglj eji s da misadmi dapaTronebis Sesazl ebl obebi real obad daesaxeboda.

dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebisadmi misaRebi winapirobis Seqmnis ZiriTad safexurad, dokumentebis Semdgenlebs, aj anyebis dawyebis pirveli etapidanve `CKBO--s da `OKA--s Seiararebuli Zal ebis safuzvliani ganiaraRebamiacnda. Tuki am amocanas warmatebit gadawyvetdnen, amierkavkasiis Seiararebuli Zal ebis dasapirispireblad, sabWota ruseTs, Crdil o kavkasiaSi 200 aTasi jariskacis Tavmoyra daswirdeboda. am miznis ganxorcieli ebas (mTel i Tavisi mowyobil obiT da sursaTiT) ruseTi or Tveze adrever SeZl ebda. amis Sesaxeb imave dokumentebSi vkiTxul obT: `es aris srul iad real uri da Seuryevel i angariSi... maSasadame, aj anyebuli kavkasiis srul gankargul ebaSi TiTqmisi ori Tve iqneba da am xnis ganmavli obaSi, man unda SeZl os axali Zal ebis darazmva, maTi mowesrigeba, Seiarareba da gamokvebayovel ive es moxdeba ucxoeTis saSual ebiT... ucxoeTi, romelic dRes aseTisifrtxil iT da uxal isod gvel aparakeba,... mas ar sj era Cveni Zala da momavali. igi mxurval ed da erTgul ad dagvexmareba Tuki sakuTari teritoriebi gavanTavisufli eT da uamravi simdidris baton- patroni gavxdiT. es Cven mtkiced unda Sevignot da mavne il uziebs droze davaRwiOT Tavi. Cven unda gavigoT, rom avansad, iaraRs da ful saravin mogvcems. amistvis saWiroa faqtiuri batonoba sakuTar teritoriaze. roca kavkasiis didi nawili Cvens gankargul ebaSi iqneba, roca baqos, groznos, Wiaturis, tyvarCel is da maikopis saxel iT il aparakebs ara krasini, aramed ganTavisufli ebuli kavkasia, Cven advil ad viSoviT ful s da ful is saSual ebiT saWiro iaraRs da mowyobil obas.-

Cems mier motanil am vrצל amonawerSi kargadaa danaxul i is real uri gzebi, romelic kavkasiis bunebrivi simdidriT evropis saxel mwi foTa dai ntereabas ganapirobebda. evropas izul ebul s gaxdi da, Tavisufli ebisatvis membrZoli kavkasiis xal xebisatvis ful iT, iaraRiTa da sursaTiT real uri daxmareba aRmoeCina. xolo maTi mxridan gaRebuli `msxverpl is- sanacvli od, is bunebrivi wiaRiseuli simdidre mieRo, romli Tac evropax `siRaribes- gani cdi da.

izul ebidan gamomdinare, sabWota ruseTis gan Seqmnil i zemoarNi Snuli ortviani Sual edi, kavkasiis respublikaebis (saqarTvel o, somxeTi, azerbaijani, daRestni) 200 aTasiani jaris formirebisatvis unda gamoeyenebina. amis Sesazl ebl obas kavkasiis xal xebis fizikuri potenciali izl eoda. dasaxul i amocanis warmatebit gadawyvetis SemTxvevaSi, Zal Ta bal ansi gawonasworebuli (200 aTasi- 200 aTasis winaarMdeg) iqneboda. es faqtori, ruseTs izul ebuli s gaxdi da aj anyebuli da ganTavisufli ebuli kavkasiis xel axli dasapyrobad 300- 350 aTasiani jari Seekriba. am mimarTul ebiT nabij is gadadgma moskovis mxridan axali omistvis mzadeba iqneboda, romelic damatebit xarj ebs da cocxali Zal is mobil izacias moiTxovda. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki es faqtori amoqmeddeboda, moskovi izul ebuli gaxdeboda, kavkasiis respubli-

kebTan kompromi sze wasul iyo. amasTan dakavSi rebiT dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi xazgasmiT miuTiTebdnen: `ityvian, rom ruseTi veras gziT ver daTmobs kavkasiyas da kerZod baqoso. nebiT rasakvirvel ia ar daTmobs, magram Zal i iT man daTmo revel i, riga, besarabia da vl adivastoki! Cven am Zal as unda daveyrdnoT da Tu Zal a gveqna bol Sevikebi did daTmobaze wamovl en.- swored am `daTmobis- sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi unda Seesrul ebina dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis arbitris rol i.

yovel ive aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebul i, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi, aj anyebisTvis saWi ro mosamzadebel i samuSaoebis 4- 5 TveSi damTavrebas, mTel i kavkasiis da gansakuTrebiT amierkavkasiis (daRestanis CaTvl iT) brZol isunariani mosaxl eobis droul ad fexze dayenebis aucil ebl obas moiTxovdnen. `dRei dan es unda iyos Cveni mizani da aqeT unda miymarToT yvel a Cveni Zal ebi. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- Cveni saqme an wagebul ia, an didi xniT dasamarebul ad unda CaiTval os. Tu am naxevar wel iwadSi ver SevZel iT CvenSi bol Sevizmis l ikvidacia, SemdegSi es saqme TandaTan gaZnel deba. bol Sevizmi TandaTan marjvniv daiwevs da didi daTmobis wyal obiT Sesarigebel kompromiss gamonaxavs burJuaziul evropasTan. ruseTTan morigebul evropas, TandaTan miaviwydeba kavkasiac da saqarTvel oc. amitom,... dayovneba Cven ar gvargebs.-

dasaxul i amocnis warmatebiT gadawyvetis gansakuTrebul probl emad, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebs finansuri sakiTxis mogvareba miaCnda. maTive mtkicebiT, samxedro centri im etapze uki duresad mZime finansur kriziss gancdida. `saqarTvel oSi mebrZol ma amxanagebma- vkiTxul obT dokumentebSi- muSaobis Sesafer ni adagze dasayenebl ad da mezobl ebTan mtkice kavSiris gasabmel ad, TveSi 68 aTasi Turqul i qaRal dis l ira mogvTxoves. Cven kargad viciT, rom am Tanxis Sovna Cen ar SegviZl ia. amasTanave isic kargad viciT, rom am muSaobisaTvis TveSi ara nakl eb 20 aTasi l ira aris saWi ro. Cven arc es ful i gvaqvs, da swored im dros, roca gaZl ierebul i da gadi debul i muSaobaa saWi ro, Cven uful obis gamo izul ebul i varT, kidev ufro SevamciroT da SevboWoT Cveni muSaoba. es ki mTel i dawyebul i saqmis CaSl as udris.- aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi kategoriul i formiT ayenebdnen sakiTxs: **`Cven unda gavx- eTqoT mi wa da ramdenime mil i oni franki aucil ebl ad unda vi SovoT!**-

Cems mier motanil i amonawerebi dan kargad Cans, rom aj anyebis zemoaRniSnul i gegmis mixedviT Sesabamisi samuSaos gagrZel eba da dawyebul i saqmis bol omde miyvana, ful is SovnasTan da finansuri krizisis daZl evasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. Tuki qarTul i emigracia am uaRresad mniSvnel ovan probl emas moxsnida, aj anyebis samxedro centri dasaxul i mizni sken svl as warmatebiT gaagrZel ebda. es imas ni Snavda, rom aj anyebisTvis saWi ro yvel a safexuris srul yofil ad momzadebis SemTxvevaSi, misi dawyeba ori mniSvnel ovani faqtorisaTvis unda daekavSirebinaT. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: **1) saqarTvel os sasargebl od xel sayrel i saerTaSoriso situaciis Seqmna da 2) ruseTis Sinauri mdgomareobis maqsimal urad qarTul eba.** aRniSnul i xel Semwyobi procesebis arSeqmnis SemTxvevaSi, imave dokumentis Semqmnel ebi gamafrTxil ebel i formiT miuTiTebdnen: `Tu saerTaSoriso urTierToba Cvens winaaRmdeg moewyo da imavdroul ad bol Sevikebi TviT ruseTSi ganmtkicd-

nen, cxadia, ami erkavkasi is aj anyeba mi utevebel avanturad Cai Tvl eba.- 3) samxedro komisi is winaSe, vj uRel is mier 1923 wl is 15 Teberval s parizSi gakeTebul i damatebiTi moxsenebiT irkveva, rom antisabWouri gamosvl ebis zemoaRniSnul i gegma Zal aSi rCebel da. igi mxol od, 1923 wl is ianvris monacemebiT `okas- daqvemdebarebaSi arsebul i rusul i samxedro SenaerTebis raodenobis dazustebas iTval iswinebda. (ix. cxril i # 6, 7) winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, imave vj uRel is moxsenebaSi sxva sakiTxebis mi marTac iqneboda yura dReba gadatanil i.

amrigad, Cems mier motanil i faqtobrivi masal is anal izidan gamomdinare irkveva: 1) saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i mZime politikuri da ekonomikuri situaciis fonze, qarTvel i xal xis erovnul i Tavisufl ebisaken swrafvis aRmavl obis procesi, warmodgenil dokumentebSi maqsimal uradaa gaTval iswinebul i.

2) dasavl eT evropasa da ruseTs Soris mimdinare ekonomikuri daaxl oebis ganmapi robebel i faqtorebis siRmiseul i anal izis fonze, saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis mSvidobiani gza (evropis mxridan SeiaraRebul i Zal iT daxmareba, muSaTa saerTaSoriso internacional is Zal isxmeva da kreml is dacema) uperspektivod da il uziadaa miCneul i.

3) srul iad kavkasi is masStabiT SeiaraRebul i aj anyebj sadmi prioritatis micema da am saqmeSi saqarTvel osadmi xel mZRvanel is funqciis dakisreba, dokumentebis Semdgenel Ta mxridan damaj erebel i argumentebiTaa warmodgenil i. konkretul adaa miTiTebul i aj anyebis mosamzadebel i safexurebis da misi srul ad ganxorciel ebisatvis saWi ro RonisZiebis Sesaxeb.

4) aj anyebis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis morigi agresiiagan damcavi meqanizmis is saSual ebebi, roml ebic dokumentebSi warmodgenil i, im periodis (politikuri, samxedro strategiul i, finansuri, kavkasiis respublikebis erToblivi moqmedebis potenciuri SesaZl ebl obebi da a.S.) moTxovnebs ZiriTadad pasuxobda da srul fasovan gegmad unda CaiTval os. marTal ia, es dokumentebi SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis momzadebisa da misi ganxorciel ebis mokl evadian (1922 wl is gviani Semodgoma_ 1923 wl is adre gazafxul i) monakveTze iyo gaTvl il i, magram, vj uRel is 1923 wl is Tebervl is samxedro moxsenebam da saj ariso SenaerTebis Sesaxeb masSi Setanil ma damatebiTma monacemebma, am gegmas momdevno wl ebSi moqmedebis xangrZl ioba SeunarCuna. mi Tumetes, dasaxul i mi znis misaRwevad gasatarebel i RonisZiebebis yvel a ni uansi, masSi maqsimal uradiyo gaTval iswinebul i.

cxრილი # 1

კავკასიის რესპუბლიკების დისოცირებული `OKA--ს (კავკასიის საგანგებო არმია) სამადგენი ობა და სეარა რეზერვა (1922 წლის მარტის მონაცემებით)							
ჯარის სამადგენი ობის დასახელება	ჯარის- კატორაოდ- ნობა	იარაღის დასახელება	იარაღის რაოდენობა	აგედასაგარტველი ოსი იყო			
				ჯარის სამადგენი ობის დასახელება	ჯარის- კატორაოდ- ნობა	იარაღის დასახელება	იარაღის რაოდენ- ობა
1.კომუნისტური სამადგენი ობა	3330	თვითმფრავი	534	კომუნისტური სამადგენი ობა	2100	თვითმფრავი	274
2.წითელი არმიის სული	36630	ზარბაზანი	104	წითელი არმიის სული	20339	ზარბაზანი	64
სული	39960			სული	22439		
სული	40000			სული	22000		
`OKA--ს სამხედრო ნაწილების დისოციაციის ადგილები				`OKA--ს სამხედრო ნაწილების ვერტა რაოდენობა			
1. საგარტველი ო							
ა) ტბის				9000			
ბ) ბათუმი				4000			
გ) კუთაისი				3000			
დ) ლორე				3000			
ე) სხვა ადგილები				3000			
2. აზერბაიჯანი				8000			
3. დაღესტანი				6000			
4. სამხეტი				4000			
სული				40000			

cxრილი შედგენისათვის ვადაუკორიამ

cxril i # 2

`OKA-- s SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis wi naaRmdeg mebrZol i kavkasiis respubl ikebis samxedro potencial i (1922 wl is 1 ivnisis monacemebi T)		
respubl ikebi	j aris Semadgenl - oba	j ariskacTa raodenoba
1.saqarTvel o	qarTul i wiTel i l aSqari	5000
	milicia da sxva razmebi	3000
	sakuTari farul i samxedro organizacia	14000
	sul	22000
2.azerbaij ani	wiTel i l aSqari da adgil obrivi razmebi	5000
	sakuTari Zal ebi pirveli daZaxebisTanave	8000
	sul	13000
3.somxeTi	somxeTis wiTel i l aSqari	6000
	farul i samxedro organizacia	10000
	sul	16000
4.mTa (daRes-tani)	sakuTari pirveli dakvris Zal ebi	4000
	sul	55000
`OKA-- s 40000 j ariskacs daupirispirdeboda kavkasiis respubl ikebis 55000 aj anyebul i		

cxril i Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoria m

cxრი I # 3

რუსი ოკუპანტების წინააღმდეგ მებრძოლი საკარტველი ოს საიდუმლო სამხედრო ორგანიზაციის მხარდამხრე ჯალთა რაოდენობა (1922 წლის 1 ივნისის მონაცემები)

დასავლეთ საკარტველი ო		აღმოსავლეთ საკარტველი ო	
კალაქები, მარები და რეგიონები	ჯარისკაცთა რაოდენობა	კალაქები, მარები და რეგიონები	ჯარისკაცთა რაოდენობა
1. სოხუმის ოლი	1000	1. ხასურის რაიონი	500
2. ჯუღდიდის მარა	700	2. ახალციხის მარა	400
3. სენაკის მარა	800	3. ახალკალაქის მარა	300
4. ფოთი	400	4. გორის მარა	1000
5. ბათუმი	400	5. მანგლის რაიონი	300
6. გურია	1800	6. ბორჯალოს მარა	400
7. სამტრედია	1000	7. დუშეთის რაიონი	800
8. კუთაისი	700	8. ყაზბეგის რაიონი	400
9. იმეხუმი	500	9. ტიანეთის მარა	300
10. რაჭა	300	10. თბილისის გარეუბანი	2000
11. სვანეთი	1500	11. გარეკახეთი	1000
12. სოფლის მარა	1600	12. ტელავის მარა	800
		13. სირხარის მარა	1000
სულ	10700	სულ	9200

ორივე რეგიონში დამატებით 2-3 ათასი კარტული ჯარი და 3-4 ათასი კარტული მილიცია სეგროვდება. ერთიანობაში აქავეს ჯალთა რაოდენობა 22000 იქნება.

მებრძოლი საკარტველი ოს ჯალთა სამადგენლობა თბილისში (1922 წლის 1 ივნისის მონაცემები)

საწყისი ეტაპისთვის აქავეს სეზონი გამოეყვანა:

ჯარის სახეობა	აქავეს ჯალთა რაოდენობა	მტრის რაოდენობა
1. ფარული სამხედრო ორგანიზაცია	1500	4000 ატიურად მოქმედი ჯარისკაცი
2. კარტული საყარი	1500	
3. რკინიგზის და კალაქის მილიცია	1000	
4. სულ	4000	
მტრის პირველი დარტყმისთვის	3000	

cxრი I სეადგინა სოთავადუკორი ამ

cxril i # 4

aj anyebul Ta mier Tbil isis aR- ebisa da pirvel i dartymsaT- vis saWiro Zal Ta ganawil ebis gegma (1922 wl is seqtemberi)	
dasakavebel i strategiul i simaRl eebisa da obieqt- ebis dasaxel e- ba	dasakavebel i obieqt- ebis mixedviT, aj anye- bul Ta SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis raododenob- rivad gadanawil eba
1.ZmaTa sasaf- l ao 2.maxaTas mTa da ferdobi 3.botanikuri baRi 4.mamadaviTi da mTawminda	1000
sxvadasxva mimarTul eba	2000
1.saxal xo ko- misariati, ce- ka, kavbiuro, 'OKA-- s Sta- bi, 'Ceka-	150
2.cixis ganTa- visufl eba	100
3.fosta, tel e- grafi, tel efonid a radio	100
4.j avSniani matarebl ebi, j avSniani avtomobil ebi, tankebi	200
sul	3550
aj anyebul Ta rezervi	450 kaci daniSnul e- bisamebr iqneboda gam- oyenebul i. gaTenebi- sas Tbil iss, qal aqis gareubnidan 2000 aj a- nyebul i gauwevda daxmarebas.

cxril i Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoriam

cxრილი # 5

<p>აქ ანების გამარჯვების და ევროპის სახელმწიფოთა დახმარების (ფინანსები, იარაღი, ამუცია, სურსათი...) შემთხვევაში, კავკასიის 4 რესპუბლიკას შეეძლო გამოეყვანა (1922 წლის ივნისის მონაცემებით):</p>			
რესპუბლიკების დასახელება	ცოცხალი ჯალის რაოდენობა	სტრატეგიული მნიშვნელობის პუნქტების გამაგება	ცოცხალი ჯალის განაწილება
1.საქართველო	120000	დასახელება	ცოცხალი ჯალის რაოდენობა
2.სომხეთი	60000	1.დარუბანის ვისკარის და დარესტანის დაცვა	50000
3.აზერბაიჯანი	30000		
4.მთა. (დარესტანი)	10000		
სულ	220000	2.სავიზრვის სანაპიროს გამაგება	20000
		3.დარიალის ხეობის ცაქეთვა	10000
		4.მამისონის ურელთხილის ცაქეთვა	5000
		5.ცრდილოეთის სხვა გადასვლების ცაქეთვა	10000
		6.სამხრეთის საზღვრის დაცვა	30000
		სულ	125000
		რეზერვში დარცხობა და საწარმოებისა-მებრიცხობა გამოყენების	55000

cxრილი შეადგინა სოთა ვადავკორიამ

cxრილი 6

<p>ქრდილი კავკასიის საჯარო სამხედრო ძა (CKBO) 1923 წლის 17 იანვრის მონაცემები (ა.ეგოროვის სამხედრო მოხსენების მიხედვით)</p>				
<p>ქრდილი კავკასიის არმიები</p>	<p>არმიების შემადგენლობა</p>	<p>რაოდენობა</p>	<p>ხელმძღვანელობა</p>	<p>სტაბის ადგილსამყოფელი</p>
<p>IX, XIII XXII, XXVIII, XXXVII</p>	<p>1).კარტლელთა მსოფლიო დივიზიები</p>	<p>4000 ქიტი</p>	<p>ქრდილი კავკასიის საჯარო (CKBO) უფროსი: კვოროსილი. სტაბის უფროსი: პ.ლევანდოვსკი</p>	<p>როსტოვი</p>
	<p>2).კარტლელთა ცხენოსანი</p>	<p>1200 ხმალი</p>		
	<p>3).დარესტანის კვეთის დივიზია</p>			
	<p>4).საბუდიონის 4 ცხენოსანი დივიზია (II, IV, VI, XIV)</p>			
	<p>ცხენოსანი კალკე ბრიგადა</p>			
<p>სულ : ქრდილი კავკასიის არმიის (CKBO) რუსული ჯარების რაოდენობა 35 ათასი მებრძოლი</p>				

cxრილი შედგენის საფუძვალზე

cxril i 7

a.egorovis samxedro moxsenebisa da `okas- 1923 wl is 17 ianvris sainformacio cnobebis mixedvit, samxreTkavkasiaSi ganl agebul i `okas- saj ariso SenaerTebi da misi raodenoba.			
l msrol el i diviziis Semadgenl obis disl okaciis adgili	raodenoba	samxreT kavkasiaSi `okas- Semadgenl obaSi myofi rusi jariskacebis disl okaciis adgili	raodenoba
1).pirveli diviziis sammarTvel o quTaisSi	169 kaci	1).saqarTvel oSi idga: aqedan Tbil isSi	16 aTasi rusi xisti 6 aTasi rusi xisti
2).oficerTa skol a quTaisSi	76 kaci	2).azerbaijanSi idga:	11 aTasi rusi xisti
5).mesame msrol el i polki quTaisSi	2238 kaci	somxetsi idga:	9 aTasi rusi xisti
6).msubuqi saartil erio diviziis sammarTvel o_ quTaisSi			
7).pirveli da meore msubuqi batarea da samto `viucni- (saswavi ebeli)	346 kaci		
8).gaubicebis batarea batumiSi	115 kaci		
9).samekavSireo gundi quTaisSi	228 kaci		
10).calke eskadroni quTaisSi	115 kaci		
sul pirvel diviziaSi 7484 kaci.		sul 36000 xisti	
samive respublikaSi disl ocirebul i I, II da III diviziebis saerto raodenoba 22 aTas kacs Seadgenda, rac `okas- mTavar Zal as warmoadgenda.			
kursantebis skol - ebi `okas- Semadgenl obaSi	kursantTa saerto ricxvi 2500 kaci	javSniani sabrZol o saSual ebebi	
1).saswavi o da sakadro brigada	3000 kaci	1).javSniani 5 matarebeli, 2).javSniani avtomobilebi, 3).tankebi, 4).Tvitmfrinavebi, 5).sacixovno (msxvil kalibriani) artileria,	
2).cxenosani brigada	1600 kaci		
3).Cekas sxvadasxva razmebi			
jami 7100 kaci		Semadgenl obis saerto ricxvi 6000 kaci	
mTlianobaSi sul 75584 kaci			

cxril i Seadgina SoTavadaWkoriam

§. 2. SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gacemis ganmapi robebel i faqtorebi

saqarTvel os okupaciis Semdeg dawyebul i erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis istoriis Sesaxeb daweril samecniero da publiacisturi xasiaTis Sromebsi dawvril ebiTaa aRweril i 1922_1924 wl ebis monakveTSi SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis mzadebis mimdinare procesebis da `samxedro centris-gacemis faqti. magram, gamokveTil i formiT araa mocul i: 1)aj anyebis dasawyebad gadawyvetil ebis miRebis dros, `damkomisa- da `samxedro centris-warmomadgenel Tamier gaTval iswinebul i iqna Tu ara sazRvargareT momzadebul i da qarTvel i samxedro special istebisgan mowonebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSi mocemul i yvel amoTxovna; 2)politikuri partiebis mxridan, arsebobda Tu ara piradi ambiciebisa da partiul i interesebisadmi aj anyebis daqvemdebarebis mcdeloba; 3)SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis ori gegmidan (1. vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe; 2. r.musxel iSvili), romeli maTgani iqna gacemul i da es qmedeba, romeli politikuri partiis warmomadgenel Ta interesebSi Sedioda.

arada aRniSnul i sakiTxebis srul fasovnad arwarmoCena, ama Tu im politikuri mimdinareobisa da Tvit politikur moRvaweTamier gaweul qmedebasTan mi marTebsi, obieqturi Sefasebebis gakeTebis SeuZl ebl obas qmnis. am sakiTxiT Cemi mxridan gansakuTrebul i dai ntereseba harvardisa da Ilevilis saarqivo fondebis safuZvliani Seswavis Sedegad mikvl eul masal ebma ganapiroba. meore mxriv, yuradRebis centrSi vj uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis avtorobiT Seqmnil aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSi dasmul i ZiriTadi debul ebebi moeqca, romelic safuZvad da saxel mZRvanel od unda dadeboda SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samzadiss. smwuxarod, es procesi pirvel safexurzeve iqna SeCerebul i. misi ignoriereba mas Semdeg ganaxorciel es, roca am gegmis mxardamWerebi mizanmarTul ad iqna politikuri sarbielidan Camocilebul i. am faqtorebis gauTval iswinebl obis SemTxvevaSi, nebismeri mkvl evari tendenciurobis tyveobaSi moeqceva da obieqturi Sefasebis gakeTebs ver SeZl ebs. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul i pretenzia arc me gamaCnia, magram, yvel a saxebis saarqivo masalis anal izidan gamomdinare, SevecdeberTi ukiduresobidan meoreSi ar aRmovCnde.

CemTvis xel misawvdomi saarqivo masal ebis mixedvit irkveva, rom `samxedro centri- sasurvel informacias sabWoTaj arebis general uri Stabidan iRebda. maTTvis cnobil i iyo, rom xel isufl ebisa da misadmi qvemdebare uSi Sroebis komitetis mizans, umkacresi represi ebs gasatarebel sababad, saqarTvel oSi anarqiiis gamwvebis gamoyeneba warmoadgenda. aRniSnulis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, madoneris (n.xomeriki) mier Teimurazisadmi (n.rami Svili) gagzavnil daSifrul weril Si gamafrTxil ebel i formiTiyo miTitebul i, rom `samxedro centri- xel mZRvanel obas, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis provokaciebis aRmkveTi RonisZiebebi droul ad gaetarebina. am pozicias saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel obac iziarebda. amis udao dadasturebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas prezidiumis mdivnis mier sandros fsevdonimiT parizSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. dasmul sakiTxTan mi marTebsi, am dokumentSi vkiTxu-

I obT: `Tqven unda icodeT, rom Cven nabij s ar gadavdgamT Tu amisTvis garkveul i perspeqtiva ar gveqneba da Tu ar viqeniT darwmunebul i gamarjvebaSi. es ki ASesaZl ebel ia maSin, roca ruseTSi da kavkasiaSi garTul deba mdgomareoba da imave dros, Tqven Tu mogvcemT imas, rasac gTxovT da rac aucil ebel ia maSin.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom saokupacio reJimis winaarmddeg gamosvl as, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis mesveurebi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi mi iCnevda mi zanSewoni l ad, Tuki: 1) sabWoTa ruseTSi_ gansakuTrebiT kavkasiaSi pol itikuri da ekonomikuri mdgomareoba damZimdeboda; 2) dasavl eT evropaSi saqarTvel osadmi mxardamWeri real uri pirobebi Sei qmneboda; 3) gamarjvebis perspeqtivaSi darwmunebul ni iqnebodnen. aseTi poziciis mi uxedavad, imave weril is avtori, aj anyebisTvis winaswar mzadebas aucil ebl obad mi iCnevda Tundac im el ementarul i mi zezidan gamomdinare, rom qveyanaSi mou l odnel ad Seqmnil i xel sayrel i situacia maqsimal urad yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul ebisaTvis Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebis ZiriTad pirobad, dafinansebis sakiTxis droul i mogvareba iyo miCneul i. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti si tyva dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebis unda eTqva. Tuki evropis qveynebi okupirebul i saqarTvel os devnil kanonier xel isufl ebas finansur daxmarebas ar aRmouCenda, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraoba saqarTvel oSi aRmavl obis process Sewyvetda, xol o dasavl eT evropa, nebsiT Tu unebl i eT sabWoTa ruseTis sasargebl o saqmes gaakeTebda. aRniSnul i faqtebi hqonda mxedvel obaSi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central ur komitets, roca 1923 wl is mowodebaSi `qarTvel sazogadoebas-saokupacio reJimis winaarmddeg brZol is dawyebisas windaxedul ebisa da gonierebis gmoCenisken rom mowodebda. `okupantebTan brZol a_ vkiTxu- l obT dokumentSi_ windaxedul i, organizaciul i, pol itikuri, gonierebiTa da ganTavisufl ebis ideal iT unda iyos gaSuqebul i! erideT mtris provokacias, ar wamoegoT mis ankess, ar ayveT gabrazebul gul isTqmas. Cven vebrZviT ara pirovnebebs, aramed reJims, ara erT romel ime j al aTs, aramed yvel a j al aTebis. maTTan angariSis gasworebis dro mal e dagvi dgeba.¹

Cems mier motanil i amonawerebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTvel oSi moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa pozicia, auCqarebl obze, mtris winaarmddeg brZol isTvis safuZvl ianad momzadebaze, saerTaSoriso da ruseTSi Seqmnil i xel sayrel i pol itikur- ekonomikuri situaciis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebis moTxovnebze iyo gaTvl il i. amis Sesaxeb vj uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis mier Sedgenil aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSi dawvril ebi- Taa saubari. garkveviTaa mini Snebul i Tu ra faqtorebi SeiZl eba miCneul iyo aj anyebisTvis xel sayrel ad.² im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki antisabWoTa aj anyebis momzadebaze da saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi Zal ismieri gziT saokupacio reJimis uRl is mocil ebaze fiqri Secdomas warmoadgenda, maSin, Secdomad unda iqnas miCneul i damkomisa da samxedro centris Seqmnis faqtebi. kritiki sagnad, mxol od social - demokratiis erT- erTi l ideri n.xomeriki ki ar unda iqnas mi zanSi amoRebul i, aramed, es kritika yvel a im pol itikuri Zal is warmomadgenel Ta mimarT (ganurCevl ad social uri warmomavl obisa) unda gavrcel des, vinc sabWouri reJimis damxobas Zal ismieri forme bis gamoyenebiT Tvl ida SesaZl ebl ad. samwuxarod, es princi pi ratomRac xSir- ad irRveva da bral debebis mTel i wyeba erT pirovnebaze gadaaqvT. mxedve-

I obaSi maqvs n.xomerikis mier sabWoTa xel isufli ebis sawi naaRmdegod ganx-
 orciel ebul i pragmatul i xasiaTis RonisZiebebis eqstremistul _ avantur-
 istul i da erovnul i saSiSroebis mimarTul ebad gamocxadebis faqti.³ am
 Sexedul ebis gasamyarebl ad, prof. g.ciciSvil i eyrdnoba n.qarcivaZis mier
 damkomis erT- erT sxdomaze gakeTebul ganxadebas, roml is Sinaarsi
 gr.rcxil aZis 1924 wl is 21 noembris CvenebaSia warmodgenil i. `nikol oz
 qarcivaZem- vkiTxul obT gr.rcxil aZis CvenebaSi,- erT- erT sxdomaze gana-
 cxada, menSevikTa partiam damakisra gansaxil vel ad davsva sakiTxi, Tu ra
 xasiaTi eqneba ameridan damoukidebl obis komitetis muSaobaso. mas miacn-
 da, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis mosamzadebl ad da aRsadgenad,
 gaurkvevel i da ucnobi vadiT muSaoba arafers mogvitans, rom saWi roa da-
 vTqvaT raime vada, davukavSi roT igi moxerxebul saerTasorisoviTarebas,
 am droisaTvis movamzadot mTel i Zal ebi, rac ki SeiZl eba gvyavdes da am
 dResve datqmul dros gavSal ot saqmanoba. es vada, misi azrit SeiZl eba
 ufro gvi anac dagvetqva imisda mi xedvit Tu rogori iqneboda vitareba. ma-
 gram am vadis fiqsacia warmatebul i mzadebis saWi ro wananZRvr ad ar miacn-
 da.⁴

miuxedavad imisa, rom es Cveneba sapyrobel eSi da sukis TanamSromel Ta
 zewol is qveSi wereboda, ZiriTadi yuradReba damkomis momaval saqmanoba-
 zea gamaxvil ebul i. imavdroul ad gasdagebadaa natqvami: 1) saqarTvel os da-
 moukidebl obis aRsadgenad aucil ebel i iyo winaswari safuzvl iani samza-
 disi da Zal Ta maqsimal uri mobil izacia; 2) mTel i Zal ebis mzadyofnaSi
 moyvana da xel sayrel i saerTasorisoviTarebis Seqmnistanave moqmedeba.
 aRniSnul is gatval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, anti sabWouri Zal ebis moqmede-
 bis konkretul i dro dasaxel ebul i ar iyo; 3) aj anyebis dawyeba, warmatebu-
 l i mzadebit ar unda ganesazRvrat. konkretul ad ras niSnava xel sayre-
 l i situaciis Seqmna da Zal Ta maqsimal uri mobil izacia, amis Sesaxeb vj u-
 Rel isa da al .zaqariaZis mier SemuSavebul aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSia
 saubari. rac Seexeba imave gr.rcxil aZis Cvenebi dan prof. g.ciciSvil is mi-
 er motanil meore amonarids, igi aj anyebis momzadebasTan mimarTebaSi, uSu-
 al od gr.rcxil aZis uaryofit damokidebul ebas warmoaCens da probl emi s-
 admi mxol od n.xomerikiseul i midgomis dasaxasiaTebul ad ar gamodgeba.
 mitumetes, masSi damkomis wevrTa poziciis cval ebadobaze_ aj anyebis mosam-
 zadebel i kursis mizanSewonil ebazea saubari. cnobil ia, rom damkomis
 umravl esoba (konstantine andronikaSvil i, iason javaxiSvil i, ioseb gobe-
 Cia, muxran xowolava), 5 polititur partias Soris_ saqarTvel os ganTavisu-
 fl ebis da misi damoukidebl obis aRdgenis miznit gaformebul i xel Sek-
 rul ebis (1922 wl is april i) safuzvel ze moqmedebda. gr.rcxil aZis dakiTx-
 vidan irkveva, rom am pozicias, mxol od igi ewi naaRmdegeboda (erTi- oTxis
 wi naaRmdeg). am SemTxvevaSi, saqme gvaqvs damkomis wevrTa umravl esobasTan
 da ara konkretul ad mxol od n.xomerikTan. aqedan gamomdinare, aj anyebis
 momzadebas n.xomerikTan erTad damkomis 4 wevric uWerda mxars. rac Seex-
 eba m.j avaxiSvil is `ubis wignakidan- motanil `qaragmul - Canawars, es `do-
 kumentu,- xomerikis mxridan aj anyebis kursisadmi mxardaWeraze miuTitebs.
 g.ciciSvil is azrit, aseTi qmedeba real ur SesaZl ebl obebs ar Seesabam-
 eboda da didi ubedurebis motana SeeZl o. 188- e gverdze, igi n.xomerikTan
 mimarTebaSi mi seul i Sefasebis gamokvetil formul irebas izl eva: `n.xome-

rikis taqtika da moqmedeba mraval i ubedurebis momtani gaxda...- cnobil i faqtia, rom 1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis dawyebamde, 9 Tvi Ta da 19 dRiT adre daapatimres n.xomeriki. im dRidan Sewyda mi si saj aro pol itikuri saqmi anoba. aqedan gamomdinare, mi sadmi raim e saSi Sroebebi sa da ubedurebebi gadabral eba l ogikis kategoriis zogad principi ebs scil deba. dampyrobi qveynis winaaRmdeg, aj anyebis kursis aRebas da samzadiss Tuki erovnul i saSi Sroebis, ubedurebis momtanad da danaSaul ebriv qmedebad miviCnevT, maSin ra azri hqonda pol itikur partiaTa zemoaRni Snul SeTanxmebas, damkomisan samxedro centris Seqmnas? b-n. g.ciciSvil iseul i l ogikT aj anyebis momzadebis kursisadmi mxardamWerTa Sefasebas Tuki movaxdenT, damkomis 4 wevri (konstantine andronikaSvil i, iason j avaxiSvil i, ioseb gobeCi a, muxran xoWol ava) da samxedro centris srul i Semadgenl oba (varden wul ukiZe, konstantine afxazi, ivane narikel aZe) qveynisTvis erovnul i saSi Sroebisa da ubedurebis momtanni yofil an. b-n. g.ciciSvil s unda Sevaxseno, rom erovnul i saSi Sroebis da ubedurebis safexuri maSin momzadda, roca piradi usafrTxoebis uzrunvel yofis mizniT, sul mokle adami anebma antiimperiuil i aj anyebis organizatorebi da sul isCamdgmel ebi daasmina, maTi saqmi anobis Sesaxeb sabWoTa uSi Sroebas dawvril ebiTi informaci a miawoda.

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisa da Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad brZolis samzadisi avanturizms da erovnul saSi Sroebas warmoadgens, Sors rom ar wavideT, XIX da XX saukuneebis saqarTvel os istoriis udidesi monakveTi, avanturizmiTa da erovnul i saSi Sroebis qmedebebiT yofil a damZimebul i. Sefasebis aseTi formis gamoyeneba imaze migvaniSnebs, rom monobaSi myofma erma, Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad ar undaibrZol os da STamomavl obas, monobis uRel i xel Seuxebl ad samudamod dautovos. rac Seexeba piradad n.xomeriks, mi si Zal isxmeviT gaxda SesaZl ebel i sabWouri represiebis Sedegad (1921- 1922 wl ebi) miZinebul i da sul TmobrZavis sarecel ze garTxmul iYantisabWouri saqmi anobis gamococxleba. amitom iyo, rom mis mier aRebul kurss, damkomi da samxedro centri mxars rom uWerda.

im masal ebis mixedviT, romel ic l j iqias aqvs motani l i Tavis naSromSi, aSkaraT ikveTeba aral egal uri muSaobis is saocari specifiuri da organizaciul i formebi, romel ic umkacresi konspiraciis dacvis mizniT n.xomerikma SemoiRo. xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom mtkice organizaciul i disciplinisa da maRal i pasuxismgebl obis moTxovnebis damkvidrebiT, man SesaZl o im aral egerul i `institutis- amuSaveba, roml is ZiriTad amocanas, mowi naaRmdege mxaris samoqmedo gegmis, miznebis sa da amocanebis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTi informaciis mopoveba warmoadgenda. muSaobis am meTodis gamoyenebiT, igi Seqmnil i situaciis Sesatyvisi pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebas axerxebda.⁵

aseT formaze daafuZna man antisabWouri konspiraciul i muSaoba gasabWobebul saqarTvel oSi. amis udao dadasturebas n.kirTaZis mier sukis arqivebidan motani l i masal ebi warmoadgens. aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, 1924 wl is aj anyebisadmi miZRvnil n.kirTaZis naSromSi, dokumentebze dayrdnobiT miTitebul ia, rom n.xomerikis saqarTvel oSi Camosvl am (1922 wl is noemberi) `gamoarviZa da kvl avac sabrZol od ganawywo indiferentul i ganwyobiT mocul i partiul - pol itikuri cxovreba. i sev amoZravda paritetu-

ლი სტრუქტურა დამკომი, რომელ ტანაც სწოდებოდა ამერიკის ინიციატივა აქტიურად ამუშავდა აქლად რეორგანიზაციის სამხედრო კომისია... ამერიკის ტიტულის ერთპიროვნული ვინამზროლი სეიკმნა კარტული პოლიტიკურ ვრეებში ახალი სააგანებო განწყობილებებისა და მზადების საკმიანობაში. იგი ტიტულის დამოუკიდებელი ად... იყენებდა ყველ აფერს; ბედდავდა და აყვეყნებდა, რაც უნდოდა. კავსირებს ამყარებდა მზრებთან, სოფლებთან; დამკომიც ტიტულის საკუთარ აპარატად გაიქადა. ტვიტონ მენსევიკური პარტიის საორგანიზაციო საკმიანობასაც განაგებდა ერთპიროვნული ად.⁶

ამ ვრცელი ამონაწერიდან ასკრადიკვეტებამ ამერიკის ორგანიზატორისა და პრაქტიკოსის სახე. რომელმაც 1922 წლის რეპრესიების სედეგად, როგორც ზემოთაქმონდა არნისნული, ტიტულის დამბლადაცემულ მდგომარეობაში მოყვრიროვნული მოზრაობა გამოაცხადა, რიტაც ანტისაბჰური საკმიანობა საკარტული ოსი ახალ საფეხურზე აიყვანა. მისი ჯალისხმევი, ანტისაბჰოთა კავკასიური ფრონტის სესაქმნელად, არდგენილი იქნა ურტიერთობა ცრდილო კავკასია და აზერბაიჯანის ეროვნული - განმარტვისუფლებელი მოზრაობის ლიდერთან. არნისნული ფაქტების სწოდებოდა, ნკრთაჯისა და ლეიკიას სამეცნიერო მონოგრაფიების მოთანილი დოკუმენტი მასალებიც ადასტურებს.

რაც სეხება დამკომის საკუთარ აპარატად - გადაცევა, მისი ეს ყმედა, დამკომის ვეწებისადმი უნდობლობით, სასიცოცხლო მნიშვნელობის გასათარებელი რონისჯიეების მაქსიმალურად გასაიდუმლებების მოტივით და ყოფილი იყო განპირობებული ამერიკის მხრიდან ასეთი უგადამეტებელი - სიფრთხილის დაწერის მიზანსეონილება სემდეგი პერიოდის განვითარებულმა მოვლებმა დადასტურა, რომლის სესახეც კვემოტ მეგნება საუბარი.

ყოველივე ზემოაქმონიდან გამომდინარე, ასკრადიკვეტებამ, რომ კავარდნილი არალეგარული საკმიანობის ფეხზე ვამოსაყენებლად საუბრო რონისჯიეების გათარების და საფეხურებრივად სემდგომ ეტაპზე გაზროლის მზი მეთვრთის თარების ტავის ტავზე არებით, ნების ტუ უნებლად, ამერიკის ლიდერის ფუნქციის ამაღლაში არმოცნადა. ეს სრულიებითაც არნისნავს, რომ ტავისი აქტიური საკმიანობით, მას სამხედრო დიქტატობა და განდიება ამოზრავებდა. მიუხედავად ამისა - ცნია პროფ. გ.ციციშვილის დებულება, რომ ამერიკაში ასაზრდოვა მხოლოდ ექსტრემისტების ავანტიურისტული მისწრაფებები.⁷ სამუხაროდ, იგი დაეწევის გარეშე მხოლოდ იმ პოლიტიკური პარტიის წარმომადგენლების დაქვემდებარებას, რომლებიც ამერიკის პიროვნებას ტავიდანვე ოდიოზურად არიკვამდნენ. ტუმცა, ასეთი საბაბის სეკმნას ამერიკის მაქსიმალურად გაურბოდა. მხედველობაშია მისარები, სამხედრო კომისიაში - ტუნდაც მკავახიშვილისადმი ნდობის გამოცხადების ფაქტი. ასეთი პოზიციის დადასტურების ოფიციალურად არიარების მიუხედავად, ეროვნული - დემოკრატების გარკვეული ნაწილისათვის ამერიკის პიროვნება მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ იგი გარემოების გამო: 1) ამერიკის მხრიდან უმკაცრესი კონსპირაციის დამკვიდრების ფორმით არალეგარული საკმიანობის გააქტიურება, სოციალ - დემოკრატიული პარტიის წარსულის გამოცდილებას ეყრდნობოდა. ამ მიმართულებით გაწეული მუშაობა, პოლიტიკური სიტუაციის სესაყვისი პრაგმატული გადაწყვეტილების მიწებას, ხსირად ინდივიდუალურად იტვალისწინებდა. ეს ფაქტორი, ამერიკის, როგორც პოლიტიკური ფიგურის ავტორიტეტის საფეხურებრივად ამაღლებას აქდენდა. მისი ასეთი ნაბიჯი მკავახიშვილისთვისაც მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ ტუმეტეს, როგორც პროფ. გ.ციციშვილის ვერსიის მკავახიშვილი ეროვნული - დემოკრატების ცკ დაკერჯოდ მისი პრეზიდიუმის ყველაზე უკვიანი და დინჯი პოლიტიკოსი - იყო.⁸ ტუკი ეს ფაქტი სიმართლეს

Seesabameba, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis l iderebs udidesi pol i- tikuri Secdoma dauSviaT, `yvel aze Wkvi ani da dinj i pol itikosi- mj avaxi- Svil i, Tavis droze erovnul i sabWos (1917 wl is noemberi) wevrobisa da damfiznebel i krebis kandidatTa siis (1919 wl is 29 ianvari) aTeul Si rom ar daasaxel es. misi pol itikuri niWi ereba, saqarTvel os pirvel i respub- l ikis saxel mwi foebriv mSenebl obas rom ar moaxmares. mj avaxi Svil is aq- tiuri pol itikuri saqmi anoba, 1918 wl is 26 maisidan- 1921 wl is 25 Teberv- l amde, 1028 dRis ganmavl obaSi, dokumenturi masal iT ar dasturdeba. `pol i- tikur sarbiel ze- misi gamoCena da gaaqti ureba, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg safexurTanaa dakavSirebul i. 2)n.xomeriki social - demokrati iyo da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi misi yovel i warmatebul i na- bij i, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis avtoritets Crdil avda. am garemoeb- as,aRni Snul i pol itikuri partiis zogierTi l ideri `mZimed- aRi qvamda. rac Seexeba dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebisgan saqarTvel osadmi dax- marebis Sesazl ebl obas, amis Sesaxeb n.xomerikma paritetul i komitetis sxdomaze wakiTxul moxsenebaSi garkveviT Tqva: `Tu SevZel iT saqarTve- l os aj anyeba da erTi ori Tvec gavZel iT, maSin aris imedi dasavl eT evrop- is saxel mwi foTa mxridan dipl omatiuri Carevisa da ful iT daxmarebi- sa.-⁹ xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom n.xomerikis es gancxadeba, vj uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis xel mZRvanel obiT SemuSavebul i da parizis pol itikuri komi- siis (samxedro special istebTan erTad) mowonebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis erT- erTi debul ebaTagania, romel ic n.xomerikma si tyvasi tyvi T gai- eora. parizis pol itikuri komisiis sxdomebis saqmo Canawerebis mi xedvi T, mauzeris sistemis 1000 revorvel is Sesyi dva pol oneTSi iyo gaTval i swineb- ul i. am informaci aze dayrdnobi T, 1923 wl is 24 Teberval s markis fsevd- nimi T saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil weil Si vkiTxu- l obT: `Tu ...pol onel ebisgan i araRis dapi reba Sesrul deba, maSin aucil e- bl ad unda davkraT.-¹⁰ imave n.xomerikis mier 1923 wl is 7 ivni ss fransuas fsevdonimi T gagzavnil daSi frul weril Si, SekiTxvis saxi T xazgasmiT iyo mi uTi Tebul i: `nuTu davkargeT pol onel ebisgan i araRis mi Rebis imedi?- pol itiuri komisiis sxdomebis stenografi ul i angari Sebis mi xedvi T, Ti Tqmi s gadawyvetil i saki Txis bol omde mi yvana SeuZl ebel i gaxda pol oneTSi gar Tu- l ebul i pol itikuri procesebis gamo. Tuki am faqtebs gavi Tval i swinebT, prof. g.cici Svil is gancxadeba: `Cven ki vxedavT, rom n.xomerikma amj er adac icrua-¹¹ _simarTl es ar Seesabameba radgan, n.xomeriki, pol oneTis xel isu- fl ebis maRal CinosanTa mxridan gacemul dapi rebas emyareboda. samwuxa- roa, roca winaswar amoCemebul i pi rovnebebis qomagobis fonze, n.xomerikis pol itikuri figuris odiozurad warmoCeni sa da damcrobis mcdel obi T, igi iseTi fonis Seqmnas cdil obs, `samxedro centris- gacemisa da 1924 wl is aj anyebis damarcxebis ganmapi robebel i mizezebi l amis n.xomeriks gadaabral os.

im saarqivo masal ebis mi xedvi T, romel ic Cems mier iqna mopovebul i, so- cial - demokratiul i partiis l iderebis mxridan saokupacio reJi mis wi naaRm- deg sabrZol vel ad Sesabamisi bazis safuZvl i ani momzadebis aucil ebl o- baze mi uTi Tebs. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas n.rami Svil is mier 1923 wl is 22 agvistos saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. am dokumentSi gansakuTrebul i yuradReba ta- qtikur sakiTxebzea gadatanil i da xazgasmiTaa mi Ti Tebul i_ evropisa da

ruseTis pol itikur- ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gaTval iswinebis aucil ebl oba. am fonze, n.ramiSvil i saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas wevrebs princi pul i formiT mimarTavda: `arc aCqareba arc dagvi aneba. aseTi unda iyos Cveni l ozungi. aCqareba ganadgurebas gvimzadebs, rogorc avanturistul i gamosvl a. sakiTxis dadebi Tad gadasaWrel ad sami pi robaa saWiro: 1)umTavresia qarTvel i xal xis unari. igi sakmaod gatyda, gansakuTrebiT pol itikuri organizaciebis Zvel i wevrebi. xel sayrel i momentis SeqmnisTanave, qarTvel i eris amoZraveba aucil ebel i pi robaa; 2)meore pi robaa_ saqarTvel os gancal kevebiT gamosvl a ar SeuZl ia. aucil ebel ia ruseTs mTel i kavkasia daupirispirdes; 3)mesame pi robaa_ evropis daxmareba, ful iT, i araRiT. es Cveni kategoriul i daskvnaa.~ anal ogiuri saxis gamafrTxil ebel i da saprogramo miTiTebaa imave n.ramiSvil is 1924 wl is ivnisisa da ivl isis weril ebSi, roml ebic saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasa da damkomisadmi iqna gagzavnil i. am dikumentebSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i, rom saokupacio rejimis wi naaRmdeg brZol is dawyeba Semdegi faqtorebisTvis daekavSirebi naT: 1)saqarTvel oSi antisabWouri gamosvl ebi, ruseTSi masobrivi ukmayofil ebis aRmavl obis momentis unda damTxveoda; 2)am gamosvl ebSi qarTvel i eris yvel a aqtiuri Zal is CarTvis uzrunvel yofa momxdariyo; 3)antisabWouri gamosvl ebisTvis iseTi momenti SeerCi aT, roca Tbil iSi qarTvel oba srul yofil ad iqneboda Tavmoyril i; 4)saqarTvel oSi mcxovreba somxebSi Sesabamisi muSaoba Caetarebi naT, raTa gamosvl ebis dros, maTi mxridan neutral iteti yofil iyo dacul i; 5)azerbaj anisa da antisabWourad amoZravebul i kavkasi is gamo, osmal eTi neutral itets daicavda. am faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, qarTvel oficrebs azerbaj anel oficrebTan moqmedebis saerTo gegmis SesamuSavebl ad mol aparakeba dauyovnebl iv unda daewyoT. aRniSnul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, erT- erT Semaj amebel weril Si igive n.ramiSvil i xazgasmiT werda: `am faqtebs unda mi vaqci oT Cveni yuradReba da maT garSemo vawarmooT agitacia. ruseTis Sinaur cxovrebaSi usaTuod eqneba adgil i garTul ebeps da am movl eneps Cven mzaT da organizebul i simagriT unda davxvdeT. Cveni muSaoba kavkasi is masStabiT unda xdebodes, amaze l aparaki aRar aris saWiro da amis Sesaxeb araerTxel momiweria.~ Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis utyuar dadasturebas warmoadgens, rom social - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi l ideri da saqarTvel os devnili iTavrobis wevri n.ramiSvil i, sabWouri okupaci is wi naaRmdeg brZol as, safuZvl iani momzadebis, ruseTSi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebis da xel sayrel i momentisadmi dal odebis taqtikuri kursis aRebas moiTxovda. meore mxriv, srul iad kavkasi is dapyrobi l i xal xebis qarTvel Ta mxardamxar brZol a da gaerTianebul i Zal ebiT sabWoTa ruseTisadmi dapirispireba, mas gamarj vebis erT- erT pi robad mi aCnda. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, mar to qarTvel ebis gamosvl as, gar duval damarcxebas uwi naswarmetyvel ebd. es idea, ki dev ufro vrcel i da dasabuTebul i formiTaa warmodgenil i imave n.ramiSvil is mier abesal omisadmi (fsevdonimia) gagzavnil saprogramo weril Si. igi gamafrTxil ebel i formiT kategoriul ad svamda sakiTxs, sisxl isgan dacl il i qarTvel i eris fizikuri msxverpl is umiznod Sewirvis dauSvebl obis Sesaxeb.

Tuki yovel ive zemoTqmuls, vj uRel isa da al .zaqari azis mier SemuSavebu-

Li aj anyebis samxedro gegmis ZiriTad debul ebebTan SevadarebT, mi si identuroba aSkarad warmoCndeba. es imas ni Snavs, rom n.rami Svili, saqarTvel oSi iatakveSeTSi moqmedi politikiuri Zal ebisa da organizaciebis xel mZRvanel obas, am gegmis maqsimal urad dacvis moTxovnebs uyenebda. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, nebi smieri nabiji mas danaSaul ebriv qmedebad miacnda. aqedan gamomdinare, social - demokratiuli partiis aqtiuri wevris noexomerikis aral egaluri saqmanoba, im saprogramo kursis Semadgeneli nawilis praktikulad realizaciis mcdel obas warmoadgenda, romelic zemoaRniSnuli gegmitiyo gaTvaliswinebuli. meore mxriv, yovel gvari reklamisada xmauris gareSe, am gegmis ZiriTadi debul ebebi mas maqsimal urad unda daecva, radgan amis aucil ebl oba, parizis politikiuri komisiis sxdomam daavalan. xomeriks da imave sxdomis dadgenilebitiqna igi saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnili.

rac Seexeba SeiaraRebuli gamosvlisadmi damokidebul ebas, amastan mimarTebaSi damkoms gamokvetili pozicia ewira. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1924 wl is marti, roca damkoms kursi SeiaraRebuli aj anyebis aucil ebl obiskeniyo mimarTuli. amis Sesani Snav dadasturebas devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi damkoms Tavmjdomaris kandronikaSvili is mier saqarTvel odan gagzavnili werili warmoadgens. igi stambolSi 1924 wl is 2 april siqna miRebuli. am dokumentis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, kandronikaSvili smtkicbit: 1)im periodis saerTasorisovi Tareba, saqarTvel os erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebeli moZraobis sasargeblodiyo mimarTuli; 2)saqarTvel oSi daruseTSi Seqmnili xel sayrelimomentis argamoyeneba`udidesi danaSauli iqneboda erisa da istoriis winaSe; 3)saqmis dasawyebad, 25- 30 atasiliras saqarTvel oSi dauyovnebliv gagzavna aucil ebol obas wrmoadgenda. am fonze, igi devnil obaSi myof xel isufl ebas sayvedurobda: `damkomi gamoTqvams Tavis gakvirvebas, rom mTavrobas aseTi momentisatvis ar qonebia momaragebuli gansakuTrebuli Tanxa.~ martal ia, es sayveduri savsebit samarTliani iyo, magram isic gasaTvaliswinebelia, rom evropis qveynebis maral Cinosnebis mxridan, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi finansuri daxmarebis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis droindelival ebis gadaxdis gacemulipiroba, inglisis mTavrobisgan Seusrul ebeli darCa. am faqtorma gansazRvra saqarTvel os damkomsadmi fulis droul admi wodebis SeuZl ebl oba.

martal ia, saqarTvel os damkoms aj anyebis kursi hqonda aRebuli, magram am mimarTulebitacqarebuli nabijis gadadgmas, rogorc zemoTac mqonda mitiTebuli, social - demokratiuli partiis erT- erTilideri n.rami Svili sastikad ewinaaRmdegeboda. miuxedavad amisa, abesal omis saxelze gagzavnili weriliSi, bol Sevikebis dacemis momentis maqsimal urad gamoyenebas dasaxel isufl ebo Zal aufl ebis dpatronebas igi aucil ebl obad miicnevda. aseTi sarisko nabijis gadasadgmelad, garkveuli doziT Sesabamisi samzadisis Catarebas saval debul od Tvlida. dasaxuli miznis miRwevis erT- erTpirobad, qarTvel oficrobasTan saidumlo kavSiris damyarebas miicnevda. amastan dakavSirebit imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `Cveni mizania arsebuli qarTuli l aSqris gadaqceva damoukidebeli demokratiuli respublikis mTavar berketad dami T Cveni brZolis gaadvileba. saWi ro iqneba dauyovnebliv l aSqris xel mZRvanel Ta gawmenda mobol Seviko da faSis-

tur- reaqcionuri el ementebisagan. unda veridoT gvardiis msgavsi razme-
 bis Seqmnas. piriqit,Tavidanve SevecadoT yvel a moxal iseTa razmi l aSgarSi
 CavricxoT da sastik disciplinas davumorcil oT,rom gadatrial ebisas
 qveynis baton- patroni demokratia Seiqnes da ara faSisturi reaqcionul i
 el ementebi...aqedanve unda movaxdinoT moxal iseTa Cumi aRricxva. amistvis
 srul iadac ar aris saWiro maTi Tavmoyra da mTel i nebarTvis miReba,
 aramed varaudiT movaxdinoT zedmeti saxel is wodebit Cveni momxreebis
 saiduml o aRricxva. es gansakuTrebit saWiroa Tbil isSi, sadac unda viyo-
 l i oT sakmao Zal a im SemTxvevisaTvis.- am amonaweris mixedvit, gamokveTi-
 l ad moCans n.ramiSvil is damokidebul eba im RonisZieebis gatarabasTan
 mimarTebaSi, romel ic saokupacio reJimis wi naaRmdeg mimarTul samzadis-
 Tan unda yofil iyo dakavSirebul i. meore mxriv, dasaxul i mi znis mi Rwevis
 umni Svel ovanes pirobad konspiraciul i muSaobis maRal doneze dayeneba
 aucil ebl obadaa miCneul i. rac Seexeba bol Seviketan mol aparakebas, imave
 n.ramiSvil is kategoriul i moTxovnit, igi mxol od erT sakiTxTan_ saoku-
 pacio j aris saqarTvel odan gayvanis pirobebis Sesaxeb SeiZl eboda Semd-
 gariyo.

dasavl eT evropasi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis swrafad cval eba-
 dobdan gamomdinare, dasavl eTis sazogadoebriv- pol itikuri azris war-
 momadgenl ebTan permanentul i saqmiani urTierToba da maTi saqarTvel oTi
 daintereseba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. am mi zniT, muSaobis iseTi for-
 mis gamozebna iyo saWiro, romel ic saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi amomwuravi
 informaciis srul ad Tavmoyras da maRal doneze gadamuSavebul i saxiT
 dasavl eTis sazogadoebi sadmi miwodebis SesaZl ebl obas Seqmni da. am mi zniT,
 saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmed partiebsa da organi zaciebs, parizSi
 myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebTan mudmivi weril obiTi sa-
 informacio kontahti unda hqonoda. konkretul ad Tu ra sakiTxebiT Sei-
 Zl eboda dasavl eT evropis pol itikuri wreebis daintereseba da maTi mxridan
 saqarTvel osdmi sasargebl o mxardamWeri poziciis oficial urad dafiq-
 si-reba, amis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari n.ramiSvil is mier saqarTvel oSi
 gamogzavnil weril Si, romel ic dasaTaurebul ia: `abesal omis sayuradRe-
 bod.- am dokumentis mixedvit, saqarTvel odan gagzavnil informacias, cen-
 tris monacemebTan erTad, provinciebic unda moecva da gansakuTrebul i
 yuradReba Semdeg ZiriTad sakiTxebze yofil iyo gadatanil i: `1)**pirvel
 yovl isa represia da terori:** vinaa datusaRebul i, sad da ra mi zniT. vinaa
 gasaxl ebul i_ ra mi zeziT da sad imyofeba. CekaSi wamebul Ta viTareba, ra
 saxisaa wameba da ra mi zeziT aris gamowveul i. cnoba unda iyos swori da
 dawvril ebiti; 2)**muSaTa mdgomareoba:** ramden saaTs amuSaveben, ramdenia
 xel fasi, xel fass aZl even Tu ara daniSnul droSi, ra sanovagis yidva Se-
 uZl ia muSas am xel fasiT, SeadareT exl andel i xel fasi mefis droindel
 xel fastan; 3)**gl exobis mdgomareoba:** Aa)ra Rirs gl exis nawarmi (matyl i,
 abreSumi, puri, simindi, bamba, Rvino, Txili da sxva) exl a ra Rirda omis win.
 ras SeiZens axl andel i xel fasiT gl exi; b)pirveli saWiroebis saganTa fa-
 sebi: tansacmeli, fexsacmeli da sxva. ra Rirs exl a da ra Rirda omis win;
 4)**gadasaxadi:** ra saxisaa gadasaxadebi. raodenoba mefis dros da bol Sevi-
 kebis reJimis periodSi. rogor xdeba gadasaxadebis akrefa. arTmeven Tu
 ara gl exs WurWels, Sinaur oTxfexs da sxva; 5)**skol a:** ras aswavl ian. co-

dnis done exl a, mefis dros da saqarTvel os damouki debel respubl ikaSi. rogoria masvavl ebel Ta kadri da maTi momzadeba. ras warmoadgens- Zi ier- deba Tu ara pionerebi, komsomol ebi da maTi organizaciebi; 6)ekl esiis mdgomareoba: grZel deba Tu ara ekl esiis msaxurTa devna, mRvdel mTavarTa dpatimreba_ gadasaxl eba (maTi vinaoba). ramdeni ekl esiaa dangreul i. xel s uSl ian Tu ara mRvdel msaxurebas. warmoebs Tu ara morwmuneebze daci nva. devnian Tu ara somexTa da musl imanTa ekl esia- meCeTebis msaxurT. am sa- ganze cnoba rom mi viRoT saWi roa sakaTal i koso sabWosTan gavabaT kavSi- ri.

i qonieT saxeSi is garemoeba, rom ingl isSi Cveni el Cis saSual ebiT dakav- Sirebul i varT pirdapir kenterberis arqiepi skoposTan, xol o romSi pap- Tan gvyavs gansakuTrebul i warmomadgenel i (ingil o) ivanicki... sakaTal i- koso sabWom unda mogvawodos yovel gvani cnobebi rac ekl esias exeba. evropasi amas metad didi mniSvnel oba aqvs.-¹²

es vrcel i amonaweri srul ad asaxavs emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os xe- l isufl ebis warmomadgenel Ta mier ideol ogiur frontze Cafiqrebul i saqmianobis ZiriTad mimarTul ebas. Znel ia imis Tqma Tu ramdenad axerxeb- da zemoaRniSnul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi srul fasovani informaciis miwo- debas saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi pol itikuri organizaciebi. erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom Cems mier mikvl eul i masal ebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis wevrTa saxel ze gagzavnil weril ebsa da moxsenebebSi garkveul i doziTaa warmo- dgenil i zemoaRniSnul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi mopovebul i informaci u- l i xasiaTis masal a. marTal ia, am mimarTul ebiT muSaobis Catareba garkveul finansebTan iyo dakavSirebul i, magram, umZimesi ekonomikuri siduxWiris mi- uxedavad, arsebul i siZnel eebis daZl eva ZiriTadad enTuziazmis bazaze xdeboda. aqedan gamomdinare, Cems mier zemoT dasaxel ebul dokumentebSi motanil i faqtebi, qveyanaSi mimdinare umZimesi procesebis amomwuravad asa- xvis pretenzi as ar acxadebda. mi uxedavad amisa, masze dayrdnobi T, saqarTve- l os emigraciul i mTavroba Rirseul ad umkl avdeboda sabWoTa propagan- distul Semotevebs. es masal ebi dResac umniSvnel ovanes wyaros warmoad- gens 20- 30- iani wl ebis gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os obieqturi suraTis aRsadgenad.

rac Seexeba Seiararebul i aj anyebisTvis mzadebas, pirvel etapze, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis Sesabamis uwyebas, garkveul i informaci a gaaCnda damkomi sa da samxedro centris aral egarul saqmianobasTan mimarTebaSi. maTi mi znebi sa da amocanebis srul ad gamosamJRavnebl ad, saqarTvel oSi mTel i datvirTviT amoqmedda jer kidev 1921 wl is 26 Teberval s Seqmnil i saqarTvel os saga- ngebo komisi is Semadgenl oba. mi sma muSaobam gansakuTrebul i warmatebul i saxe mas Semdeg miiRo, roca am komisi is Tavmj domaris moadgil ed (1922 wl is miwuruli) l .beria dainiSna. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom am komisi is saqmianobis erT- erT safexurs, aral egarul ad moqmedi pol itikuri partiebisa da damkomis Semadgenl obaSi uSiSroebis Tanam- Sroml ebis Segzavna warmoadgenda. mizani ara mar to informaci is mopove- baSi, aramed provokaciebis mowyobisadmi xel SewyobaSi, ama Tu im organi- zaciis srul ad gamosamJRavnebaSi mdgomareobda. sabWoTa specsamsaxurebis mxridan mosal odnel i garTul ebebis Sesaxeb, social - demokratiul i partiis

l iderTa garkveul i nawil i saqmis kursSi iyo da partiis xel mZRvanel o-
bas droul ad afrTxil ebda. amis dadasturebas, 1924 wl is 10 seqtembriT
daTariRebul i kqvarj al aZis weril i warmoadgens. CemTvis sainteres o saki-
TxTan mi marTebaSi am dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `roca CvenSi xSiri daWere-
bi daiwyo, aman Zl ier damaeWva, rom provokaciis qsel Si ar vyofil iyaviT
gabmul ni. Cems 18 da 30 ivnisis, 17 da 31 ivl isis, 6 da 13 agvistos weril ebSi
am provokaciis saSiSroebaze mivutiTebdi Cveneb. erT am weril Si imasac
ki vwerdi, rom Cemi rwmeniT bol Sevikebma ician mTel i Tqveni asaval - da-
saval i da ucclan moxerxebul dros, rom mTel i Cveni organizacia daangri-
on Tqo. ami tom ufrTxil diT da erTnairi reorganizacia moaxdineT rogorc
Cveni partiul i organizaciebis damokidebul ebaSi samxedro organizacie-
bTan Tqo, vwerdi maT. Cems SiSs amis Sesaxeb orive noes vwerdi.- es gafrTx-
il eba, garkveul informacias emyareboda. meore mxriv, aral egal urad mo-
qmed partiul organizaciebSi aSkarad SeiniSneboda uSiSroebis mier Seg-
zavnil i pirebis aqtiuri moqmedeba, romel Ta ZiriTad mizans organizaciis
wevrTa provocireba warmoadgenda. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT imave kqva-
rj al aZis weril Si vkiTxul obT: `metad da farTod gaidga provokaci am
fexi Cvens organizaciebSi da maT irgvl iv bol o xanebSi. masiuri Wera
daiwyo. yvel as al bad provokaciis saSiSroeba moel oda... sul advil i Sesa-
Zl ebel ia provokaciul i mizniTac aqzebdnen Cvens organizaciebSi SeWril i
gamyidvel ebis gamosvl ebs.¹³ uSiSroebis mxridan jaSuSta qsel is gaaqti-
urebaze da provokaciebze roca vsaubrob, yuradRebis miRma ar unda dav-
tovoT yvel aze mniSvnel ovani faqtori. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel o_
stambol i_ parizis damakavSirebel i gza_ aWaris regioni. saarqivo masal ebiT
dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel odan evropis mi marTul ebiT gagzavnil i weril
l obiTi informacia, kuriers aWaris regioni savl iT osmal eTSi unda ga-
etana da amis Semdeg xdeboda SesaZl ebel i misi stambol Si Catania. stamb-
ol is pol itikuri komisia pirdapir parizs ukavSirdeboda. Tuki im gare-
moebasac gaviTval iswinebT, rom osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTis megobar saxe-
l mwi fod aRiqmeboda da mis teritoriaze sabWoTa ruseTis dazverva aqti-
urad moqmedebda, am faqtorebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel odan an parizi-
dan nebi smieri informaciis `gaJonvis- didi al baToba arsebobda. gamori-
cxul i araa, rom sabWoTa uSiSroebis warmomadgenl ebis mxridan aWaris mo-
saxl eobaze gansakuTrebul i zewol a da maTTvis jaSuSobis funqciis Sese-
ul ebis daval ebis micema, am faqtoriT rom yofil iyo ganpirobebul i. am sa-
kiTxTan dakavSirebiT, stambol idan giorgis fsevdonimiT parizSi gagzav-
nil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `baTumis mosazRvre sofl ebis mcxovrebl ebi
baTumSi daibares da sastik gancxadebaze moawerines xel i. yvel as jaSuSo-
ba daaval es da Tanac daxvretiT daemuqrnen.- im saarqivo masal ebis mi xed-
viT, romel ic Cems mier iqna mopovebul i da sabWoTa uSiSroebis mxridan
pol itikuri Zal ebis mosyidvis mcdel obas exeba, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas
n.ramiSvil is mier abesal omisadmi saqarTvel oSi gagzavnil i saprogramo
weril i iqcevs. am dokumentis mixedviT, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis
mTel i rigi wevrebi sabWoTa uSiSroebasTan dakavSirebul pirovnebebadaa
gamocxadebul i. am faqts igi imdenad aniWebs gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas,
ramdenadac saerTaSoriso arenaze sabWoTa ruseTis sawinaaRmdego bl okis
Sekvris procesi warmatebul ad mmdinareobda. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT,

imave weril Si vkiTxul obT: `ruseTi savsebiT gariyul ia. antirusul i bl okis mowyoba Cqari tempiT mimdinareobs. ingl isi ar moisvenebis sanam ruseTs ar daaqucmacebs. aseT xel sayrel momentSi Cven axal i mteri gagviCnda. es aris faSistTa j gufi, romel sac meTauroben spiridon kedia, al eqsandre asaTiani, l eo keresel iZe, general i kvinitaZe, ... kote komaxiZe (yofil i social ist- federal isti) da mixako wereTel i, xol o pol oneTSi general i CxeiZe da pol kovniki inJineri kandel aki. maT aiyoL ies erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mimdevari axal gazrdoba da miznaT daisaxes Cveni partiisa da social isteblis dasamareba. mTel i es j gufi dakavSirebul ia ful iT da saqmiT Sal va qarumiZesTan, romel ic Cekas agentia. axal gazrdaTa Soris uTuod bevria Cekas agenti, Tumca asaTiani da keresel iZe mainc, Tu sxvebi ara bol SevikTa agentebis STabeWdil ebas toveben.

faSistTa j gufi gadabmul ia rus monarqistebTan da mzadaa dakmayofil des avtonomi iT, oRond Tavidan moiSoros social isteblis. isini agreTve yvel gan daTareSoben da cdil oben amierkavkasiaSi ital ia Semoiyvanon da misi mandati daaweson. rogorc xedavT, faSistTa j gufi Cvens ers avanturas umzadebs. isini aSkarad amzadeben ital iis daxmarebiT aj anyebas, rac Cvens ers fizikur ganadgurebas uqadis, xol o meore mxriv, mas axal samoqal aqo oms umzadebs. saWiroa Tqven mTel i xal xi darazmoT faSistTa da maT mosal odnel mokavSireTa wi naaRmdeg. pirvel rigSi SeecadeT xal xs zepirad gadasceT srul i sinamdvil e da faSistTa meTaurebs xal xis Tval Si saxel i gavutexoT. am mizniT aucil ebel ia: 1) yvel l a pol itikur partias da sxva organizaciebs (studentTa kavSiri, mweral - Ta kavSiri da sxva) amcnoT faSistTa forma da maTi bnel i mizani; 2) xal xis farTo wrem unda gaigos, rom faSistebis uTanxmdebian qarTvel i eris zurgs ukan rus monarqistebis da ital iel faSistebis da es SeTanxmebars Tavze daatexs axal ubedurebas; 3) l egal uri da sxva gziT faSistebma da maTma mimdevrebma Tavi anT nacnob- megobar- naTesavTagan unda gaigon weril ebis saSual eb iT, rom mTel i eri aRSfoTebul ia faSistTa mier erovnul i frontis garRveviT, maT mier erovnul i mTavrobis uaryofiT da iseTi moRal aturi saqciel iT, rogoricaa rus monarqistebTan da ital iel faSistebTan kavSiri. aseTive weril ebi Tavisi anebisa da nacnob- megobreblis gan unda mi iRon parizSi myofma nacional ist- studentebma. ukeT rom CavfuSoT avanturistTa gegma, aucil ebel ia SevqmnaT damoukidebl obis (an ganmaTavisufl ebel i) komiteti (pariteti) sami pirisagan: social - demokrateblis partia, social ist- federal istTa partia da mTli ani frontis momxre erovnul - demokrateblis (amirej ib_ gvazavas j gufi). sxva partieblis ar aseboben, gansakuTrebiT `sxivel ebi - da isini ar unda gavberoT. es komiteti SeiZl eba Tu sxvagan ar moxerxdeba Sens axl os moewyos. Cveni cnob iT, erovnul - demokratiul i partia metad sustia. mas central uri komiteti ar hyavs. saWiroa misi centri Sei qmnas da ukanasknel ma zurgi gaumagros amirej ibsa da gvazavas. Tu sxvagan ar moxerxdeba, sadac Sen iqnebi, axl os moawyo bine es centri.¹⁴

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amonaweri, erovnul - demokratiul i partias wevrebis garkveul i j gufis mimarT seriozul bral debas Seicavs. xazgasmiT mi nda aRvni Sno, rom n. rami Svil i im pol itikur moRvaweTa ricxvs ar ganekutvneboda, romel ic ama Tu im pirovneblis mimarT zedapirul i gancxa-

deba rom gaekeTebina. mi Tumetes: 1)saqme exeboda sabWoTa uSiSroebasTan, ital iel faSistebTan da qarTvel Ta saxel mwi fos moZul e rus monarqistebTan kavSiris bral debas; 2)aRniSnul Tan mimarTebaSi n.ramiSvil s xel CasaWidi masal ebi rom ar qonoda: a)SeuZl ebel i iqneboda mis mier dasaxel ebul i sami ZiriTadi mimarTul ebiT saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmi anobis dasawyebad pragmatul i nabij is gadadgma; b)n.ramiSvil is mier erovnul - demokratebis erTi j gufisadmi wayenebul i bral debebi im kategoriaTa ricxvs ganekutvneboda, roml is tyuil ze dafuZneba SeuZl ebel i iyo Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom dadanaSaul ebul mxares simarTl is droul ad garkva ar gauWirdeboda, natyuar cil iswamebas farda Camoexsneboda da social - demokratebs bumerangiviT ukan mwareT daubrundeboda; g)tyuil ze dafuZnebul bral debas erovnul - demokratebis zemoaRniSnul i j gufi, social - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa avtoritetis (gansakuTrebiT maTTvis moZul e n.ramiSvil is) pol itikurad dasasamarebl ad warmatebul ad gamoiyenebda da social - demokratebis saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmi anobidan qvas- qvaze ar datovebda; 3)SemTxvevi TobiT ar iyo ganpi robebul i, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis Samirej ib_ g.gvazavas j gufisadmi n.ramiSvil is mier gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis gamaxvil eba. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom Samirej ib_ g.gvazavas j gufi zemoT CamoTv- l il i adami anebis Sexedul ebebs da praqtikul saqmi anobas gaemij na. saqarTvel- l os deokupaciis da saxel mwi foebrivi damouki debl obis aRdgenis sakiTx- Tan mimarTebaSi, maTdami umkacresi kritikis formebs gamoyenebasac ar erideboda; 4)pol itikur Zal Ta konsol idaciisa da faSisturi daj gufebe- bis Semotevebis mosageriebl ad, organizaciis gawevis mizniT, sami pol iti- kuri partiis (social - demokratebi, erovnul - demokratebi, social ist- federal istebi) TiTo warmomadgenl iT n.ramiSvil i paritetul i komitetis saxiT makoordinirebel i organos Seqmnis aucil ebl obas ayenebda.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, n.ramiSvil is weril s im etapze ara mar to organizaciul i, aramed pol itikur- ideol ogiuri xasiaTis datvirTvac gaaCnda. igi saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiisa da sxva antisabWouri mimdinareobebis saprogramo dokumentis poziciidan unda Sefasdes. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sabWouri provokaciebis acil ebis maqsimal uri mcdel obebi da saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis wi naaRm- deg represiebis axal i tal Ris agorebis xel Semwyobi mizezebis ar Seqmna. am mxriv, social - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa umetesoba windaxed- ul ebas icenda da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis gaRrmavebis mi- zniT, Sesabamisi gadawyvetil ebebis miRebisas gansakuTrebul i si frTxil - iT iqceoda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas imave n.ramiSvil is mier social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi 1924 wl is 10 ivl iss gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. saqarTvel odan miRebul informaciaze dayrdnobiT, igi kate- goriul i formiT moiTxovda: vj uRel is saqarTvel oSi yofna adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis represiebis mizezi rom ar gamxdariyo, adgil obriv organi- zacias winadadebas sTavazobda, raTa misi ukan gawvevis sakiTxi droul ad da- eyenebina. A` sCans, rom val iko imdenad aRar aris iq saWi ro. SeiZl eba mi sma iq yofnam- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- represiebi gamoiwvios, ami tom an sadme mTebSi wavides da miimal os, anda ukeTesia ukan gadmovides sazRvarze.- amis aucil ebl oba imiTac iyo ganpi robebul i, rom saqarTvel oSi Camosv-

Li sawyis etapze, v.j uRel isa da b.Cxikvi Svil is praqtikul i saqmi anobis dawyeba SeuZl ebel i xdeboda uSiSroebis mxridan umkacresi dazverviTi da samZebro samuSaoebis gatarebis gamo. amis Sesaxeb damkomi s mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1924 wl is 2 april s gagzavnil weril Si xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i. `maTi aq yofnis Sesaxeb- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- Cekas mxol od eWvi aqvs da gaSmagebiT daeZebis da am ZebnaSi gzadagza axdenen masiur Weras.-

represebi sa da sisxl is Rvris sawinaaRmdego poziciis erT- erT damadasturebel dokumentad, 1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis wl isTavis aRsani Snavad social - demokratiul i partiis cekas mier gamocemul i mowodeba (1925 wl is agvisto) gamodgeba. masSi vkiTxul obT: `Cvens partias ar SeeZl o okupaciis winaaRmdog brZol isTvis ar moewodebina mTel i erisTvis da am moZraobas saTaveSi ar moqceoda. magram social - demokratia imTaviTve garurboda sakiTxis i araRiT gadaWras da is okupantebis winaaRmdog brZol as ideuraT da masobrivi- organizaciul ad dapirispirebis formas aZl evda. qarTvel i eris social uri kl asebi gaerTiandnen antisabWoTa frontze, ersa da dampyrobel Ta Soris amouvsebi ufskrul i gaiTxara... ucxo xiSte bze dayrdnobil ma moqal aqeebma, ocdaaT vercxl ad Sesyidul ma iuda iskari otel ebma, mTel i qarTvel i eri undobl obis qveS daayenes da mas sastiki brZol a gamoucxa des.-

miuxedavad imisa, rom social - demokratiul i partiis liderebis umetesobas, momentis Sesabamisobi dan gamomdinare garkveul etapze `brZol is mSvidobiani kursi- hqonda aRebul i, saWiroebis SemTxvevaSi SeiaraRebul aj anyebazedac ar ambobdnen uars. amis utyuar dadasturebas v.j uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis xel mZRvanel obiT momzadebul i SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegma warmoadgens. gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, Tu ra saxis konkretul i RonisZiebebi unda gaetarebina aj anyebis xel mZRvanel birTvs, amis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari n.rami Svil is mier abesal omisadmi gagzavnil saprogramo weril Si. am dokumentis mixedvit: **1)**bol Sevizmis dacemistTanave Zal aufl ebas demokratiis mxardamWeri Zal ebi (social - demokratiul i partia, social ist- federal istebis partia da erovnul - demokratiul i partiis_ S.amirej ib- g.gvazavas mxardamWerebi) unda dpatroneboda; **2)**okupaciisgan ganTavisufl ebul i saqarTvel os droebiTi mTavroba, zemoaRniSnul i sami pol itikuri partiis warmomadgenl ebis bazaze unda Seqmnil iyo; **3)**axl adCamoyal ibebul i droebiTi mTavrobis pirvel i rigis amocana unda yofil iyo jaris nawil ebiT saqarTvel os mTel i teritoriis dakaveba; **4)**saqarTvel os teritoriis gawmenda bil Sevikebisa da faSisti el ementebisagan; **5)**qal aqebisa da mazrebSi srul i wesrigis aRdgena da droebiTi gamgeobebis Sedgena; **6)**pol icia safuZvl i anad unda gawmendil iyo mobil Seviko da saeWvo pirebisagan. amastan dakavSirebiT, n.rami Svil i kategoriul i formiT moiTxovda: `mi iReT zomebi, rom arcerTi reaacioneri da faSisti mil iciaSi ar Segveparos da saerTod, arcerT sapasuxismgebl o postze isini ar gavaWaWanoT;~ **7)**ucxoeti dan n.Jordani as kanonieri mTavrobis saqarTvel oSi dabrunebisTanave, axl adarCeul i saqarTvel os droebiTi mTavroba dauyovnebl iv unda gadamdgar iyo, raTa axal i sapalemento arCevnebis dani Svna kanonieri gziT momxdar iyo.

xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom am SemTxvevaSi, n.rami Svil ma is ZiriTadi de-

bul ebebi gaimoora, romel ic pol itikur partiaTa SeTanxmebas daedo safuZ-
vl ad da saqarTvel oSi moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRv-
anel i birTvisgan, mis Sesrul ebas saval debul od miicnevda.

marTal ia, aj anyebis momzadebaze da dawyebis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi sak-
mao raodenobis samecniero statiebi da monografiebia daweril i, magram,
TiTqmis pasuxgaucemel ia kiTxva_ riT iyo ganpirobetul i emigraciul i
mTavrobisa da social - demokratiis l iderebis saqmis kursSi Cayenebis
gareSe aj anyebis moul odnel i dawyeba. yovel SemTxvevaSi, momxdari faqti
social - demokratebis did umravl esobaSi gakvirvebas iwvevda. amis erT-
erT dadasturebas k.gvarjal azis weril i (1924 wl is 10 seqtemberi) war-
moadgens. `CvenTvis stambol Si myofTaTvis, es moZraoba- vkiTxul obT do-
kumentSi- moul odnel i iyo... n.Jordania Tavis cnobil weril Si Zl ier afrTx-
il ebda Cvenebs da urCevda moZraoba ruseTSi garTul ebul i momentisaTvis
daekavSirebinaT.- imave k.gvarjal azis mtkicebiT, sami Tvis ganmavl obaSi
n.Jordani as mxridan mraVal gzis gafrTxil ebis miuxedavad `SeiaraRebul i
gamosvl ebi mainc moxda. ra iyo mizezi, raSi iyo saqme, j er amis Sesaxeb
araferi viciT. muxameda gwwers, rom xal xis aRel vebis da aj anyebis saba-
bi... cnobil i pirebis daxvreta iyovo. vinaa es cnobil i pirebi, amas ki ar
gvisaxel ebs.- rac Seexeba giorgis fsevdonimiT stambol idan parizSi 1924
wl is agvistoSi gagzavnil weril s, masSi agvistos SeiaraRebul i gamosv-
l ebi xal xis mier moTminebis dakargvis mizeziTaa axsnil i. TiTqmis ana-
l ogiuri debul ebaa gameorebul i 1925 wl is agvistoSi gamocemul mowode-
baSi_ `ukvdavi agvisto.- am dokumentis teqtis Semdgenl ebi aj anyebis da-
wyebis ZiriTad mizezad sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mxridan referendumis Catare-
baze uaris Tqmas da xal xis damcrobas asaxel ebs. aseTi argumentebis mi-
uxedavad, nakl ebad damaj erebel ia imis mtkiceba, rom SeiaraRebul i gamos-
vl ebi moTminebadakargul i xal xis mier gadadgmul nabij s warmoadgenda.
Tuki aseT faqts adgil i eqneboda, maSin procesi umarTavi gaxdeboda. samec-
niero l iteraturiT da dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom 1924
wl is agvistos gamosvl ebi ara moTminebadakargul i xal xis, aramed damko-
mis zogierTi wevrisa da partizanul i razmebis xel mZRvanel Ta TviTneb-
uri da individual uri gadawyvetil ebebis Sedegad daiwyo. aRni Snul sak-
iTxTan dakavSirebiT saintereso faqtebia motanil i k.gvarjal azis mier
n.Jordani asadmi 1924 wl is 18 seqtembers gagzavnil weril Si. `Cvenebs cnobebis
mixedviT_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ moZraoba naadrevadaa dawyebul i, rad-
gan xal xma Tavi ver Seikavao. aqedan advil i warmosadgenia, Tu ra mZl avri-
da xal xuri iqneboda es moZraoba, is rom aseTi stiqiuri xasiaTis ar yofi-
l iyo da mas meti xel mZRvanel oba hqonoda. rac Tavidatavia, mTel i Cveni
organizaciebi Tavidan bol omde provokaciis qsel Si yofil an gabmul ni.
amis Sesaxeb araerTxel gami frTxil ebia Cvenebs... or- samj er parizSi dac-
ki miwwere es. cxadia moZraoba udood aris dawyebul i da mas dRevandel
pirobepSi damarcxeba moel is Tu is ukve damarcxebul ad ar CaiTvl eba.
dRes Cven vdgevarT erTi faqtis wi naSe, romel sac udidesi angariSi unda
gaewios. auarebel i mebrZol i xal xi mTebSi da tyeebSia gaxiznul i da
iqedan partizanul brZol as awarmoeben. maT ukan daxevac rom moindomon,
amis SesaZl ebl obac aRar aqvT ukve. bol Sevikebi Seecdebian parl amentar-
ebi miugzavnon da Serigebaze dauwyon l aparaki. bol Sevikebis cinikur

cuRI utobas aba vin daendoba! cxadia, vinmem romc ki 'moinani os codvebi - da Seurigdes, rogorc ki Caigdeben xel Si maSinve daxvreten.-

aRniSnul i amonaweris mixedviT kargad Cans, rom aj anyeba sazRvargareT- ul centrTan SeuTanxmebl ad, ruseTSi da dasavl eT evropasi saqarTvel o- sTvis araxel sayrel i pirobebis fonze iqna dawyebul i. meore mxriv, ram- denadac momxdari faqti arsebobda, aj anyebul ebs ukan dasaxevi gza moW- ril i qonda da bol omde unda ebrZol aT. samecniero l literaturaSi da- dasturebul ia, rom **saokupacio reJimis winaaRmdeg aj anyebis ori gegma arsebobda: 1)v.j uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis mier momzadebul i gegma, romel ic pol itikuri da samxedro Tval sazrisiT safexurebrivad iyo gaTvl il i; 2) r.musxel iSvil is gegma.**

am ori gegmidan romel i maTgani Seicavda sabWoTa xel isufl ebisatvis momakvdinebel i dartyimis real ur safrTxes, amis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os ko- munisturi partiis central uri komitetis samdivnos daxurul TaTbirze l .berias mier wakiTxul moxsenebaSi gamokveTil i formiTaa warmodgenil i. am dokumentis stenogramis Canaweris asl i fanqriTaa Sesrul ebul i. igi harvardis universitetidan Camotani l saarqivo masal ebSi inaxeba da dedanTan misi namdvil oba Sesabamisi beWdiTaa dadasturebul i. Ceems mier dasmul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, berias pozicia Semdegi formiTaa Camoyal ibebul i: `aj anyebis pirvel i gegmiT (v.j uRel i- al .zaqariaZe S.v.) gamosvl a- ambobda l .beria- unda dawyebul iyo Tbil isidan da Tu es ganxorciel deboda, Cveni mdgomareoba Zl ier rTul i iqneboda, radgan menSevikebis mTavari Zal ebi swored Tbil isSi iyvnen Tavmoyril ni. nacional - demokratebmac kargad icodnen es da isini cdil obdnen meore, e.i. maTi (r.musxel iSvil is S.v.) ge- gmiT dawyebas aj anyebisas. e.i. Col oyaSvil ze dayrdnobiT. asec moxda da Cvenc aj anyebis l ikvidaciac gagviadvil da.¹⁵ Tu ratom moxda aj anyebis dawyeba udrood, amis Sesaxeb saintereso mosazrebas gamoTqvams imave mox- senebaSi l .beria. `Tqven iciT,rom aj anyebis dros nacional - demokratebs surdaT moZraobis meTauroba da hegemonis xel Si aReba, ami tom isini ebrZodnen menSevikebs...- erovnul - demokratebis pirvel obisatvis swrafvis mcdel obebi kargad gamovl inda interpartiul TaTbirebze da pol itikuri komisiebis sxdomebze. es faqtebi Sesabamisi sxdomebis stenografiul angariSebSi a- caa dadasturebul i.¹⁶ aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, l .berias naTqvami sinamdvil ed unda iqnas miCneul i. saqarTvel os social - demokra- tiul i partiis cekas da Tbil isis centris mxridan aj anyebis momzade- bl ad ar dawyebis da cal keul i kuTxeebis gamosvl ebis dauSvebl obis Sesaxeb mraval gzis gafrTxil ebis miuxedavad, igi xevsureTSi TviTneburad mainc daiwyo da misi sul isCamdgmel i q.Col oyaSvil i iyo. am nabij is gadadgma, `damkomis- da `samxedro centris- gaTval iswinebul i gegmis mixedviT ar momxdara. igi erovnul - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi wevris TviTneb- uri gadawyvetil ebiT iyo ganpirobepul i. 1924 wl is aj anyebis araorgani ze- bul ad dawyeba da samxedro dargis araprofesional ebisadmi damaxasiaTebe- l i qaoturi formiT warmarTva, danaSaul is tol fas qmedebas Seicavda. mxe- dvel obaSi maqvs aj anyebul ebisadmi xel mZRvanel obis srul fasovnad ver- gaweva, mebrZol i Zal ebis erT muStad ver Sekvra da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis Zal ovani uwebebis sasargebl od, regionebsi daqsasul ad moqmedeba.

aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i birTvis dabneul obis miuxedavad, rogorc samec-

niero l iteraturaSia dadasturebul i, aj anyebul ebma pirvel etapze gar-
rkveul warmatebebs mi aRwies. amasTan dakavSi rebi T, 1924 wl is 7 seqtembers
parizSi gagzavnil depeSaSi kgvarj al aZe werda, rom 3 seqtembristvis quTai si
da ozurgeTi aj anyebul ebis xel Si iyo, Tbil isis guberniaSi brZol ebi mi-
mdinareobda. qarTul i jaris nawil ebi aj anyebul ebs mi mxro. am faqtis
siswores stambol idan parizSi giorgis fsevdonimi T 1924 wl is 18 seqtem-
bers gagzavnil i weril ic adasturebs. masSi xzgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom
sabWoTa Sei araRebul i Zal ebis wi naaRmdeg, ozurgeTis mazraSi sastiki brZo-
l ebi mi mdinareobda. Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal ebis mi xedvi T ir-
kveva, rom aj anyebul i guri is mosaxl eobis umetesoba, ui araRo iyo da isini
`Si Svel i- xel ebi T daupiri spir da okupantebs. am faqtis siswores adastu-
rebs aj anyebis wl is Tavze (1925 wel i) gamocemul i mowodeba- `ukvdavi agvisto-
`rusul regul arul jaris- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- daupiri spir dnen nax-
evrad ui araRo razmebi da amboxebis bedic gadawyda.-

imave dokumentis mi xedvi T, saqarTvel o martod- marto aRmoCnda sabWoTa
ruseTis pirispir, rom `mebrZol i 2 mil ion i eri... i ara Ri T xel Si SeebrZo-
l a 140 mil ion i an... mters da es iyo erT- erTi mkafio da umZafresi periodi
im didi ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZol isa, romel Siac Caeba qarTvel i eri
dRi dan saqarTvel os dapyrobi sa.-

aRni Snul i faqtebi dan gamomdinare, naTel i xdeba, rom saokupacio reJi mi s
wi naaRmdeg aj anyeba Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebis gareSe dai wyo. sam-
Sobl os siyvarul i Ta da misi Tavisufl ebis mi saRwevad Tavgadadebul i da
gul anTebul i mebrZol ebi, faqti urad ui araRod iyo darCeni l i. meore mxriv,
rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, saqarTvel o marto ebrZoda Crdil oe-
Tis moZal ades. arada, vj uRel _ al .zaqari aZis samxedro gegmi s mi xedvi T,
aj anyebis dawyeba mxol od maSi n Cai Tvl eboda mi zanSewonil ad, Tuki mTel i
rigi faqtorebis_ (i ara Ri, ful i, sursaTi...) uzrunvel yofiT garanti is
mi RebasTan erTad, azerbaij ani da Crdil o kavkasi ac (daRestani) aj any-
deboda dampyrobli s wi naaRmdeg. samwuxarod, aj anyebis dawyebis orga-
nizatorebma, zemoaRni Snul i gegmi T gaTval iswi nebul i moTxovnebis arcer-
Ti muxl is Sesrul ebas ar dael odnen, yovel SemTxvevaSi mi s mosamzade-
bl adacar izrunes. swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi kgvarj al aZes,
roca 1924 wl is 10 seqtembers stambol idan parizSi gagzavnil weril Si
werda: `Tu marto a Cveni xal xi am brZol aSi, cxadia brZol as wavagebT. Tu
azerbaij anic da mTac mi iRebs monawil eobas, maSin saqme arc ise cudaT
iqneba. ra msvl el obas mi iRebs movl enebi, amis Tqma aqedan Znel ia. magram
rac ar unda moxdes, Cven faqts unda gavuwi oT angari Si da Tu davmarcxdi T,
nakl eb dazaral ebul ad gamosvl as unda SevecadoT. dRevandel pi robebSi
roca evropaSi Cveni saqmis vi Tarebaze ar ici an da saqarTvel o mTI ad mo-
wyvetil ia, real urad material ur daxmarebaze vinmesgan zedmetia l aparaki.
~17

am amonaweris mi xedvi T Tuki vi msjel ebT, ramdenadac evropidan finansuri
daxmareba gamoricxul i iyo, xol o azerbaij ansa da Crdil o kavkasi aSi sa-
qarTvel osadmi mxardamWer aj anyebebs adgili ar hqonda, Seqmnil i mdgo-
mareobis fonze, erTaderT safiqral s, mosal odnel i katastrofidan nakl e-
bad dazaral ebul i gamosvl a warmoadgenda. Tu ra formiT unda momxda-
riyo amis ganxorciel eba, igi cal ke gansjis sagani iyo. am mi marTul ebi T

pragmatul i saxis nabij is gadadgma aucil ebel i xdeboda im Tval sazrisi- Tac, rom aj anyebul Ta mimarT aranairi saxis daxmareba ar xorciel deboda. arada, xal xis sul ieri mxneobis SesanarCunebl ad, evropidan mcireodeni daxmarebis wamosvl ac ki sakmarisi iyo. amasTan dakavSirebiT, baTumi dan 1924 wl is 18 seqtembers stambol Si gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: **daxmarebis saxiT `Tundac damtvreul i kreiseri iyos maqedan, xal xi Tavs Seswiravs, Torem ise sul iT dacemul ni arian.**~ rac Seexeba k.gvarjal aZis mier stambol idan parizSi 1924 wl is 29 seqtembers gagzavnil weril s, xazgasmiT iyo aRniSnul i, rom `Tu daxmareba xal xs droul ad ver mi vawodeT, mdgomareoba pirdapir tragikul i iqneba.~ gansakuTrebiT mZime mdgomareobaSi guria aRmoCnda. dokumentur masal ebSi garkveviTaa aRniSnul i, rom uTanasworo brZol aSi, guria sisxl isgan icl eboda da mas droul ad miSvel eba sWirdeboda. samwuxarod, aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i birTvis uniaTo qmedebi dan gamomdinare, okupantebis wi naaRmdeg mebrZol gurul ebs, SaSxanebisa da vaznebis miwodebi Tac ver exmarebodnebn.

mtris wi naaRmdeg daqsaqsul ad da araorgani zebul ad mebrZol i saqarTvel os kuTxeebi gardual i damarcxebisTvis iyo ganwirul i. es sakiTxi pol itikuri partieb is warmomadgenl ebTan erTad mTavrobis gaerTianebul i sxdomis (1924 wl is 22 seqtemberi) msjel obis sagani gaxda. **am SemTxvevaSi Cemi yuradReba erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi l ideris sp.kedias gamosvl am mi iqcia.** evropis social istebis saqarTvel osadmi mxardasaWerad gamoyenebis sakiTxis misi mxridan dasma maqvs mxedvel obaSi. Tuki saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis periodis pol itikuri istoriis Zir iTad momenteb s gavixsenebT, parl amentisa da damfuZnebel i krebis stenografiul angari SebSi ac CavixedavT, aSkarad warmoCndeba erovnul - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa gamZafrebul i kritika qarTvel i social - demokratebisadmi evropis social istebTan kavSiris gamo. istoriis ganvl il ma procesebma daadastura, rom qarTvel i social - demokratebis pol itikuri kursi am mxriv gamarTl ebul i iyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis periodi da misi okupaciis Semdgomi etapi. evropis qveynebis pol itikurad gameZavebul i l iderebisgan motyuebul i da zurgSeqceul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi Tanadgoma, mxol od evropel ma social istebma ikisra. marto is rad Rirs, rom yovel - gvari safasuris gadaxdis gareSe, maTi presisa da radios meSveobiT, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavroba, okupirebul saqarTvel oSi mimdinare proceseb s mTel dasavl eT evropas acnobda. Tuki evropis social istebTan TanamSroml obas 1918- 1921 wl ebSi erovnul - demokratebi samarcxvinod da qarTul i saxel mwi fosTvis sazi anod Tvl idnen (sp.kedia, gr.veSapel i, r.gabaSvil i, S.qarumi Ze...), Turme saqarTvel os megobrebi yofil an. amasTan dakavSirebiT imave sxdomis saomqo CanawerebSi vkiTxul obT: `sp.kedia gamoTqvams survil s, ramdenadac dRes social istebi sxvadasxva mTavrobebSi did rol s TamaSoben da amasTanave isini saqarTvel os megobrebi arian, unda vi moqmedoT maTze, rom ufro energiul ad dagvexmaron... daadgines: gaZl ierebul i iqnas muSaoba deputatTa wreebSi ganurCevl ad partiisa. mTavrobis Tavmj domarem inaxul os bl iumi. radikal Ta partiaSi inaxul on biuros wevrebi da kerZo deputatebi e.gegeWkorma, sp.kedia ma da i.gobeCi am. Tu mosaxer xebel ia, i.gobeCi am inaxul os demonzi, n.ramiSvil i

miswers vl .axmetel s raTa niadagi mosinj os germaniaSi_ SeuZl ia Tu ara maT Caerion Cven da ruseTs Sua konfl iqtis mosagvarebl ad.~¹⁸ im masal ebis mixedvit, romel ic Cems mier iqna mikvl eul i, irkveva rom emi graciaSi myofi saqarTvel os xel isuflebis mesveurTa maqsimal uri mcdel obisda miuxedavad, zemoaRni Snul i sakiTxebis mosagvarebl ad gaTval i swinebul i RonisZiebebi, dasavl eT evropis qveynebis meTaurTa mimxrobisa da mxardaWeris Tval sazrisiT_ dagvianebl i iyo. sabWoTa ruseTs, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebisa da maTi oj axebis mimarT umkacresi represiebi dawyebul i hqonda. mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom sabWoTa ruseTis sainformacio saSual ebebi simarTI es mal avda. maT mizans, qarTvel Ta zemoaRni Snul i aj anyebis sisxl Si CaxSoba warmoadgenda da am faqtis mi fuCeCebas cdil obda. dasaxul i amocanis ganxorciel ebis erT- erT saSual ebad, dasavl eT evropi sken informaciis dabl okva iqna miCneul i. aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT k.gvarjal azis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1924 wl is 10 seqtembers gagzavnil weril Si, saqarTvel oSi mimdinare pol itikur procesebTan mimarTebaSi, dasavl eT evropis qveynebis saqmis kursSi Cayenebis aucil ebl oba principul ad iyo dasmul i. `me miRebul i maqvs zomebi- vkiTxul i obT weril Si- aqac da sazRvarzeTac. yovel SemTxvevaSi sanam aq var, gadawyvetil i maqvs bol Sevikebs da maT cinikur cnobebs sastikaT SevebrZol lo da namdvil i ambavi Cveni qveynisa aqaurma evropis sazogadoebrivma azrma icodes. amaSi daTmoba dRes yovl aT miuRebel ia. sxva araferi SegviZl ia da amazedac aviRoT xel i?!-

rogorc vxedavT, sakiTxi ideol ogiur frontze mimdinare sainformacio brZol as exeba. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom sabWoTa ruseTTan sainformacio dapi rispireba udid es sirtul eebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs finansuri SesaZl ebl obebi. am Tval sazrisiT qarTul i mxare `gaRatakebul ~ mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda. Tuki igi simarTI is gatanas dasavl eT evropaSi da saerTaSoriso arenaze axdenda, es faqti, evropis social - isturi partiebis sainformacio (presa, radio) saSual ebebebis damsaxureba iyo. rac Seexeba finansur SesaZl ebl obebs, emigraciaSi myof saqarTvel os mTavrobas, aj anyebul ebisadmi dasaxmarebel i ful ic ar aRmoaCnda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba saqarTvel os mTavrobis da damkomis biuros parizis gaertianebl i sxdomis (1924 wl is 30 seqtemberi) saeqmo Canawerebma mi iqcia. am dokumentis mixedvit, ful is Sovnis mogvareba aSS vasil dumbazes hqonda daval ebul i. imave sxdomis masal ebidan irkveva, rom dawyebul i saqmis warmatebul ad gagrZel ebis miznit, igi saqarTvel os xel isuflebis gan dipl omatiuri rwmunebis mandats iTxovda. saeqmo Canawerebis mixedvit, n.rami Svil i, sp.kedia, k.kandel aki, dadebi Tad axasiaTebdnen v.dumbazes da mas namdvil patriotad, niWier da energiul adami anad mi iCnevden. aqedan gamomdinare, imave sxdomaze miRebul dadgenil ebit, mas dipl omatis rwmunebis mandati mi eca. miuxedavad amisa, misimaval gzis mcdel oba ful is SovnasTan mimarTebaSi uSedego aRmoaCnda. imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, ak.Cxenkel is vizitic warumatebl ad damTavrda l ondonSi. es faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi finansuri daxmarebis Sesaxeb evropis qveynebi dan gacemul i dapi- reba Seusrul ebel i darCa. aRni Snul da sxva mni Svel ovan sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi mosal odnel Sedegebs, saqarTvel os damkomisa da samxedro cen-

tris xel mZRvanel oba, samwuxarod ar dael oda da aj anyeba TviTneburad daiwyo. am faqtor ma ganapiroba aj anyebul ebisadmi i araRiT a da ful iT daxmarebis SeuZl ebl oba. Seqmnil i viTarebiT kargad isargebl a sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebam da Crdil o kavkasiidan, azerbaij anidan da somxeTidan, aj anyebul Ta winaaRmdeg saqarTvel oSi jaris axal i SenaerTebi gadmoisrol a. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom aj anyebis dawyebamde, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sesabamisi uwyebebi winaswar iyvnen saqmisi kursSi Cayenebul ni da mosal odnel safrTxes momzadebul ni Sexvdnen. saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwyebis xel mZRvanel obiT, winaswari TavdacviTi RonisZiebi iqnagatarebul i. amis Sesaxeb saintereso informacias gvawvdis k.gvarjal azis mier stambolidan 1924 wl is 10 seqtembers parizSi gagzavnil i weril i. am dokumentis mixedvit, aj anyebis dawyebamde 15- 20 dRiT adre, yvel a did qal aqSi komunistebis mniSvel ovani strategiul i punqtebi da saxel mwifo dawesebul ebebi gamagrebul i hqonda. `am aTi dRis win- vkiTxul obT imave weril Si- aq mi viReT Cven patara weril i baTumidan 20/VIII TariRiT. gwverdnen: `ager aTi dRea baTumSi da mgoni sxva qal aqebSi ac komunistebis dawesebul ebebs yvel as tyvia mfrqvevebiT icaven. dawesebul ebebi dRe da Rame darajebiT savsea. mTel i Zal a fexzea damdgari. ra mizezia da ram gamoiwvia aseTi safrTxil e komunistebis mier aravin icis. xal xi fiqrobs, SeiZl eba gareSe safrTxe moel is rameo. yovel SemTxvevaSi mizezi aqaurebma ar ician. mdgomareoba baTumSi metad nerviul ia. faqtiurad yvel a qucebi da dawesebul ebebi gakrulia. daWerebia Seuwyvetel i. aseTi nerviul oba- mzadeba iyo bol Sevikebis mxriv.~ an kidev: `guriaSi maisSi, 7 ivanobis Tvemde samxedrowesebi iyo gamocxadebul i da mTel i adgil obrivi Zal a fexze iyo damdgari. sofl el i komunistebi uzil obis gamo quCaSi vardebodnen. 150 jariskaci Tbil isidan Camoiyvanes da sxva.~¹⁹ aq motanil i faqtebis siswores n.rami Svil is mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi 1924 wl is ivniSi gagzavnil i weril ic adasturebs. igi partiis cekas wevrebs imavdroul ad gamafrTxil ebel i formiT mimarTavda. `gamosvl amde saWiroa garegnul ad moqmedebis gegma. es miT ufro, rogorc gadmogvces, mters sawinaaRmdego zomebi ukve miuRia da is SesaferaT darazmul ia. Tu vini cobaa gamosvl a mokle xnit gadaidos, meTaurebma morigeobiT Tbil isis gareT unda miimal on da dai svenon.~ Cems mier saarqivo dokumentebidan motanil i amonawerebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis l iderebs, mosal odnel i aj anyebis dawyebisa da safexurebrivad misi moqmedebis si vrcis Sesaxeb sakmaod srul yofil i informacia hqonda. am faqts, maSindel i saqarTvel os central uri komitetis mdivani b.l ominazec adasturebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, 1924 wl is movl enebis Semswavl el i komisiisadmi mis mier imave wl is seqtemberSi gagzavnil i weril i. 1924 wl is agvistos movl enebTan mimarTebaSi gamoqveynebul i samecni ero literaturis umetesobaSi damkvidrebul Sexedul ebebsa da mtkicebul ebebs (g.cici Svili, l j i qia) Tuki Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul i axal i saarqivo masal ebis monacemebsac davurTavT, aSkarad war moCndeba: **1)** 1924 wl is aj anyeba momzadebel i iyo da impirvel xarixovani `masal is- uqonl obas gani cdi da, romelic mtris winaaRmdeg sabrZol o operaciebis Casatarebl ad aucil ebl obas (i araRi, ful i da puri) warmoadgenda. am faqtorebma aj anyebis dawyebis pirvel safex-

urzeve iCina Tavi; 2)ragind odiozuri damokidebul ebac ar unda hqondes Cems kol egebs n.xomerikisa da vj uRel is mi marT, isini saqmis gamkeTebI ebi da brwyinval e organizatorebi iyvnen. uSi Sroeba swored ami tom iyo maTi daWerIT dainteresebul i da am miznis misaRwevad yvel aferze midioda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom n.xomerikisa da vj uRel is daWerIT, `damkomsa- da `samxedro centrs- saqmis mkeTebel i organizator- ebi Camoacil es. maTi `CaSvebis- saqmeSi l omis wil i erovnul - demokrati- ul i partiis garkveul i j gufis warmomadgenl ebs mi uZrvis. am danaSaul e- briv qmedebas, uSi Sroebis mier m.j avaxi Svil is dakiTxvis saarqivo masal e- bi adasturebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, m.j vaxi Svil is mxridan SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis gegmis ganmaxorciel ebl ad n.xomerikis dasaxel eba da am miznis Sesasrul ebl ad, antantis saxel mwifoebTan misi kavSiris Sesaxeb_ sukis maRal Cinosnebi sadmi informaciis miwodebis faqti. Cemi es gancxadeba mi u- tevebel bral debad rom ar CameTval os, m.j avaxi Svil is mier uSi Sroebis admi 1923 wl es (Tebervl idan- 16 martamde) micemul i Cvenebidan Sesabamis amonawers SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. `xomerikTan xangrZl ivi saubri- dan me gamovarkvie- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- rom mTel i misi gegma (Seiar- aRebul i momzadebis) emyareboda antantis mxridan aqtiur daxmarebas. mi n- dododa ra ufro zustad gamego- aris Tu ara garkveul i dapirebebi aqtiuri daxmarebis aRmoCenis Sesaxeb, romel ime saxel mwifos mxridan, me monaTxro- bis Sesabamisi SekiTxva davusvi xomeriks. amaze xomerikma Tqva `daxmareba iqneba...²⁰ prof. g.cici Svil is azrit, es faqti n.xomerikis dasmenad ar Sei- Zl eba CaiTval os, radgan `m.j avaxi Svil i aq konkretul ad dasmul kiTxvaze iZl eva Cvenebas, rac ar niSnavs `dasmenas.~ man ar icis ra informacias fl obs gamoZieba. ami tom sxva gza ara aqvs, Tu ara simarTl is Tqmi sa.²¹

Tuki m.j avaxi Svil s marTl acda `sxva gza ar hqonda,~ rogorc amas b.n. g.cici Svil i wers, maSin rogor unda aixsnas, imave m.j avaxi Svil is mier `Col okaevel obis- l ikvidaciis mizniT, amierkavkasiis sagangebo komi- siis kol egiis Tavmj domaris saxel ze 1923 wl is 16 martiT daTariRebu- l i weril is_ `amierkavkasiis sagangebo komisiis kol egiis Tavmj domar- es- pirvel i nawil is bol oSi gakeTebul i formul irebebi? kerZod: a)`im SemTxvevaSi Tu xel isufal Ta mxriv Tanxmoba iqneba_ piradad mogaxse- nebT Cemgan SemoTavazebul i gegmis yvel a wvriI mans;~ b)`Cemi SemoTava- zebul i idea da gegma uaRresad saiduml od unda davi cvaT, raTa mowina- aRmdegis banaks dro da saSual eba ar mi vceT mi Ros kontrzomebi da Col okaevsa da sxvebze ukumi marTul ebiT moaxdinos gavlena;~ g)`vTxov kol egiis Tavmj domares, gamomi Zaxos am sakiTxze, raTa piradad mi vce ga- nmar teba da SevimuSaoT gegmis wvriI manebI, Tu, ra Tqma unda Cemi idea principul ad miRebul i iqneba.²² m.j vaxi Svil is weril idan motanil am amonawerebSi kargad Cans, rom yovel gvri muqarisa da Zal datanebis ga- reSe, igi amierkavkasiis sagangebo komisiis kol egiis Tavmj domares iqeT exveweba, damatebiTi informaciis misacemad da wvriI manebis gaTval i- swinebiT `Col okaevel ebis- srul ad sal ikvidacio gegmis erTobl ivad SemuSavebis mizniT, masTan Sexvedraze da TanamSroml obaze daTanxmebu- l iyo. gamoricxul i araa, m.j avaxi Svil is 29 martis dakiTxva, kol egiis Tavmj domarisadmi m.j avaxi Svil is mier gagzavnil i 16 martiT daTariRe- bul i zemoaRniSnul i weril obiTi Txovnis safuZvel ze rom ganxorciel e-

bul iyo.

xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom mj avaxi Svil is am weril Si gamoyenebul i `Col okaevel obis- cneba, q.Col oyaSvil is SeiraraRebul razmTan erTad, mis ideur mxardamWerebsac gul isxmabda. amis dadasturebas, imave dokumentis is nawil i warmoadgens, sadac `Col okaevel obis- mavne da saxifaTo movl enad gamocxadebis mxardamWerTa Sesaxebaa saubari. `ueWvel ia, am ideaswers igi- winaaRmdegobas gauwevs saerTo mosaxl eobis sxvadasxva fenis ficxi xal xi, da kerZod, saqarTvel oSi moqmed partiaTa saomrad ganwyobil i nawil ebi.~ q.Col oyaSvil is razmis, misi mxardamWeri `ficxi xal xisada pol itikuri partiebis warmomadgenel Ta I ikvidacia unda momxdariyo im gegmis mi xedviT, romel sac mj avaxi Svil i sTavazobda amierkavkasiis sagangebo komisiis kol egiis Tavmj domares. masTan Sesaxvedrad daweril i zemoaRni Snul i Txovnac, am gegmis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebas isaxavda mi znad. sukis sardafebSi dakiTxul patimarTa Soris daweril i Cvenebebis Cems mier sagul dadul od Seswavl am daadastura, rom mj avaxi Svil i erTaderTi pirovnebaa, romel ic piradi iniciativiT weril s ugzavnis uSi Sroebis maRali Cinosans, masTan pirispir Sexvedras moiTxovs da zemoaRni Snul i gegmis erTobl ivad Sedgenis rogorc iniciatori, maTgan yuradRebis mi pyrobas cdil obs. dasaxul i mi znis mi saRwevad, imave weril is bol o nawil Si saTauris saxiT gamoaqvs formul ireba: **`gaZl evT damatebiT Cvenebas da ganv-martav...~** da i qve sam punqtad, Zal datanebis gareSe CamoTvl is mi sTvis cnobil faqtebs. mj avaxi Svil isagan gansxvavebiT, patimrobaSi myofi n.xomerikis pozicia, sukis TanamSromel Ta mier Sedgenil dokumentSi Semdegi formiTaa warmodgenil i: **`bral debul i xomeriki izl eva Cvenebas, rom mas, rogorc ck- is wevrs ar SeeZl o da ar SeuZl ia Seurigdes imas, rom saqarTvel o okupirebul ia, xal xi mCagvrel Ta uRl is qveS aris da amitom Tavis moval eobad CaTval a Camosul iyo saqarTvel oSi da emuSava moZal adeebis winaaRmdeg. igi xomeriki Camovi da piradi survil iT, yovel gvare daval ebis gareSe da verasodes Seurigdeba arsebul wyobil ebas. amJamad mas Tavi tyved miaCnia da amitom uars ambobs upasuxos kiTxvebze, roml ebic partiul i princi pebis CarCoebis scil deba.**²³

am amonaweridan kargad sCans, rom n.xomerikma mTel i pasuxismgebl oba Tavis Tavze aiRo. mas SeeZl o misi TanamebrZol ebi `CaeSva,~ magram simdabl is es nabij i ar gadadga da rogorc saqarTvel os erTgul ma pol itikurma figuram_ Rirseba SeinarCuna. yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval - iswinebidan gamomdinare, dauSvebl ad mi maCnia: 1) didi mwerl is motivaci iT, mj avaxi Svil is mxridan gadadgmul i cdomil i nabij is Zal datanebiTi `argumentebiT- gamarTl ebis mcdel oba; 2) saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis Rirseul i ministris da agrarul i sferos reformatoris, saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebis sTvis TavSewirul i pol itikuri figuris n.xomerikis admi, daumsaxurebel i bral debebis mZivebi viT kiserze Camokideba. amis ufl ebas, rusul i okupaciis winaaRmdeg muxl Cauxrel ad mebrZol i da TanamebrZol - Ta ar damsmeni adami anebis sul Ta yivil i ar gvaZl evs.²⁴

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom erovnul - demokratebis zogierT warmomadgenel s,v,j uRel is daptimrebi xel SewyobaSi ac l omis wil i mi- uZRvis. amasTan dakavSirebiT, sayuradRebo informacias Sei cavs saqarTvel os komunisturi partiis (b) central uri komitetis samdivnos 1930 wl is

11 agvistos daxurul TaTbirze l .berias mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba, sadac garkvevi Taa miTiTebul i, rom vj uRel is dapatimreba erovnul - demokratebisgan miRebul i cnobebis safuZvel ze moxdao.²⁵ es iyo SeiaraRebul aj anyebamde ramdenime dRiT adre_ 1924 wl is 7 agvistos. rac Seexeba n.xomeriks, igi jer kidev 1923 wl is 9 noembers aiyanes patimrobaSi.

xazgasmiT aRvni Snav, rom, n.xomeriki Tuki Tavis ampl uaSi darCeboda, partiul i xaziT bol omde miyvanda mis mier warmatebiT dawyebul saqmes. rac Seexeba vj uRel s, igi SeiaraRebul aj anyebas, misi monawil eobiT SemuSavebul i gegmis mi xedviT ganxorciel ebda da am ganzraxvas win veravin aRudgeboda. es real oba erovnul - demokratebis erT nawil s kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i. amitom, erTic da meorec maTTvis xel SemSi el pirovnebebad da moqmedebis Tavisufal i sivrcis SemzRudvel ebad aRiqmeboda. maTi dapatimrebi s Semdeg daesva wertil i konspiraciul saqmanobas da SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmac iqna gacemul i. samwuxarod, dRemde gamoqveynebul samecniero l iteraturaSi (n.kirTaZe, n.xomeriki, g.cici Svili, l j iqia...) erovnul - demokratebis erTi j gufis mxridan mxol od `samxedro centris-gacemazea saubari da yuradRebis mi Rmaa datovebul i umni Svnel ovanesi sakiTxi_ erovnul - demokratebis imave j gufis mier SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis (vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe) gacemis faqti. samecniero l iteraturidan cnobil ia, rom im etapze, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebul i, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis ori gegma arsebobda: 1) vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZis da 2) r.musxel i Svili s.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom 1) SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis pirvel i gegma (vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe) aj anyebis dawyebas mxol od im SemTxvevaSi mi Cnevda dasaSvebad, Tuki igi yovel mxriv iqneboda momzadebul i. meore mxriv, taqtikuri mosazrebebi dan gamomdinare dasabuTebul i formiT iyo warmodgenil i aj anyebis dawyebis xel sayrel drod ara Sua zafxul i, aramed gviani Semodgoma an adre gazafxul i. am umni Svnel ovanes dokumentSi, samxedro Tval sazrisiT safexurebrivad yvel a ni uansi iyo gaTvl il i. igi pirvel rigSi Tbil isis aRebas, sabWouri SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis ganiaraRebas, bol Sevikuri mTavrobis dapatimrebas, strategiul i mni Svnel obis obieqtebis dapaTronebas da amis Semdeg, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis srul iad saqarTvel os da kavkasiis masStabiT gaSl as iTval iswinebda.²⁶ im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki am gegmis mi xedviT imoqmedebden da igi warmatebul i aRmoCndeboda, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobaSi social - demokratiis l iderTa avtoriteti erTiorad gaizrdeboda da momaval sapaRl amento arCevnebSi, rogorc qveynis ganmaTavisuflebel pol itikur Zal as saqarTvel os mosaxl eobaSi al ternativa ar eqneboda.

2) rac Seexeba meore gegmas, romel ic r.musxel i Svili s gegmis saxel - wodebi Taa cnobil i, igi qaquca Col oyaSvili s SeiaraRebul razmze iyo orientirebul i da saqarTvel oSi disl ocirebul i rusul i jaris xevsureTis xeobaSi Setyuebas, zurgidan mtrisadmi kombinirebul dartymebs da iqve srul ad ganadgurebas iTval iswinebda.²⁷ amis Semdeg unda moexdinaT aj anyebul ebs Tbil isis aReba da kavkasiis xal xTa ganTavisufleba. am gegmis saerTo anal izidan gamomdinare, g.cici Svili ma savsebiT kanonzomierad uwoda mas fantastikuri gegma.²⁸ es iyo araprofesional izmis doneze Sedgenil i gegma, romel ic rusul i sardl obis damis xel qveiT Tbil isSi myofi

samxedro SenaerTebis (4000 xiSti) cxvris farasaviT xevsureTis viwro xe-
obaSi Setyuebaze iyo gaTvl il i. am SemTxvevaSi saRi azri daCrdil a egoizma,
xel isufli ebisken swrafvis avadmyofurma senma da social - demokratebi-
sadmi biol ogiurma siZul vil ma. erovnul - demokratebis garkveul ma j guf-
ma, zemoaRni Snul i qmedebiT, samSobl os interesebs partiul i interesebi
anacval a.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi daedo safuZvl ad SeiaraRebul i aj an-
yebis vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZis samxedro gegmis gacemas. dokumenturi masal iT
dadasturebul ia, rom aRni Snul i gegmis (vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe) Sesaxeb
mxol od ramdenime kacma (n.xomeriki, vj uRel i_ social - demokratebi) da
`damkomiS- wevri erovnul - demokratebidan, gansakuTrebul i pasuxismge-
bl obiT aRWurvil ma oriode kacma Tu icoda. isic cnobil ia, rom am gegmis
xel is manqanaze nabeWdi teqstis erTi ekzempl ari (40 gverdi) aj anyebis ce-
ntris xel mZRvanel obas hqonda Cabarebul i. dRemde gamoqveynebul samecni-
ero l literaturaSi, dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, samxedro centris
gamcemTa Sesaxeb safuZvl iani mtkicebul ebaa motanil i. magram araferia
naTqvami aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gamcemTa Sesaxeb. xazgasmi T mi nda aRvni Sno,
rom am 40 gverdi ani dokumentis zepirad damaxsovreba da Semdeg qaRal dze
ucdoml ad gadatana, nebi smeri adami ani s mexsierebis SesaZl ebl obebs aRemate-
ba. amiT imis Tqma mi nda, rom xel is manqanaze dabeWdil i es gegma, samxedro
centris maRal Cinosanis da erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi
wevris mier unda iyos gacemul i. miTumetes, bol o periodSi mikvl eul i
saarqivo masl ebis mixedvit, es samxedro gegma saqarTvel os uSiSroebam
fostiT erovnul - demokratebisagan mi iRo. amis Sesaxeb angariSgasawevi
informaciaa dacul i saqarTvel os kompartiis cekas samdivnos daxurul
TaTbirze l .berias mier gakeTebul moxsenebaSi. `xSiraT iyo SemTxveva,
rom erTi partia, mag. nacional - demokratebi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi-
cnobas gvaZl evda meore partiis zogierTi pirebis Sesaxeb maTi Tavidan
moSorebis mi zniT. Tqven iciT, rom aj anyebis dros nacional - demokratebs
surdaT moZraobis meTauroba da hegemonis xel Si aReba, ami tom isini ebrZodnen
menSevikebs... j er iyo da movida cnoba, maTi komitetis wevris wi namZRvariS-
vil is Sesaxeb, romelic iyo yvel aze aqtiuri damcvel i menSevikebTan gul -
wrfel i TanamSroml obis. Semdeg undodaT ra menSevikuri samxedro Zal eb-
is daqsaqsva, Cven mi viReT cnoba menSevikebis samxedro xel mZRvanel i no-
dias Sesaxeb da isic Sevi pyariT. **maTi saSual ebiT CavigdeT Cven vj uRel ic
xel Si da mi viReT agreTve fostiT aj anyebis pirvel i gegma, roml iTac
gavstexeT j uRel i da is aval aparakeT.-**

am vrcel amonawerSi motanil i faqtebidan kargad Cans: 1)pirvel obisTvis
brZol aze dafuZnebul i egoizmi dan gamomdi nare, partiul i interesebis qveynis
interesebze maRl a dayeneba. es faqti, gakvirvebas ar iwvevs imdenad, ram-
denadac 1921 wl is april idan- 1922 wl is maisis CaTvl iT, partiaTa SeTa-
nxmebis Sesaxeb mi mdi nare sxdomebis saoqmo CanawerebSi, yvel gan wi na pl an-
zea wamoweul i erovnul - demokratebis mxridan saarCevno sistemis ignor-
irebis bazaze ministrebis portfel ebis qvotebis winaswari dakanonebis
aucil ebl obis moTxovnebi;²⁹ 2)social - demokratebis gzi dan Camocil eba
da aj anyebis sadaveebis xel Si aReba, aj anyebis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi,
erovnul - demokratebs saqarTvel oSi Zal aufl ebis upi robod dapatroneb-

is Sesazl ebl obas mi scemda da rac mTavaria, okupaci is uRel i, ara social - demokratebi s gegmi s amoqmedebi T, aramed erovnul - demokratebi s gegmi T da qaquca Col oyaSvil is meSveobi T iqneboda mocil ebul i. Tuki am Canafiqris real izacia moxdeboda, erovnul - demokratebi, rogorc moqmedi pol itikuri Zal a, pirvel adgil s dai kavebda, xol o social - demokratebi ukana pl anze moeqceoda; 3) social - demokratebi s samxedro gegmi s gacema, am pol itikuri partiis sazogadoebaSi pol itikurad dasamarebaze iyo gaTvl il i. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, dampyr obTa wi naaRmdeg brZol aSi, erovnul - demokratebma uargisi samxedro gegma amj obi na ukeTess, radgan igi social - demokratebi s Semoqmedebi s nayofs war moadgenda. ambi ci ur obam da egoi zmma saRi azrovneba gadafara da yvel aze mni Svel ovani faqtori ukana pl anze gadaitana. mxedvel obaSi maqvs_ Tbil isis aRebi s SemTxvevaSi, samxedro arsenal is dakavebi s real uri Sesazl ebl oba da aj anyebul ebi s Sei araRebi T uzrunvel yofa. saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis da saqarTvel os damkomis del egaci is 1924 wl is 20 dekembris erTobl ivi sxdomis stenografiul i angari Sidan (sp.WvWavaZis mier warmoTqmul i si tyva) dasturdeba, rom pirvel i gegmi s Cavar dna, udi desi zianis momtani aRmoCnda aj anyebis Semdgomi warmatebul i msvl el obi saTvis. momxdarma faqtma, gansakuTrebi T mZime dartyma qCol oyaSvil is razmis wevrebsa da Wi aTuris aj anyebis monawil eeb s mi ayena im Tval sazrisiT, rom isini kritikul momentSi rusul i vaznebi s gareSe aRmoCnda. vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZis zemoaRni Snul i samxedro gegmi s mi xedvi T, Tbil isis aRebi s gansakuTrebul mni Svel obasTan dakavSi rebi T, imave l .berias moxsenebaSi vki Txul obT: `aj anyebis pirvel i gegmi T (social - demokratebi s S.v.) gamosvl a unda dawyebul iyo Tbil isidan da Tu es ganxorciel deboda Cveni mdgomareoba Zi er rTul i iqneboda, radgan menSevi kebi s mTavari Zal ebi swored Tbil isSi iyvnen Tavmoyril ni. nacional - demokratebmac kargad icodnen es da isini cdil obdnen meore, e.i. maTi (r.musxel iSvil is S.v.) gegmi T dawyebas aj anyebis sas. e.i. Col oyaSvil ze dayrdnobi T. asecmoxda da Cvencaj anyebis l ikvi daci ac gagvi advil da. Tqven xedavT Tu ra didi samsaxuri gagvi wi a im wi naaRmdegobebma, romel ic am or mTavar antisabWoTa partiebs Soris iyo. (CvenTvis Semdegi ambebi s gamo damtkicebul ad iTveba, rom am cnobebs Cven gvigzavni da swored nacional - demokratebi.)-

l .berias moxsenebidan motanil i faqtebi simarTI ed unda mi vi Cni oT, radgan: 1)zemoaRni Snul i TaTbiri daxurul formatSi mimdinareobda, saagitacio- propagandistul datvirTvas ar atarebda da ganvl il i periodis umni Svel ovanesi faqtebi s_ TaTbiris monawil eebisadmi informaci is saxi T mi wodebas i saxavda mi znad; 2)es moxseneba, Sei araRebul i aj anyebidan 6 wl is Semdeg gakeTda. igi gamarj vebul i sabWoTa xel isufl ebi s uSi Sroebis uwyebi s 1921_ 1930 wl ebi s saqmi anobi s Sej amebas da samomavlo gegmebi s srul yofas iTval iswinebda; 3)l .berias aRni Snul i moxseneba, antisabWoTa pol itikuri partiebi s diskreditaci aze rom yofil iyo gaTvl il i, TaTbiris masal ebTan erTad gasaj arovdeboda da farTo sazogadoebisTvisac xel mi sawvdomi gaxdebda.

rac Seexeba patimrobaSi myof vj uRel s, saarqivo masal ebi s mi xedvi T irkveva: 1)umkacresi wamebi sa da fsi qol ogi uri zemoqmedebi s mi uxedavad, TanamebrZol Ta pi rovnul i dasaxel ebi s Sesaxeb si tyva ver daacdevines. ra donis wamebaSi unda yol odaT igi, rom Tvi Tmkvl el obi s gadawyvetil eba mi e-

Ro. cixis iatakis qvaze al esil i al uminis kovzis tariTa da l ursmniT,ma-
 rcxena mkl avis vena eqvs adgil ze gadaeWra da Wril obebi JangiT amoevso.³⁰
 aseTi ram l aCrebs ar sCveviaT. igi samSobl oze uzomod Seyvarebul i gmi-
 rebi sTvisaa damaxasiaTebel i. samwuxarod, Cemi kol egebis didi nawil i, roml e-
 bic tyuil ebiT damZimebul i memuarebis zemoqmedebis qveS imyofebian, saqa-
 rTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis Rirseul i jariskacis da fol adiviT nawr-
 Tobi pirovnebis_ vj uRel is mimarT, xSirad daumsaxurebel da ugvano
 epiTetebis ar iSurveben. xel CasaWid masal ad mis or weril s: **a)** weril i me-
 nSevikur cekas- da **b)** Ria weril i yvel a amxanagebs da yofil saxal xo gva-
 rdie l ebs- iyeneben. yuradRebis miRma toveben im ZiriTad ganmapirobel
 mizezebs, ramac vj uRel s aRni Snul i weril ebi daawerina an dauweres. yov-
 el SemTxvevaSi, es weril ebi misi xel moweriTaa dadasturebul i. am doku-
 mentebis safuZvl ianad gacnobis Sedegad, Cemi yuradReba meore weril ma
 mi iqcia, sadac kvantal ianTan Sexvedris faqtia aRweril i. `kvantal ianma-
 wers vj uRel i- maCvena Zal ian seriozul i dokumentebi, ramac Zal ian Cama-
 fiqra, vinai dan CemTvis naTel i gaxda, rom `Ceka-- m yvel aferi kargad icis.³¹
 sazogadoebaSi da mecniერul wreebSiac wl ebis ganmavl obaSi pasuxgauce-
 mel i rCeboda kiTxva, iseTi ra saxis dokumentebi unda eCvenebi naT vj uRel i-
 saTvis, rom igi aj anyebis saiduml oebis gacemaSi darwmunebul iyo. am um-
 ni Svel ovanes sakiTxTan mimarTebsaSi, mkvl evarebi nakl eb dainteresebas
 i Cendnen da ZiriTadi yuradReba vj uRel is zemoaRni Snul i weril ebis mi za-
 nSewonil ebis faqtze gadahqondaT. aqedan gamomdinare, mis `avtors- Sesa-
 bami si epiTetebi T yvel a brunvaSi ixseniebdnen. rac Seexeba kvantal ianis
 mier vj uRel isadmi naCvenebi dokumentebis saxeobis gaxsnis gasaRebs, amis
 Sesaxeb saintereso informaciaa dacul i harvardis universitetisa da l e-
 vil is saarqivo masal ebis Sesabamis fondebSi. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom
 am dokumentebma udidesi siaxl e Semoitana qarTul wyaroTmcodneobaSi,
 Tavdayira daayena da sabol ood amxil a zogierTi memuaristis mier fanta-
 ziiT gamogonil i cil ismwamebl uri bral debebi; 2) dokumenturi masal iT
 dadasturebul ia, rom sagangebo komisi is TanamSromel ma, patimrobaSi myof
 vj uRel s aj anyebis samxedro gegma daudo win.³² aj anyebis es gegma, rogorc
 zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, vj uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis mier daweril do-
 kuments wadmoadgenda. swored amis Semdeg irwmuna vj uRel ma aj anyebis
 gegmis gacemis simarTl e. man srul ad gaacnobiera is garduval i katastro-
 fa, romel ic moRal ateTa mier gacemul i samxedro gegmis Semdeg, aj anyebis
 dawyebis SemTxvevaSi iyo mosal odnel i. qarTvel i eris mimarT bol SevikTa
 umkacresi angari Ssworeba da sisxl is Rvra rom ar momxdariyo, dakiTxvi-
 sas vj uRel ma TxovniT mimarTa l .berias: `ramdenime dRiT gamanTavisu-
 fl eT patimrobidan, damal evineT sawaml avi, sami dRis mere rom imoqmedos
 da sisxl is Rvra aRar iqneba saWi ro... saWi roa movel aparako TanamebrZol ebs...
 amas moiTxovs qarTvel i xal xis interesebi.³³ aseTi nabij is gadadgma mx-
 ol od gmi rebisa da samSobl oze uzomod Seyvarebul i adami anebis Tanday-
 ol il i Tvis ebaa. mas Tavisi TanamebrZol ebi dan arcerTi pirovneba ar dusax-
 el ebia. amis sawi naaRmdego dadasturebis dokumenti j er- j erobiT aravis
 gamouqveynebia. rac Seexeba `damkomisadmi- gagzavnil sayovel Taod cno-
 bil gamafRTxil ebel weril ebs, igi mxol od mas Semdeg Sei qmna, roca
 uSi Sr oebam sawaml avis mi Rebaze da sawaml avmi Rebul is TanamebrZol ebTan

gaSvebaze uTxra uari v.j uRel s.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gamcemTa `damsaxurebi dan- gamomdinare, saqarTvel os gasabWoebul i xel isufl eba saqmis kursSi iyo da mosal odnel i antisabWouri aj anyebis sawinaaRmdego qmedebis gansaxorciel ebl ad safuZvl ianad emzadeboda. meore mxriv, aj anyebis zemoaRni Snul i gegmis xel Si CagdebiT, uSi Sroebis TanamSroml ebma, srul iad kavkasi is masStabiT, antibol Sevikuri centrebis urTierT damakavSirebel i xazis daufli ebas miarwies. am warmatebul ma svl am, aRni Snul organizacias, antsabWourad moqmedi yvel a saeWvo wertil is winaswari amoSanTvis SesaZl ebl oba misca. paral el urad, wiTel qarTul jarSi mosamsaxure qarTvel oficrebze masobrivi Seteva ganaxorciel es. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi daptimreba da samsaxuridan daTxovna. momxdari faqtiT, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis organizaciul ad dawyebis da aj anyebul Ta mxardamWeri saZirkvel i winaswarve iqna dangreul i.

zemoaRni Snul is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, 1924 wl is agvistoSi qao- tური formiT dawyebul i aj anyeba damarcxebisTvis iyo ganwirul i, radgan: 1)aj anyebis pirvel i samxedro gegmiT gaTval iswi nebul i moTxovnebis (ruseTis Si dasaxel mwi foebrivi mdgomareoba, saerTaSoriso pirobebi, aj anyebul ebi- saTvis ful is, iaraRis da sursaTis miRebis winaswari garantiabis ararse- boba) Seusrul ebl obis miuxedavad daiwyo. 2)rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni S- nul i, uSi Sroebam maTi moqmedebis yovel i nabiji icoda. momxdari faqtiT, sabWoTa xel isufl ebas adre Cafiqrebul i ganazraxis_ urCi intel igenci- isa da arakomunisturi sazogadoebriv- pol itikuri azris mimdevarTa sru- l i ganadgurebis dawyebis SesaZl ebl oba misca. dRemde gamoqveynebul samec- niero SromebSi da Cems mier mopovebul i axal i saarqivo masal ebiTac dasturdeba farTomasStabiani sadamsjel o RonisZiebis mZime Sedegebi, ro- ml ebmac grigal iviT gadauara saqarTvel os. sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesve- urTa mizans, erovnul i cnobierebisa da qveynis damoukidebl obis aRdge- naze meocnebe adami anebis fizikuri da fsiqol ogiuri ganadgureba warmo- adgenda. am mi marTul ebiT, qveynis uSi Sroebis Sesabamis uwyebas, Cafiqrebu- l i miznis srul ad gansaxorciel ebel i meTodebi hqonda damuSavebul i. fa- rTomasStabiani represiebis erT- erTi safexuri, antisabWouri pol itikuri partiebis ganadgurebas iTval iswi nebd. am mxriv, pirvel i umZimesi darty- ma iatakveSeTsi moqmedma social - demokratiul ma partiam miiRo. paral el u- rad brZol a sxva pol itikuri partiebisa da upartioebis winaRmddegac mi- mdinareobda. farTod amuSavda `dasmenis instituti,- ramac adami anTa axa- l i sicocxl e Seiwira. miuxedavad amisa, 1924 wl is aj anyebis avanturad gamocxadeba, xol o misi meTaurebis eqstremistebad da avanturistebad `monaTvl a,- samSobl oze uzomod Seyvarebul i gmirebis xsovnisadmi up- ativcemul obas warmoadgens. 1924 wl is aj anyebam im periodis sabWouri da evropul i zonis sferoSi myof intel eqtual urad moazrovne da Tavisu- fl ebaze mofiqral erebs, gamokveTil i formiT ucvena: 1)sabWouri oku- paci isa da monobis mZime uRl is miuxedavad, qarTvel i eri fizikurad ar- daCaCanakebul a da gonebrivad ar daCl ungebul a, misi Sinagani cnobiere- ba, kiserze Tokgamobmul i morCil i saqonl is donemde ar dasul a; 2)1924 wl is aj anyebam, momaval Taobebs sabWour imperiasTan ukompromiso brZo- l is gagrZel ebisa da daumorCil ebl obis xidi augo da anderZis saxiT

ამ მიმართულებით სწავლა, კართელთა მოდგმის გადარჩენის პირველ ხარისხთან ამოცანად დასახა; 3)1924 წლის აგვისტოს გმერთა სახეები, ყველა ეპოქის კართელთა გამოწვევების, მტრისადმი ხმალი სმართულობის დავის და ნებისმირი დამპყრობლის ბატონობისადმი დაუმორჩილებლობის სიმბოლოს წარმოადგენს. მათი აგრძელებით ერთხელ კიდევ სეგვასენებზე თურგორ უნდა გვიყვარდეს ცენის სამსახური.

რაც შეეხება მსხვერპლს, რომელიც აგვისტოს მოხდა, მართლაც და განუზომელია დიდია. ერთი რამ დებეი თებით შეიქმნა იტყვას, 1924 წლის აგვისტოს დანაკარგების მსხვერპლად სწორედ ადამიანები, მტრის წინააღმდეგ ხმალი სმართულობის მეტროპოლისის და სამსახურისადმი თავსწირულობის სახელით ვადაცხადებენ სასუფეველი და გმირების სახელით დაიმკვიდრეს. ისინი თავისი სინაგანი ცნობიერებიდან და აზროვნებიდან გამომდინარე, 1930-1940 წლების რეპრესიების მაინც ვერ გადაურჩებოდნენ და უსახელოდ მოხდებოდა მათი განადგურება. ისე როგორც `გაბოლის პოლიტიკის- მომხრეებს გაუკეთეს. ეს იმას ნიშნავს, რომ იმ მომენტისთვის ვეყვანასი სეკმნილი პოლიტიკური და იდეოლოგიური ატმოსფერო_ (საბოტაჟის უსუფლებების მტერი, ბურჟუაზიის ვეყენების აგენტი, კაპიტალიზმის რესტავრაციის მხარდამხრები და ა.შ.) მათი ხელსეუხელობის არანაირი გარანტი არ იქონიდა. ცემი აგრეთ, 1924 წლის აგვისტოს სეფასებისას, არნისნული ფაქტორებიც უნდა იყნას გატვალისწინებულნი.

ცემის მოთანილი დოკუმენტი მასლის ანალიზი, სემდეგი დასკვნების გაკეთების შესაძლებლობას იქონიდა: 1)1921-1922 წლების რეპრესიების ტანკვადარი არალეგალური ანტისაბოტაჟის საკმანობის საფეხურებზე გამოსაცხადებლობისად, უმკაცრესი დისციპლინის, ინფორმაციის გასაიდუმლებების და კონსპირაციის მიზანობის ფორმების სემორება, ნ.ამერიკის დიქტატორად, ექსტრემისტად და ავანტიურისტად გამოცხადების საფუძველს არ იქონიდა. საბოტაჟის პროვოკაციის არსებობის შესახებ, სოციალ-დემოკრატიის პარტიის მიდრეხილული `სამხედრო ცენტრის- ხელმძღვანელთა მრავალგზის გაფრთხილება, ვეყენის მოსახლეობისადმი ახალი რეპრესიების აცხადების იტვალისწინებდა.

2)საოკუპაციო რეჟიმის წინააღმდეგ შეარაგებულნი აგვისტოს მოსამზადებელი რონისზეები და მომედების ტაქტიკა, გამართლებულია ადამიანთა იმ სემტხვევასი ცაივლებოდა, ტუკი `სამხედრო ცენტრის- მირმირებულნი გადაწყვეტილებები, აგვისტოს სამხედრო გეგმით გატვალისწინებულ მოტხოვნებს დაკმაყოფილებდა. მხედველობის მაგვს: ა)აუცხადებლობა, შეარაგებულნი გამოსვლების საფუძველიანი მომზადება და რუსეთის სეკმნილი ხელსაყრელი პოლიტიკური- ეკონომიკური სიტუაციის მაქსიმალური გატვალისწინება; ბ)სრულიად კავკასიის მასშტაბით, კართელთა მხარდამხარებლობის და ერთობლივი ზალისებობის საბოტაჟის რუსეთისადმი დაპირისპირების საფეხურის მომზადება; გ)ევროპის ვეყენებიდან იარაღითა და ფულით დახმარების გარანტიის სეკმნა.

3)ნ.ამერიკისა და ვ.ჯ. ურელი დასაპატიმრებლად, ეროვნული- დემოკრატიის პარტიის ზოგიერთი წარმომადგენელი სგან `ცეკას- ს ტანამსრომლებისადმი ხელსეყოფა, არნისნული პიროვნებების პოლიტიკური სარბიელიდან გამოცილებას და მომედების თავისუფალი სივრცის სეკმნას იტვალისწინებდა. შეარაგებულნი აგვისტოს სამხედრო გეგმის, ამერიკის კავკასიის საგანგებო კომისიისადმი გადაგზავნის, ეროვნული- დემოკრატიის პარტიის ზოგიერთი სული მოკლე ადამიანების სგან უდიდესი დანასაღები იყნა ცადენილი. ამომედებით, შეარაგებულნი გამოსვლებს, არაორგანიზებულნი, სპონტანური სახემიეცა და გარდუვალის დამარცხების წინასწარი საფეხური მომზადდა.

Tavi IV i atakveSeTis anti sabWouri saqmi anobis gaaqti urebis mcdel oba da qarTul i emigracia (1925- 1930 ww.)

aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gacemam, sabWoTa uSiSroebis TanamSroml ebis wiaswari saqmis kursSi Cayenebam da aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i meTaurebis dpatimrebam, Tavisufl ebisaTvis mebrZol Zal ebSi srul i qaosi daamkvidra. ramdenadac sabWoTa xel isufl ebam damkoms `Tavi moacal a,- araorgani zebul ad da qaoturi formiT dawyebul aj anyebas, gamarj vebis minimal uri Sansic ar dautova. erovnul i Tavisufl ebisaTvis qarTvel Ta gabrZol ebis marcxiT damTavrebam, sabWoTa xel isufl ebas, saqarTvel os `waRma- ukuRma gadaxvnis- srul i SesaZI ebl oba misca. rasac bol Sevikebi 1921- 1924 wl is agvistomde `iTmenda,- seqtembridan SurissaZiebl ad moqmedebis sababi mi ecaT da am momentis maqsimal urad gamoyeneba daiwyes. qarTvel Ta urCi Si nagani erovnul i cnobierebis daTrgunva da amoSanTva, pirvel xarisxovan amocanad iqna maTi mxridan dasaxul i. mi znis mi Rwevas, saRad moazrovne intel i-genci isa da aristokratiis sagvareul o wris ganadgurebaSi xedavdnen. moskovis uSiSroebis qvemdebare I .berias uweyebis dasmenebis `Rumel Si nawrTobi fol adismWrel i maxvil i,- qarTvel ma renegatma bol Sevikebma, qarTvel - Ta modgmis da misi erovnul ad moazrovne intel eqtual uri Zal ebis gasanadgurebl ad gamoiyena. qarTul istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia, Tu ra donis Seuwynarebel kani bal izms iCenda uSiSroebis muSakebi im adami anebis mimarT, roml ebi c 1924 wl is aj anyebaSi monawil eobdnen, an maTdami Tanadgoma gamoamJRavnes. saarqivo masal ebi dan irkveva, rom Tavis gadarCenis mi zni T, `sul mokl e- pirovnebaTa mxridan dasmenebma, aj anyebis damarcxebis Semdeg gansakuTrebi T iCina Tavi. am procesma, saqarTvel os zogierT kuTxeSi imdenad farTo xasiaTi mi iRo, rom respubl ikis uSiSroebis TanamSroml ebi, da Zabal i ZiebiTi samuSaoebis gareSe axdendnen maTTvis arasasurvei i pirovnebebis gamovl inebas. aRni Snul i xel Semwyobi faqtorebi dan gamomdinare, aral egal urad moqmed pol itikur Zal ebs uSiSroebis Sesabamisma uweyebema imdenad mkacradaartya, rom mis rigebs intel eqtual uri birTvi TiTqmis srul ad gamoacal a. amis Sesaxeb, val entinis (val entin qiqava) mier stambol idan parizSi social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi gagzavnil weril Si (1925 wl is 17 agvisto) vkiTxul obT: `unda giTxraT, rom Cvens organizacias dRes weril is damweri kaci ar hyavs. kacis Senaxva Znel i ar aris. xal xi aj anyebis Semdeg kidev ufro dairazma da organizaciebi Camoayal iba. arsad muSaoba ar Sewyvetil a... kaci unda gamogzavnoT im gziT, romel sac me gavawyob. I iteraturac da ful ic am gziT unda iqnes gamogzavnili. me aucil ebl ad unda davbrunde ukanve Tu es aq momixerxes da iqedan kidev aqeT gadmoval . sistematurad siarul s ver SevZI eb. es ori mTavari moTxovnil ebaa cekadan, romel ic rac SeiZI eba adre xanSi unda mogvardes.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom val entin qiqava, romel ic saqarTvel odan iyo stambol Si Casul i, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis cekas daval ebas asrul ebda. mis amocanas warmoadgenda: 1) sazRvargareT myofi social - demokratiul i partiis avtoritetul i warmomadgenel is saqarTvel oSi Camoeyvana; 2) ganadgurebis zRvarze misul i organizaciebis asaRorZinebl ad, sazRvargareTi dan dafi-

nansebis da Sesabamisi partiul i Literaturis miReba.

Znel ia imis Tqma Tu ramdenad moxerxdeboda zemoaRni Snul i moTxovnebis dakmayofil eba, radgan nebis mieri saxis aral egarul i furcl ebis saqarTvel oSi Semotana- gavr cel eba, umZimesi represiebis safasurad uj deboda adgil obriv mosaxl eobasa da pol itikur partiebs. am faqtis si swores, saqarTvel odan parizSi Teimurazisadmi (n.rami Svili) gagzavnil i weril ic adasturebs. aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `furcl ebis gamoSvebis sixSires aq Cvens mimarT represiebis gaxSireba mohyva. Seudgnen bral ianis da ubral os dpatimrebas. pirdapir quCidan miyavdaT xal xi, ise rom arcerTma Wirisufal ma ar icoda ra bedi ewia Sin ar dabrunebul qmars, Svili san sxvas vismes. dpatimrebul ni etapebad dahyves da ruseTis civ da susxian guberniebsken ukres Tavi.- am mxriv gansakuTrebiT mZime mdgomareobaSi guria aRmoCnda. uSi Sroebis uwyebis maRal Cinosnebma, guriis mosaxl eobas sabWoTa xel isuflebisadmi gansakuTrebul i siZul vil is demonstrireba ar apatia, romel sac adgil i agvistos movl enebis dros hqonda. gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Cekas mosamsaxureTa mxridan guriaSi ganxorciel ebul i sadamsjel o RonisZiebebi dawwri l ebiTaa aRweril i vaso wul aZis mier 1925 wl is 5 Teberval s parizSi gagzavnil weril Si. `dRevan del i saqarTveel os xel isuflebis mTel i yuradReba- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- miqceul ia guriaze. Cekas erTgul i mosamsaxureni da Cveni dauZinebel i mtrebi yvel a guriis dedaqal aqSi aris Tavmoyril i da swored es aris mizezi daxel ovnebul i Cekistebis aq gamogzavni sa, rom xedaven mZl avr mowinaaRmdeges da aqvT miRebul i yovel gvari zomebi, rom Cvens rigebSi gaiCinon agentebi da miT agvafeTqon... marTal ia, dRes aSkara represiebi ar aris, magram farul i represiebi umaRl es wertil s aRwevs.- imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, sazRvargareTis social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi 1926 wl is 1 ivl isiT daTariRebul weril Si aRweril ia Cekas mier Catarebul i represiebis is axal i forma, romel ic adami anTa moul odnel gatacebasTan da mwal ebl obasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. amis Sesaxeb imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `represiebi didia, xol o exl andel i represiebi ganirCevawarsul i represiebisagan. aSkara xasiaTis ar aris, Cumi ki Zal ze. guriaSi da baTumSi aseTi wesi SemoiRo Cekam: mi dis kaci samsaxurSi an bazarSi sanovagis sayidl ad... gadis dReebi da aravinma ar icis Tu sad dai karga. gazeTebi danac acxadeben Wirisuflebi, magram yvel a amaod da vnaxoT, 15 dRis Semdeg gebul oben rom ukve CekaSia. es erTeul i SemTxveva ki ar aris, aramed aTeul i da am motacebul TaTvis arc saWmel ia, arc sasmel i, arc dasaxur- dasagebi. Semdeg ki metexi da gadasaxl eba... Tu dai karga vinme, ukve ician rom is CekaSia. guriaSi Cekam ver moiki da fexi da TiTqmis ar gava ise Tve, rom Ceka mTel i Semadgenl obiT ar gamocval on. guriaze yovel mxrivaa ieriSi mitanil i, magram amaod. organizaciis SigniT ver i poves gamcemi da verafer ver gaarkvies. jer- jerobiT aseTi mdgomareobaa. vfiqrob momaval Siac ver i Sovnian Cveni rigebi dan gamcems.-

es vrcel i amonaweri imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis dasasinebl ad da gadasabi rebl ad, Cekas mier SemuSavebul i `motacebebis- zemoaRni Snul i meTodebis nakl ebad efeqturoba, okupanti xel isuflebisadmi guriis mosaxl eobis gan gansakuTrebul i zizRiT iyo ganpi robebul i.

mi uxedavad imisa, rom saokupacio rejimTan mi marTebaSi saqarTvel os mo-
saxl eobis ZiriTadi nawil i mtrul damokidebul ebaSi imyofeboda da mas-
Tan TanamSroml obas gaurboda, zogierTi sul mokl e adami anebis dasmenebis
safuzvel ze, saqarTvel os Cekam mainc SeZl o aral egal urad moqmedi pol i-
tikuri organizaciebis ZiriTadi birTvis ganadgureba. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki
misi aRdgena droul ad ver moxerxdeboda, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i
moZraobis (garkveul i formiT) gagrZel eba SeuZl ebel i iqneboda. rac Seex-
eba TviT organizaciebis beds, aseT pirobebSi misi arsebobis sakiTxi kiTx-
vis qveS rCeboda. es saSiSroeba, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris aral ega-
l urad moqmedma warmomadgenl ebma kargad SeniSna da organizaciul i muSao-
bis gaaqtiturebis aucil ebl obis sakiTxi daayena. am mxriv gansakuTrebul
interest v.wul azis mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazR-
vargareTis biuros prezidiumsadmi 1925 wl is 3 seqtembers gagzavnil i
weril i iqcevs. ganadgurebul i organizaciebis aRdgenasTan dakavSirebiT,
am dokumentSi konkretul adaa dasmul i sakiTxi_ dafinansebis ganaxl ebis
aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. wina pl anzea wamoweul i organizaciebis aRsadgen-
ad xel Semwyobi samuSaoebis Catarebis aucil ebl oba. im umZimes pirobeb-
Si Tu ra mizans emsaxureboda TiTqmis ganadgurebul i organizaciebis
isev aRdgena, am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba imave weril is erT-
ma adgil ma mi iqcia, sadac vkiTxul obT: `TiTqmis dasrul da organizacieb-
is ardgena- mowyoba. yvel gan migviwdeba xel i, roml is Zal iTac sazoga-
doebrivi azri Cveni gavlenis qveS emwyvdeva. dRevandel mTavar amocanad
es aris aRiarebul i_ mWidro mcirericxovani organizaciebiT SevZl oT sa-
zogadoebrivi azris Cveni gvl enis qveS dayeneba. es nawil obriv ukve miRwe-
ul ia... mas meti gafrTxil eba unda, roml is ganxorciel ebaSi Tqvens daxma-
rebas didi mniSvel oba aqvs. aq Cveni Zal ebiT Zl ier Znel ia regul arul ad
sakmarisi l iteraturis gamosveba, rom amiT SevZl oT... amxanagebis dakmayo-
fil eba. am saqmeSi mTavari yuradReba Tqvensken aris moqceul i. aq exl a
gamodis `erToba- da xandaxan furcl ebi, romel sac gigzavniT. daaxl oebiT
es keTdeba organizaciis muSaobaSi.~ am onaweridan kargad Cans, rom pol i ti-
kuri organizaciis ZiriTad funqcias im etapze sazogadoebaSi saagitacio
-propagandistul i saqmi anoba warmoadgenda. mTavari yuradReba, umkacresi
represebgamevl il i adami anebis Sinagan cnobierebaSi, erovnul - ganmaTa-
visufl ebel i moZraobis aRdgena_ SenarCuneba da arsebul i xel isufl ebi-
sadmi sazogadoebis ideuri formiT dapi rispireba warmoadgenda. am mi mar-
Tul ebiT, yvel aze metad social - demokretiul i partiis warmomadgenl ebi
aqturobdnen. Tu riT iyo ganpirorebul i maTi mxridan aseTi Tavgadadebu-
l i qmedeba da ramdgomareobaSi imyofeboda danarCeni pol itikuri parti-
ebi, amis Sesaxeb sayuradRebo cnobebia dacul i social - demokratiul i pa-
rtiis sazRvargareTis biuros prezidiumsadmi v.wul azis mier gagzavnil
weril Si. `cnobisTvis saWiroa icodeT maq, rom saqarTvel oSi muSaobs mxo-
l od Cveni partia. danarCeni partieb isxeneba_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_
TiTqmis ar aris. sxivel ebi gaqren savsebiT, rac TiTonac aRiares pro-
cesze. eserebis, federal iste bis a da nacional - demokratebi sgan Tu vinmea
TiTo- orol a darCenil i da swamT Cveni saqme, aseTebi Cvenebis muSaobaSi
uwyoben xel s (binis Sovna, kavSiri da sxva). damouki debel muSaobas ki
arcerTi partia, garda Cvenisa ar eweva. amas kategoriul ad amtkicebs (sa-

qarTvel odan S.v.) gamosul i amxanagebi.-¹

Tuki zemoaRni Snul i monacemebis mi xedviT vi msj el ebT, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis Sesabamis Zal ovan uwyebes, antisabWouri pol itikuri partiebi ganadgurebis zRvramde mi uyvani a. am fonze, praqtikul i saqmiaanobis gagrZel ebis SedarebiT meti SesaZl ebl obebi social - demokratebs gaaCndaT. amis erT- erT Tval saCino magal iTs guriis regionis social - demokratiul i partiis aral egal uri yril obis Catarebis faqti warmoadgens. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, vaso wul aZis mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i cekasadmi 1926 wl is 5 Teberval s gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `ramdenime dRis winaT mowveul i iqna guriis samazro yril oba. guriis yvel a kuTxidan (sul 7 raionia) or- ori da sam- sami amxanagi iyo. yril obas sul daeswro 40 kacemde. mTel i Ramis ganmavl obaSi saqmi ani saubari gvqonda da yril oba Cinebul adac Catar da... naxavdiT Tu rogori sul ieri ganwyobil eba iyo saerTod iq damswre amxanagebSi.-² aRni Snul i amonaweris mi xedviT, mZime represia gamovl il i guriis mosaxl eobis did nawil Si, Tavisufli ebis mopovebis rwmena i sev aRmavl obis safexurze idga. es imedismomcemi faqti, aral egarul ad moqmed pol itikur Zal ebs, antisabWouri muSaobis gaRrmavebis stimuls aZl evda. maT kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom mosaxl eobaSi Sesabamis saagitacio- propagandistul saqmi anobas Tuki ar gaagrZel ebdnen, antisabWouri muxtis Caqrobis real uri safrTxe arsebobda. aRni Snul is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, kviraSi erTxel aral egal urad gazeT `Cveni erToba-- s gamoscemdnen. dawyebul i saqmis gagrZel ebis ZiriTad xel Semwyob saSual ebas, redaqcis finansebiT da statiebiT droul i uzrunvel yofa, xol o adgil obrivi organizaciebisadmi sazRvargareT gamocemul i gazeTebisa da l iteraturis miwodeba warmoadgenda. dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT ganxorciel eba, `mekavSires- Sesabamis anazRaurebiT uzrunvel yofaze iyo damokidebul i. amasTan dakavSirebiT vaso wul aZis mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biurosadmi 1925 wl is 23 ivniss gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `ganmeorebiT mogagonebT, rom punqtebi saTvis xarj TaRricxva aucil ebel ia... mi aqcieT iq yuradReba bol o adgil s, sadac weria_ am weril is momtans 25 l ira mi eciT. aseTebi xSi rad iqneba, xan 25 da xan meti, da Tu kavSiri gvinda, aseT xarj ebs gverds ver auvl iT. am kavSiris saqmeebiT Cven exl a federal istebTan varT gadabmul ni, magram es saqmes ar aferxebes. iq Cvens da maT Soris etyoba kargi atmosferoa. amave dros, mi Rebul i maqvs zomebi, rom kowias samagiero kacss davukavSirde.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom dasaxul i amocanis Sesasrul ebl ad, social - demokratebi da social ist- federal istebi erTobl ivad moqmedebdnen. maTi mxridan gadadgmul i es nabiji, saqarTvel oSi ara marto gasaiduml oebul i weril ebis Semotanas uwyobda xel s, aramed saqarTvel odan anal ogiuri saxis weril ebis sazRvargareT gatanis SesaZl ebl obasac qmni da. meore mxriv, maTi erTobl ivi muSaobis Sedegad, saqarTvel oSi pol itikuri xasiaTis antisabWouri l iteraturis Semotanac xerxdeboda. Cems mier mi kvl eul i saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom sabWoTa xel isufli ebis samxil i l literatura, aral egal urad saqarTvel oSi acibeWdeboda. misi garkveul i nawil i sazRvargareT stambol Si CahqondaT da iqedan evropis qveynebsi mcxovrebebi emigranteb-

Si ac avrcel ebdnen. amasTan dakavSi rebiT saintereso faqtobrivi monace-
mebia motanil i v.wul aZis zemoaRniSnul weril Si. `wignakebi - `namdvil i da
yal bi komunizmi - ukve gamogegzavnaT 200 cal i. 80- sac am or dReSi ga-
mogigzavniT. gadmogzavnil ia patar- patara paketebiT 20- 20 cal i. didi
paketi aq fostaSi examuSebaT da zogan arc Rebul oben_ maq propaganda
iqnebao.- k.kandel akis da s.asaTianis saxel ze l egaciis misamarTiT sxva
qal aqebSi, rogorc magal iTad berl inSi, praRaSi, varSavaSi wignakebi Cveul e-
brisablebr aqedan gavagzavno Tu maqedan gadagzavniT? amas imi tom gekiTx-
ebiT, rom Tu wignakebis gayidvas fiqrobT emigrantebze, maSin sj obs, rom
maqedan gaugzavnoT, fostis xarj i nakl ebi iqneba. wignakebis miReba da Cems
SekiTxvaze pasuxi exl ave macnobeT.-

miuxedavad imisa, rom aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i par-
tia umZimes finansur mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda, partiis sawevros anakre-
fisa da Semowirul obebis Sedegad, igi zemoaRniSnul i litaraturis gamoce-
mas da regul arul ad gazeTis beWdvasac axerxebda. amis damadasturebl ad,
val entinis (val entin qi qava) mier 1925 wl is 3 seqtembers parizSi gagzavni-
l i weril i gamodgeba. `cekam imdeni siyoCaRe gamoiCina, rom partiul i sawe-
vroebis anaricxiT- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- gazeTis gamocema daiwyo (l-
l i nomeri me Camovitanne, meore exl a gamosul i iqneba) da furcl ebs sistematur-
ad beWdavs.- dawyebul i saqmi anoba rom warmatebiT gagrZel ebul iyo, v.wul
l aZis mier sdm partiis sazRvargareTis biuros prezidumis saxel ze gag-
zavnil weril Si (1925 wl is 3 seqtemberi) 600 l iris dauyovnebl iv miwo-de-
bis aucil ebl obaa dasmul i. meore mxriv, isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom im
etapze saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmed politikur Zal ebTan da emi-
graciaSi myofi mTavrobis wevrebTan regul arul i kavSiris damyareba ga-
rkveul finansebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. amis Sesaxeb v.wul aZis mier saqarTve-
l os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTis biuros prezidumi s-
admi 1925 wl is 1 seqtembers gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `unda gavime-
oro, rom Tu aqedan kavSiri gindaT wesieraT iyos, biuj etierTi orad unda
gadi ddes imi tom, rom saWiroa ramdenime sadguris gaCena. gvinda Tu ar gvi-
nda, xofas garda ori sami sadguris gaxsna gvixdeba. stambol i_ xofa_ tye
(punqtis sadguria), Semdeg gza oraT gaiyofa, erTi baTumSi, meore guriaSi.
ase rom baTumis gzas tyesa da baTums Sua kidev sadguri sWirdeba. Tu mu-
Saoba gvinda, am sqemas gverds ver aavl iT... aq romel ime rgolis gamokl eba
swyvets saqmes. axl a rom CvenTan kavSirze xal xi muSaobs (aWarl ebi) zemox-
senebul sadgurebSi umagaTod ver gaxval T fons, sando xal xia magram Zvi-
rs Txoul oben. ia ffasi xal xi CekaSi midian... litaraturis sazi davaT
aWarl ebs gverds ver auxvevT, radgan mozrdil i tvirTiT sxva kuTxis war-
momadgenel i ver ivl is, isic akrZal ul qveyanaSi. weril ebi stvis rogorc
baTumSi gvpirdeba, special ur Sikrikebs atareben msgavsad gadmosul isa,
magram qarTvel i sazRvridan Sors ver wamova, radgan ukan daabruneben da
safrangeTsi amoayofineben TavS. amisTvis Cven gvaqvs zed sazRvarze sad-
guri tye, ai iq SegveZl eba qarTvel i Sikrikis tareba. magram yvel a amisTvis
saWiroa Cveni biuj etierTi- orad gadi deba e.i. 500 l iramde ayvana. praq-
tikam damarwmuna, rom nakl ebi TanxiT veras gavxdebiT.-

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans im umZimesi samuSaos Sesrul ebis
procedura, romel ic aral egar ul saqmi anobas ukavSirdeba. meore mxriv, ma-

ssSi kargadaa naCveneBi saqarTvel os sazRvris farul ad gadakveTis is gaisaiduml oebul i sacal flexo bil ikebi, romel ic im etapze saqarTvel o- parizis `sainformacio damakavSi rebel gzas- warmoadgenda. imave dokumentidan isic irkveva, rom sazRvris gadamkveTi Sikriki sTvis Sesabamisi ful adi anazRaurereba iyo sawiro. Tu ramdenad mZime mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda adgil obriv aral egal urad momuSave partiul i organizaciebi, amis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari ssdm partiis sazRvargareTis biuros prezidumi sadmi v.wul aZis mier gagzavnil i (1925 wl is 3 seqtemberi) weril Si. `Cven unda gvezruna sul axal i gzis gabmis saqmeze, risTvisac amx. Jenias (fsevdonimia) gamougzavnes iqidan mandati, roml is Zal iTac mas eval eboda xofaSi da stambol Si kavSiris daWera. misi iq Casvl iT da maT gankargul ebaSi myofi literaturis miwodebi T TavisTavad gaabamda kavSirs parizTanac, ful i centr sar qonda, rom am saqmisTvis gaeRo. xol o Cvens organizaciaSi yurmoWril i Saurianic ar mogvepoveboda. Zvl is- Zvl iobiT gamovZebneT imdeni, rom xofamde puris ful i yofnoda.-

samwuxaro is aris, rom saqarTvel os maSindel emigraciul mTavrobas, ful i ar gaaCnda. evropisa da amerikis qveynebi dan finansuri daxmarebis miRebis yovel i mcdel oba, uSedego aRmoCnda. amis dadasturebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciis da damfuZnebel i krebis prezidumi s gaerTianebul i sxdomis (1930 wl is 11 ianvari) stenografiul i Canawerebi warmoadgens. gansakuTrebul yuradRebas, imave sxdomaze n.rami Svil is gamosvl a iqcevs. man damaj erebel i pasuxi gasca s.fircxal avas mier gamoTqmul Seni Svnebs da iqve dasZina, rom nebi smieri saqmis gasakeTebul ad ful i iyo sawiro. `marTalia, usaxsroba didad gviSl is xel s,... Torem metis gakeTebas SevZl ebdit, radganac pirobebi dipl omatiuri muSaobisaTvis exla ukeTesi gvaqvs vinem odesme. sadaa es saxsari? cda ar dagviklia, magram araferi gamodis. am mxriv exla imedi mec Zal ian nakl ebi maqvs, magram ramdenadac SegviZlia da gawvdeba Cveni saxsrebi, yvel a saxel mwifostan da erebTan, gansakuTrebiT megobrebTan unda vi muSaoT.-

am amonaweris mixedvit kargad Cans, rom emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufleba ekonomieur siduxwires gancida. evropis saxel mwifoebis gan daxmarebis miuReblobis gamo, im ZiriTadi sakiTxebis mogvarebas ver axerxebda, romel ic okupirebul saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobis asaRorZinebl ad iyo sawiro. imave sxdomis stenografiul i angariSidan isic irkveva, rom ful is sesxad aRebas, saqarTvel os xel isufleba amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi ac Seecada. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os warmomadgenel is vasil dumbaZis mier am mi marTul ebiT gaweul i saqmi anoba. misi farTo SesaZlebl obebis miuxedavad, am sakiTxis dadebitad gadawyveta man ver SeZlo. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom sabWoTaruseTis saerTaSoriso asparezze warmatebul ad gamosvl am, evropisa da aSS- is saxel mwifoebis maRal Cinosnebsi, ruseTisadmi arweinebis pol itikuri kursi daamkvidra. aqedan gamomdinare, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes is faqti, rom ful is sesxebasTan mi marTebsi, saqarTvel os warmomadgenel obas uars rom eubnebodnen.

xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom uful obidan gamomdinare, okupirebul saqarTvel oSi, aral egal uri antisabWouri saqmi anoba maqsimal urad ferxeboda. am mxriv, sabWoTa uSiSroeba maRal doneze muSaobda. maT amocanas,

Roma iatakveSeTSi gadasul i pol itikuri organizaciebis gamoaSkaraveba da ganadgureba warmoadgenda. am mimarTul ebiT gatarebul i RonisZiebebis erT- erT formad cixis patimarTa pretenziebiT aRsave weril ebis gamoqveyneba iqna SemoRebul i. am mxriv, Cemi yuradReba suzdal is sapyrobel edan 1925 wl is Teberval s gamogzavnil ma patimarTa kol eqtiurma weril ma mi iqcia. am dokumentSi ori ZiriTadi sakiTxia dasmul i: 1) social - demokratiul i partiis mxridan, suzdal is cixis patimrebisadmi mwiri da zogadi informaciis miwodebi dan gamomdinare sayveduri; 2) saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis saqmi anobis, maTi mi znebi sa da amocanebis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTi informaciis regul arul ad miwodebis saWi roeba. amis aucil ebl obas, saqarTvel oSi moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis aral egal uri saqmi anobis srul ad gacnobis motivaci iT `amarTi ebdnen- patimrebi. iqve xazgasmi T mi uTi Tebdnen, rom patimrobaSi yofnis miuxedavad, Tav social - demokratiul i partiis `uj redad- Tvl idnen. rac Seexeba patimrebisadmi gamamxnevebel i si tyebi T datvirTul weril ebs: `nu geSinaT,~ `saqme kargad iqneba,~ `saWi roa simtkice,~ isini aradamakmayofil ebl ad da drois fuWad kargvad Tvl idnen; 3) am fonze, suzdal is cixis patimrebi saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobas damrigebl uri formiT mimarTavdnen: a) saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i axal i pol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, 1921 wel s SemuSavebul i moqmedebis kursi radikal urad Seecvl aT da arsebul i probl emisadmi SesatyvisobaSi moeyvanaT; b) patimrebi sTvis ecnobebinaT, Tu ras api rebda aRni Snul saki TxTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba; 4) eris pol itikur- gonebrivi gafuqsavatebi sa da damaxinj ebul i azrovnebi sgan Tavis daRwevis mizniT, Jurnal ebisa da Sesabamisi pol itikuri literaturis gamocemebis aucil ebl obas kategoriul i formiT ayenebdnen.

Tuki aRni Snul weril Si dasmul sakiTxებს da patimarTa moTxovnebs gavaanal izebT, davrwmundebi T, rom es dokumenti ara patimrebis, aramed uSi Sroebis Sesabamisi uwyebis TanamSromel Ta mier iyo Sedgenil i. mis mizans, im saiduml oebis srul ad gamoaSkaraveba warmoadgenda, romel ic aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel Ta antisabWouri saqmi anobis gegmas Seicavda. mi Tumetes, yovel i weril i `Cekas- TanamSromel Ta mier ixsnoboda, muSavdeboda da amis Semdeg gadaecemoda adresats. aRni Snul is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis saxel iT suzdal is cixis qarTvel i patimrebisadmi gagzavnil i ramdenime winadadebi T Sedgenil i weril i: `xel s mainc nu gviSl iT, iyavi T TqvenTvis, nurafers i tyvi T, nurgareT da nurg SigniT- bevris mTqmel ia. igi patimrebs adre maTTvis cnobil i faqtebis saiduml od Senaxvis, erTmaneTis ardasmenis, antisabWouri saqmi anobis meTodebi sa da formebi s argamJRavnebis aucil ebl obas Seaxsenebda. es faqti, sabWoTa uSi Sroebis mesveurT aSkarad mi ani Snebda, rom aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis Tavkacebi, antisabWouri saqmi anobis formebi sa da meTodebi s gamJRavnebas ar api rebdnen. mi Tumetes, patimarTa saxel iT gadmosrol il satyuar ankesze, partiis miznebi sa da amocanebis CamonaTval i nusxis saaSkaraoze gamotanas danaSaul ebriv qmedebad aRiqvamdnen. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobi s mesveurebi, konspir-

aciis dacvas da am mimarTul ebiT gaumj obesebul i formebis SemuSavebas pirvel xarixovan amocanad miCnevden. imavdroul ad ayenebdnen sakiTxs, saqarTvel oSi mimdinare procesebTan mimarTebaSi informaciis maqsimal urad Sekrebis Sesaxeb. rac Seexeba sapsuxismgebl o gadawyvetil ebis miRebas, igi saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobasTan SeTanxmebiT unda ganxorciel ebul iyo. amasTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba n.ramiSvil is mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi gagzavnil ma weril - ma (1924 wl is ivnisi) miqcia. `noe (Jordania S.v.) moiTxovs- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi - da me vuerTdebi, rom sanam maqaur saqmeebze raime dadgenil ebas gamoitant, winaswar moismineT Cveni azri. rogorc viwerebodiT, amieridan faqtiurad imuSavebs mTavroba, xol o paritetul i kol egiis konpentencia iqneba informaciis miwodeba an mTavrobasTan erTad an cal ke. amiT arafers wavagebT.~ am amonaweris mixedviT, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis adgil obriv l iderebs, gansakuTrebul i mniSvel obis gadawyvetil eba emigraciaSi myofi mTavrobisadmi unda SeTanxmebinaT. erTi SexedviT es moTxovna kanonzomierebis formebsi j deba, magram, arsebul probl emas Tuki pragmatul i poziciidan ganvixil avT, daismeba sakiTxi_ ramdenad SesaZl ebel i iyo parizSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi im etapze informaciis droul i miwodeba da moqmedebis dasawyebad, pasuxis umokl es vadebSi miReba. saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia da informaciis miwodebis gansakuTrebul i sirtul eebi, saqarTvel o- parizs Soris sainformacio urTierTobis Semaferxebel barieris qmnida. es imas niSnavs, rom eqstremal uri situaciis SemTxvevaSi, droul i gadawyvetil ebis miReba SeuZl ebel i xdeboda. aqedan gamomdinare, ufl ebamosil ebis gamij vnis sul sxva formebi unda gamozebnil iyo. amas erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebel i moZraobis safexurebrivad aRmavl obis gzaze dayenebis aucil ebl oba moiTxovda.

sainformacio vakumis Seqmnisa da qveyndan swori informaciis gataniS Seferxebis mizniT, ramdenadac sabWoTa xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwebebi xel ovnur barieris qmnida, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmed organizaciebsa da parizSi myof emigraciul mTavrobas Soris urTierTobis damyareba dRiTidRe rTul deboda. aseT pirobebsi, parizidan miTitebis miRebis l odinSi, pol itikuri situaciis Tanxvedri pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebis miReba SeuZl ebel i iyo. saqarTvel oSi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebi, umkacresi represiebis Sedegad gadarCenil i da iatakqveSeTSi gadasul i erovnul i Zal ebis garkveul i formiT konsolidacias saWiroebda. am mimarTul ebiT pirvel i qmediTi nabiji, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i da saqarTvel os social ist- federal istTa partiebis warmomadgenl ebma, 1925 wl is 23 agvistos gaformebul i SeTanxmebiT gadadga. es dokumenti musaTa saerTasoris internacional Si Sesvl as da partiul sawyisebze erTobl iv saqmianobas iTval iswinebda.

am ori partiis aseTi qmedeba, daqsqsul ad arsebul i pol itikuri Zal ebis gasaerTianebl ad garkveul miniSnebasac warmoadgenda. miuxedavad amisa, ambiciebiT damZimebul i da pragmatul i saxis qmedebes mokl ebul i sxva pol itikuri Zal ebi, antisabWouri erTiani frontis Sesaqmnel ad da konesusze dafuznebul i samoqmedo gegmis SesamuSavebl ad Tavis ikavebda. dokumenturi masal ebidan irkveva, rom pol itikur partiaTa Soris Se-

mTanxmebl uri nabij is gadadgma, mxol od 3 Tvis Semdeg gaxda SesaZl ebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 4 pol itikuri partiis warmomadgenl ebis SeTanxmebis (1925 wl is 16 noemberi) safuZvel ze miRebul i erTobl ivi dokumenti, romel ic `SeTanxmebis debul ebiTaa- cnobil i. Tu ra ZiriTad sakiTxebTan mi marTebaSi ganxorciel da maT Soris SeTanxmeba, amis sail us-traci od, aRniSnul i dokumentis motana mi zanSewonil ad mi maCnia. `1)saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i, erovnul - demokratiul i, social - ist- federal istTa da social ist- revol ucionerTa partieb is mTI i ani erovnul i fronti awarmoeben brZol as saqarTvel os damouki debel i re- publ ikis aRsadgenad; 2)rogorc zemoaRniSnul i partieb is programe- bi dan gamomdinareobs, am partieb s aerTeb s, mi uxedavad maTi social uri ms ofl mxedvel obis sxvadasxvaobisa, cnoba demokratiul i principi sa, ro- mel ic xel s uwyobs mwyobr muSaobas saqarTvel os gasanTavisufl ebl ad; 3)saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavroba da damouki debl o- bis komitetis mier daarsebul i sazRvargareTul i del egacia erTad awarmoeben saqarTvel os ganmaTavisufl ebel brZol as; 4)TiToeul i par- tia Tavisufal ia Tavis muSaobaSi, magram val debul ia ar Sel axos frontis mTI ianoba da mi iRos Sesaferi zomebi am debul ebis dasacavad.~ am ua- Rresad mniSvel ovan dokumentis xel s awerdnen zemoT dasaxel ebul i pol itikuri partieb is warmomadgenl ebi: k.CxeiZe, g.gvazava, S.amirej ibi, sam.fircxal ava da ios.gobeCia.

pol itikur Zal Ta konsol idaciis gaRrmavebis mcdel obas emsaxureboda saqarTvel os gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargare- Tul i central uri biuros mier, saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domarisadmi gagzavnil i oficial uri weril i (1927 wl is 28 april i). am dokumentis mi- xedvi T, saerTo frontis ganmtkicebisa da real ur formebsi Camoyal ibebis mizniT, interpartiul del egaciaSi warmomadgenl ad giorgi gvazava da re- vaz gabaSvil i iqna damtkicebul i.

ramdenadac qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mizani, erTiani Zal ebiT qveyni s suvereni tetis aRdgena iyo, mi mdinare pol itikuri koni unqtur is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, Sesatyvisi mi marTul ebis samoqmedo wi- nadadebebis SemuSaveba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. am mi marTul ebi T, pragmatul i nabij i qarTvel i social - demokratebis mxridan iqna gada- dgmul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs n.ramiSvil is mier `pol itikuri muSaobis Sesaxeb~ 1927 wel s daweril i Tezisebis proeqti. misi ZiriTadi debul e- bebi Semdegi formi T SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)saqarTvel os mTavrobis umaRl esi pol itikuri miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad_ qveyni s damouki de- bl obis aRsadgenad saWi ro brZol is saSual ebebi, real ur SesaZl ebl obebs dafuZneboda. gadametebul i prognozireba da avanturaSi gadazrdi s mo- sal odnel i safrTxeebi maqsimal urad Semcirebul iyo; 2)saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgeni sTvis brZol a, yvel a antisabWoTa Zal ebis kon- sol idacias dayrdnoboda. suvereni tetis mosapovebl ad mebrZol i ereb- sadmi, saqarTvel os maqsimal uri mxardaWera unda gamoecxadebi na. saqmi- ani urTierToba gaerRmavebina rusi xal xis im antisabWour Zal ebTan, roml ebic saqarTvel os damouki debl obas scnobda; 3)sabWouri uRl is- gan ganTavisufl ebul i erebis teritoriul i gamij vna, TiToeul i maTga- nis sasicocxl o interesebis gaTval iswinebi T unda ganxorciel ebul iyo.

amis aucil ebl obas, imperial isturi ruseTis mxridan, mezobel i erebis damoukidebl obis ver atanis da cal - cal ke TiToeul i maTganis moSorebis garduval obis istoriul i gamocdil eba moiTxovda. arsebul i real obis gaTval iswinebiT, kavkasiis erTa damoukidebl obisaTvis brZol a, qarTvel i eris interesebis Tanxvedril obaSi iyo SesaZl ebel i; 4) sabWoTa ruseTSi xel isufli ebis cvl il eba Tuki revol uciis gareSe moxdeboda da igi evropis gzas airCevda, saerTaSoriso samarTi is aqtebis safuZvel ze, erTa l igas saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenis sakiTxis dayenebis real uri SesaZl ebl oba miecemoda. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki saqarTvel o isev sabWoTa ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi aRmoCndeboda, ruseTis imperiis sxva erebTan erTad, igi Tavisufli ebis mosapovebl ad brZol as gaagrZel ebda; 5) sabWoTa ruseTis imperial isturi politikus Sedegad Seqmnil i axal i erebis (ukraina, Turqestani, buriatebi, CuvaSebi) pretenziul ma moTxovnebma, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mier 1917 wel s gacemul i erTa TviTgamorkvevis pirobis gasanaRdebl ad brZol as daudo saTave. saerTaSoriso politiki procesebis gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, teritoriul ad daSl is Tval sazrisiT, ruseTi real uri safrTxis winaSe dadga da misi xsnis erTaderT imedad evropa SeiZl eba gamxdariyo.

Tuki am dokumentis ZiriTad debul ebebs amerkavkasiis respublikebis samomavl o interesebis fonze ganvixil avT, igi yvel a politiki partiisaTvis unda yofil iyo misaRebi. mi Tumetes, zemoT aRniSnul i erTiani frontis aucil ebl oba am dokumentSi srul iad kavkasiis masStabiTaa gaazrebul i da igi saqarTvel os saxel mwifos aRdgenis interesebTanaa dakavSirebul i. mi uxedavad amisa, axl adSeqmnil i gaerTianebis winaaRmdeg, organizacia `TeTri giorgi`- da apkedi as j gufi gamovi da. marTal ia, isini zemoaRniSnul i gaerTianebis miRmaidgnen, magram, maTi umTavresi saqmi anoba, emigraciaSi myofi erovnul i mTavrobis diskreditaciaze da mis winaaRmdeg brZol aze iyo agebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom am dapirispirebis ZiriTad motifs, spkedi as gansakuTrebul i ambiciuroba ganapirobebda. misi j gufis `mki cebiT`, ramdenadac erovnul - demokratebi saqarTvel oSi social - demokratebze ufro Zl ier politiki organizacias warmoadgenda, qveynis ganmaTavisufli ebel i brZol is meTauroba emigraciaSi_ maTTvis unda daeTmoT. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Cemi yuradReba k.qavTaraZis da s.menaRariSvil is mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetisadmi 1933 wl is 10 marts gagzavnil ma moxsenebam mi iqcia. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i spkedia da organizacia `TeTri giorgis`- mier im periodSi gaweul i saqmi anobis Sesaxeb. `mTel i maTi saqmi anoba`- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- xasiaTdeba erovnul i centris da erovnul i mTavrobis winaaRmdeg brZol iT da danosebiT, rac ueWvel ia... did daxmarebas uwevs saqarTvel os mtrebs am erovnul organizaciasTan brZol aSi.- rac Seexeba erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis meTaurobasTan mi marTebsaSi spkedi aseul pretenzias, am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT imave moxsenebaSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom `es `meTauroba`- da `upiratesobakedi as sul` sxva mi znisTvis undoda, rasac saqarTvel os ganmaTavisufli ebel brZol asTan araferi qonda saerTo. cxadia, centris umravl esoba mis moTxovnil ebebs ver mi iRebda, miT ufro, rom TviT kedi as partiis gavleni ani wreebi am pretenzias araseriozul ad uyurebdnen. mTel i am faxi- fuxis Se-

degad mi vi ReT kedias gawveva centridan misi partiis mier da mis adgil ze centrSi Semovidnen gabaSvil i, amirej ibi da gvzava.- momxdari faqtidan ramdenime Tvis Semdeg, erovnul i frontidan (centridan) erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi lideri rezo gabaSvil ic gadis. amis damadasurebl ad, erovnul i frontidan gasvl is Sesaxeb mis mier saqarTvel is emigraciul i mTavrobis Tavmj domarisadmi wardgenil i gancxadeba gamodgeba. r.gabaSvil is es qmedeba imdenadaa gasakviri, ramdenadac igi saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenis erT- erT Tavdadebul mebrZol ad da `qveynis Wirisufi adaa- aRiarebul i. sinamdvil eSi, zemoaRniSnul i nabij i sul sxva STabeWdili ebas tovebs da mis Sesaxeb arsebul i Sexedul ebis garkveul i formiT gadafasebis sakiTxsac ayenebs. amis udao dadasturebas, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis pasuxismgebel wevrTa 1929 wl is 28 april is krebis saqmo Canawerebi warmoadgens. am krebas eqvTime TayaiSvil i Tavmj domareobda. krebas eswrebodnen: iv.zurabiSvil i, giorgi gvazava, daviT sxirtli aZe, p.TumaniSvil i, nikoj ayeli, i.sarjvel aZe, dafxazi (TanamgrZnobi). krebam ganixil a erTaderTi sakiTxi_ r.gabaSvil is mier mTavrobis Tavmj domaris saxel ze wardgenil i gancxadeba. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT krebis saqmo CanawerebSi vkiTxul obT: `b-n. rezo gabaSvil s komitetis saxel iT warudgenia erovnul centrSi memorandumul timaturi moTxovnebis. Semdeg saWi rodac ar daunaxavs moecada pasuxisaTvis da ganucxadebia weril obiT mTavrobis Tavmj domarisaTvis partiis saxel iT, rom erovnul - demokratiul i parti a gadis saerTo erovnul i frontidan da iwvevs yvel a partiul wevrs saerTo frontis organiazaciebi dan.-

emigraciis qarTul i politikuri speqtris saRad moazrovne liderTa didi Zal isxmevit, antisabWouri erTiani erovnul i frontis Seqmnisa da konsesusze dafuznebul i erTobli vi gadawyvetil ebebis miRebis real uri SesaZlebl obebis Sei qmnis fonze, r.gabaSvil is qmedeba, rbil ad rom vTqvaT, politikuri ambiciebiT Sepyrobil i adami anis SurisZiebis CarCoSi Tavsdaba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, erovnul i saqmiasadmi zurgSeqcevis, sabWota imperiis winaarmdeg mebrZol i qarTul i politikuri Zal ebis daqsaqsvis da dasustebis mizniT, misi mxridan warumatebel i, magram, pirvel i seriozul i nabij is gadadgmis zemoaRniSnul i mcdel oba. Cems am gancxadebas mxars uWers imave krebis mier miRebul i dadgenil eba. `msjel obis Semdeg- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- krebam dainaxa, rom es friad sapasuxismgebl o nabij i, romel ic arRvevs erovnul i frontis mTlianobas, ar Seefereba arc partiul programas, arc mis taqtikas da amave dros moklebul ia yovel ufl ebriv safuzvel s vinaidan: 1)principi erovnul i frontis mTlianobisa miRebul i iyo saqarTvel oSi, sadac damyarebul ia mTel i simZime partiul i muSaobisa. amitom, iq mebrZol i organiaziciis daukiTxavad da mxol od sazRvargareT droebiT Seqmnil i organiaziciis mier gadal axva am principisa yovl ad Seuwynarebel ia; 2)zemoT moyvani- li gancxadeba miRebul ia mxol od zogierT wevrTa mier maTi kerZo SetanxmebiT. igi arcki scodnia komitetis bevr damsaxurebul da pasuxismgebel wevrs. uwinares yovl isa TviT Tavmj domares b-n. zurabiSvil s, romel ic formal urad pirvel i pasuxismgebel i piria komitetis moqmedebaSi. amitom, ibadeba ufro vrcel i sakiTxi, is komiteti, roml is saxel iT

moqmedebda r.gabaSvil i, ramdenad SeiZl eba CaiTval os partiis nebayof-
l obis gamomxatvel ad da ramdenad SeuZl ia mas partiis saxel iT parti-
ul i muSaoba?

kreba aRniSnavs, rom es komiteti, romel sac eswreba `gaerTianebul i
erovnul - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biuro,- Semdgari
iyo 1925 wl is SeTanxmebiT. am SeTanxmebaSi aqtiur monawil eobas iRebda
sazRvargareT myofi yvel a pasuxismgebel i wevri, e.i. damfuZnebel i kre-
bis, mTavari komitetis da adgil obrivi komitetis wevrebi_ sul 15 kaci
da kooptaci iT mowveul i kidev ori- sami piri. es SeTanxmeba iyo agebu-
l i upirvel es yovel isa saerTo erovnul i frontis dacvis da gaZl iere-
bis princi pebze. exl a es SeTanxmeba dai rRva. igi ar arsebobs, vinaidan
sxvadasxva dros, sxvadasxva mi zezis gamo, ufro ki im atmosferos gamo,
romel ic Sei qmna zogierTi wevris moRvaweobis wyal obi T am komiteti dan
gavidnen 11 (TerTmeti) piri, imaT Soris Tavmj domarec. cxadia, is komite-
ti, romel ic daarsda mxol od SeTanxmebiT da romel sac ar qonda da ar
aqvs sxva raime safuZvel i Tavisi arsebobisa, garda am SeTanxmebi sa, exl a
am SeTanxmebi s mospobi T moispo Tvi Ton. exl a komiteti ar arsebobs. sa-
zRvargareT partiul i organos Seqmnis saWi roeba eWvs gareSea. aseTma
organom unda ganaxorciel os partiul i muSaoba. ganamtkicos mTI iani
erovnul i fronti da win gadaeRobos mTI iani saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg
yovel ieris. aseTi organo SeiZl eba Sei qmnas mxol od im pirTa irgv-
l iv, roml ebic muSaoben partiaSi dRidan misi daarsebisa. iyven misi
programis gamomxatvel ni da daimsaxures misi ndoba. aseTebi arian: pa-
rtiis damaarsebel ni, damfuZnebel i krebis wevrni, mTavari komitetisa
da adgil obrivi komitetis wevrebi.

mi iRo ramxedvel obaSi yvel a zemoaRniSnul i garemoebani, krebam daad-
gina: 1) l- ze moxsenebul i gancxadeba b. gabaSvil isa Sesaxeb mTI iani
frontis daSl isa, CaiTval os yovel safuZvel da Zal as mokl ebul ad. is
ar aris saval debul o erovnul - demokratiul i partiis wevrebisaTvis.
2) 1925 wel s SeTanxmebiT daarsebul i e.w. `gamaerTianebel i erovnul - de-
mokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biuro- gamocxadebul i iqnas fa-
qtiurad daSl il ad da gauqmebul ad. 3) daarsdes am krebase damswre pa-
rtiis pasuxismgebel i wevrebisagan_ romel Ta ricxvSi Sedian partiis
damaarsebel ni, damfuZnebel i krebis, mTavari komitetis da adgil obrivi
parizis komitetis wevrni_ sazRvargareTul i partiul i organo am saxel-
l wodebiT: `sazRvargareTul i komiteti erovnul - demokratiul i parti-
isa,- da aRiarebul i iqnas igi rogorc erTaderTi umaRl esi organo ga-
erTianebul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiisa, romel mac unda iqnios
saTanado kavSiri saqarTvel osTan. 4) yovel wevrs damfuZnebel i krebi sa
da mTel i komitetisa, Tu is kidev aris partiis wevri da iziarebs mT-
l iani erovnul i frontis princi pebs, ufl eba aqvs gaxdes am komitetis
wevri. 5) kreba erTxmad irCevs komitetis biuros Semdegi pirebisagan: Ta-
vmj domare- iv.zurabiSvil i, Tavmj domaris moadgil e- ggvazava, xazina-
dari- d.sxirtl aZe, mdivani- ioseb sarj vel aZe. warmomadgenl ebad erovnul
frontSi iv.zurabiSvil i da ggvazava. xel s aweren: e.TayaiSvil i,
iv.zurabiSvil i, ggvazava, p.TumaniSvil i, d.sxirtl aZe, nj ayel i, i.sarj vel aZe,
dafxazi .-³

Cems mier motanil i am vr cel i amonaweridan aSkarad Cans, rom gaerTi anebul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biuros wevrebis saxel iT- erovnul i frontidan gasvl is Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis Tavmj domarisadmi ul timatumis formiT gancxadebis wardgenis ufl eba_ rezo gabaSvil sar qonda. mi Tumetes, komitetis 15 wevridan, mas mxol od sami uWerda mxars. samwuxaro da damafiqrebel ia is faqti, rom r.gabaSvil ma da mi sma samma mxardamWerma, nebsiT Tu unebl ied sabWouri kagebes interesebis sasargebl o saqme gaakeTa da asaTianis j gufs SeuerTda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, imave k.qavTaraZisa da s.menaRariSvil is moxsenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `amirej ib- gabaSvil i, al .asaTianTan erTad cal ke j gufs aarseben da iwyeben brZol as centris da mTavrobis winaaRmdeg. maT amaSi kediace xmareba Tavisi oriode axal gazrdiT.~ es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi l .berias, saqarTvel os kompartiis cekas samdivnos 1930 wl is 11 agvistos TaTbirze roca acxadebda: `asaTianis garSemo Semokrebel i arian emigrantebi_ Samirej ibi, d.vaCnaZe, r.gabaSvil i da sxvebi...~⁴

aRniSnul i faqtebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare naTel i xdeba: saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobisa da social - demokratebisadmi biol ogiurma sizul vil ma Tu ra donemde miyvana al .asaTian- r.gabaSvil is j gufi da faqtiurad visi saqmis mkeTebl ad aqcia isini. swored ami tom gamoeTiSa maT e.TayaiSvil i, i.zurabiSvil i, g.gvazava, sp.kedia da sxvebi. dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom r.gabaSvil is j gufis mier erovnul i frontis datoveba, ideol ogiuri da pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT, nebsiT Tu unebl ied sabWoTa specsamsaxurebis miznebisa da amocanebis sasargebl od gadadgmul i nabjis tol fas qmedebas Seicavda. mi Tumetes, d.vaCnaZesTan erTad daarsebul gazeT `samSobl oSi~ dabeWdil publ ikaciebSi, saqarTvel os pirvel respubl ikasTan mimarTebaSi antisaxel mwi-foebriv Sexedul ebebs anviTarebda da sabWoTa ideol ogiuri propagandisTvis xel Semwyob saqmes akeTebda. am faqtorma ganapiroba erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi l ideris giorgi gvazavas gal aSqreba r.gabaSvil - d.vaCnaZis winaaRmdeg. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, g.gvazavas avtorobiT 1929 wel s parizSi dabeWdil i patara wignaki `saqarTvel o da erovnul - demokratiul i partia~ (weril i mesame). am uaRresad mniSvnel ovan naSromSi, gazeT `samSobl odan~ motanil i amonawerebidan da g.gvazavas kome-ntarebidan mxol od randenime maTganze SevaCereb mkiTxvel is yuradRebas. gazeTi `samSobl o~ werda: `menSevikebma eri ki ar gamoacxades saxel mwi-foe, aramed partiao.~ am formul irebasTan mimarTebaSi g.gvazavas zemoaRniSnul publ ikaciaSi vkiTxul obT: `Tu es poeturi stil ia, sj obia avtorma amistan stil i Tavistvis Seinaxos da gareT ar gamoaCinos. Tu es seriozul i si tyvaa, is ewinaaRmdegeba faqts, maSasadame aris sicrue. yovel qarTvel sal bad axsovs is istoriul i aqti, romel sac hqvi an `damoukidebl obis dekl aracia.~ pirvel i muxl i acxadebs: `amieridan saqarTvel o damoukidebel i saxel mwi foa.~ es aris partiis saxel mwi fod gamocxadeba? es dekl aracia erTxmad iyo miRebul i da damtkicebul i damfu- Znebel i krebis mier. maSasadame is aris ara aqti romel ime partiis, aramed aqti erovnul i nebi syofisa. dee bol Sevikebma iyviron, rom saqarTvel o- Si iyo mxol od brZol a meore da mesame internacional is. hyvirian ki dec. kargad ician, rom bevria gul ubryvil o xal xi, romel ic advil ad ayveba

maT fexis xmas. marTI a Tu `saxel mwifod iyo gamocxadebul i partia da ara eri,~ maSin saxel mwifoc ar yofil a, da Tu saxel mwifo ar iyo, maSin raRa unda vusayveduroT ruseTs?! sad aris maSin misi saerTaSoriso da-naSaul i?! sad aris Sel axva saqarTvel os suverenul ufl ebaTa?! ram aRaSfoTa mTel i ganaTI ebul i kacobrioba?!... ai amazea naTqvami: `Rmer-Ti rom kacs gauwyreba, pirvel ad tvins gamoacl iso.-⁵ an kidev: `ai rasa swers `samSobl o:- `mTavrobam omic waago, teritori ac dahkarga... mTavrobas rom naxebrad waago saqme, is mTI ianad daemxoboda. mTavrobam mTI ianad waago saqme da naxebrad darCa! man Tavis Tavi ar gaauqma da sazogadod erovnul i mTavrobis saxel iT wamovi da.~ am Sexedul ebasTan mimarTebaSi, igive g.gvazava wers: `ai nimuSi azris arev- darevisa, omis wageba Turme mTavrobis damarcxeba yofil a da ara eris; teritoriis dakargva Turme mTavrobis damarcxeba yofil a da ara damxoba saxel mwifosi... avtors srul ebiT ekargeba Tval sazrisidan erovnul i momenti: gaurbis Tavidan, rogorc muWidan vercxl is wyal i. yal bi debul ebidan, daskvnac rasakvirvel ia yal bi gamodis. is urCevs mTavrobas ara brzol is gagrzel ebas, aramed Tavis Tavisve gauqmebas. e.i. dezertirobas da Ral atsl... ai marT- l a Tavdayi ra dayeneba yovel i Semecnebis: ufl ebis da moral is, val de- bul ebis da sindisis.-⁶

g.gvazavas naSromidan Cems mier motani i amonawerebi, imis naTel i da- dasturebaa, rom gasul i saukunis 30- ian wl ebSi r.gabaSvil isa da misi j gufis azrovneba antisaxel mwifoebriv el ementebs Seicavda da sabWo- Ta xel isufl ebis miznebis da amocanebis Tanxvedri iyo. Cems mier mo- povebul i saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom sabWoTa xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwebebis nomer pirvel amocanas, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis gauqmebis paral el urad, erovnul i frontis darRveva war- moadgenda. am mizans emsaxureboda gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isu- fl ebis mxridan presis furcl ebze atexil i aJiotaji _sazRvargareTul i erovnul i frontis darRvevis Sesaxeb. am mimarTul ebiT, sabWouri ide- ol ogiuri propagandis miznebsa da amocanebze, saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da damkomis del egaciis erTobl ivma sxdomam sagangebod imsj el a. miRe- bul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `mTavrobis da partiaTa warmomadgenl eb- is SeerTebul ma sxdomam ganixil a ra bol Sevikebis mier gamoqveynebul i weril ebi n.Jordaniasi da n.ramiSvil isa, daadgina erTxmad Semdegi: 1)srul i ad aSkara aris, rom bol Sevikuri presa da xel isufl eba, mTel i im gangaSiT, romel ic maT atexes aRniSnul i weril ebis irgvl iv, miznad isaxavs gaerTi- anebul i erovnul i frontis darRvevas da saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebi- sTvis mebrZol Ta rigebsi arev- darevis Setanas. 2)samSobl os ganTavisu- fl ebi sTvis yvel a mebrZol Ta wmind moval eobas Seadgens es garemoeba ar dai viwyos da miT bol Sevikebis cdas CvenSi arev- darevis Setanis gasava- l i ar mi sces. 3)SeerTebul i sxdoma mTavrobis, partiaTa warmomadgenl obis iziarebs saerTo pol itikur xazs, romel ic gatarebul ia bn. Jordani as we- ril ebSi. amasTanave igi aRniSnavs, rom Tu gamoqveynebul weril ebSi aris vinmesadmi umarTebul o moqceva, raica iwvevs protestebs, am sakiTxis amo- sawuravad miRebul i unda iqnas... samediatoro sasamarTI o an partiaTa wa- rmomadgenl ebis Sereul i komisia, romel ic aRadgens simarTI es da miscems dakmayofil ebas, visac Tavi Seuracyofil ad miacnia.-

am dokumentis mni Svel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom igi erTi romel ime poli-
 tikuri partiis, an cal ke mTavrobis pozicias ki ara, aramed emigraciaSi
 myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da erovnul frontSi gaerTianebul i poli-
 tikuri partieb is warmomadgenel Ta poziciis oficial ur demonstrirebas
 warmoadgens. swored am erTianobis darRvevis, erovnul i frontis daSi is
 da misi gaTiTokacebis donemde dayvanas i saxavda mi znad gasabWoebul i sa-
 qarTvel os xel isufal Ta l iderebi. dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul ebis Ziri-
 Tad bariers, sabWoTa xel isuflebis uSiSroebis uwyebisTvis sazRvarga-
 reT moqmedi social - demokratiul i partia da misi Tavmj domare n.rami Svil i
 warmoadgenda. ami tom iyo, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os gasul i saukunis
 20_30 -iani wl ebis ideologiuri manqana- qarTvel i menSevikebis- wi naaRmdeg
 brZol aze iyo awyobil i. amis udao dadasturebas, saqarTvel os kompartiis
 cekas samdivnos 1930 wl is 11 agvistos TaTbiris stenografiul i angariSi
 warmoadgens. aRni Snul i sxdomis Tavmj domarem s.mamul iam ganacxada: `Cvens
 wi naaRmdeg saerTo amoZravebis meTauri rogorc yovel Tvis qarTul i menSe-
 vizmia, romel sac Tavi kargad ver gavusriseT da is ki dev axerxebes wel Si
 gamarTvas. Tqveni ciT ra energia dasWir da masTan brZol aSi Cvens partias,
 Tqveni ciT ra Ziri dagvij da Cven es brZol a, magram... mainc ver SevZel iT
 mis mier mowaml ul i atmosfero srul ad gagvefanta. misi fesvebi Zal ian
 Rrmad darCa gadgmul i qarTvel xal xSi da misi aRmofxvra arc ise advil i
 darCa, rogorc zogs Cvens amxanags egona.~ am amonaweridan kargad Cans:
 1) saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis udidesi avtoriteti da
 misadmi qarTvel i xal xisgan gansakuTrebul i mxardaWera. 2) Tuki saqarTve-
 l os pirvel i respublikis mmarTvel i politikuri Zal a, iseTi uargisi
 iyo, rogorc rezo gabaSvil i da misi mimdevari zogierTi Cemi kol ega
 warmosaxavs, maSin, gasul i saukunis 20- 30- iani wl ebis qarTvel i xal xi
 kl asikuri donis sibriyemde yofil a dasul i. mi Tumetes, bol Sevikebis
 mxridan ganxorciel ebul i umZimesi represiebis miuxedavad, s.mamul ias
 si tyebi T rom vTqvaT, maTSi menSevikebisadmi mxardaWeris fesvebi Zal ian
 Rrmad darCa gadgmul i- da misi amoZirkva ver afriT ver SeZl es. ami tom
 iyo, rom igive s.mamul ia iqve xazgasmi T rom miuTitebda: menSevikebis
 wi naaRmdeg brZol a bol omdis miyvanil i ar aris da Tu exl ave ar mi-vi-
 ReT gadamWrel i zomebi, Semdeg ukve gviani iqneba. ai sworeT ami tom mo-
 giwviaT dRes aq am organiaziam (saqarTvel os kompartiam S.v.), romel ic
 saTaveSi udgas muSaTa kl ass saqarTvel oSi da moiTxovs Tqvengan ufro
 met energias da simtkices... Cveni yvel aze saSiSi kl asobrivi mtris wi-
 naaRmdeg brZol aSi.~ 3) saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiisad-
 mi qarTvel i xal xis gansakuTrebul i mxardaWeris safuZvel Ta- safuZve-
 l i imaSi mdgomareobda, rom 1918_ 1920 wl ebSi saqarTvel os pirvel re-
 spublikasi gatarebul i social uri, ekonomikuri, kul turul i da poli-
 tikuri reformebi, qarTvel i eris, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri
 umciresobebis da saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebriobis aRmSeneblobis in-
 teresebs srul ad pasuxobda.7 wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, misadmi qarTvel i
 xal xisa da ara qarTul i mosaxleobis umetesobis mxridan mxardaWerisa
 da ndobis faqtori nul amde iqneboda dayvanil i.

saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partia da misi l iderebi sabWoTa
 xel isuflebis wi naaRmdeg brZol is avangardSi rom idgnen, antisabWour

pol itikur mimdinareobaTa Soris yvel aze ZI ier da gavl enian Zal as rom warmoadgendnen, amas TviT I avrenti beriac aRiarebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave sxdomaze I .berias mier gakeTebul i moxseneba. `qarTvel menSevikebT-an brZol as- ambobda I .beria- Cvens muSaobaSi sul bol omde eWira Tval - saCino adgil i... imi tom, rom sabWoTa kavSiris mTel teritoriaze, yvel a kontrevol uciur Zal ebSi is yvel aze ZI ieri da gavl eniani partia iyo. amitom masTan brZol am marTI ac didi energia waiRo... is meTauria yvel a im gadaxrebi, romel ic Cveni partiis general uri xazis winaaRmdeg aris mimarTul i... Tqven iciT, rom menSevizmi ori mimarTul ebiT awarmoebs CvenTan brZol as. ai aq adgil obriv da ucxoETSi. maTi muSaoba Cvens winaaRmdeg SeTanxmebul ia da orive Zal a erTad gvi tevs.⁸ am amonaweridan kargad Cans, saerTaSoriso ideol ogiur frontze, qarTul social - demokrati aSi (menSevikebi) ra did mowinaaRmdeg es xedavda sabWoTa xel is ufl ebis mesveurebi. aqedan gamomdinare, imperiis uSiSroebis Sesabamisi uwyebebi, mis gasanadgurebl ad, ukidures SemTxvevaSi brZol is gasaaqtirebl ad yovel gvare saxis RonisZiebs (pol itikur Zal Ta dapirispireba, mosyidva, intrigebis qsel is xlarTva...) mimarTavda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, uaRresad saintereso faqtebia motanili I .berias zemoaRniSnul moxsenebaSi. **am dokumentis mixedviT, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis winaaRmdeg brZol a ori mimarTul ebiT mimdinareobda: 1)saqarTvel oSi social - demokratiis winaaRmdeg brZol as kompartia da qveynis sagangebo sammarTvel o awarmoebda; 2)ucxoETSi moqmedi qarTul i social - demokratiis da misi lideris winaaRmdeg sabWoTa kavSiris sagareo ГБИУ- s (saxel mwifo uSiSroebis pol itikuri sammarTvel o) ganyofil eba moqmedebda, romel ic respublikis mTavar sammarTvel os emorCil eboda.**

qarTul i social - demokratiis (menSevikebi) winaaRmdeg brZol is formeTan dakavSirebiT, saintereso faqtebia motanili I .berias zemoT dasaxel ebul moxsenebaSi. misi ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi formiT SeiZi eba Camoyal - ibdes: 1)saqarTvel oSi da ucxoETSi menSevizmis advil ad dasamarcxebul ad, organizebul ad moqmedi erTi Zal is gamoyenebaa iyo saWiro; 2)parizis social - demokratiul i (menSevikuri) organizaciis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i da opoziciuri Zal ebis I iderTa saqarTvel oSi dabrunebas igi Secdomad acxadebda. `veSapel i rom ar gaTi Svoda emigraciis rigebis- ambobda I .beria- da SigniT ewarmoebina damrRvevi brZol a, dRes Cven gacil ebiT ukeTesi mdgomareoba gveqneboda. is asaTianze da sxvebze energiul i da Wkviani pirovneba iyo. Cven, aTi wl is brZol is praqtikidan ukve viciT, rom qarTul kontrevol uciastan brZol a unda mimdinareobdes maTi Sinagani winaaRmdegobis xel is Sewyoba- gaRrmavebis ni adagze. Cveni mTavari dasayrdeni Zal a yovel Tvis iyo da aris partiaTa Soris arsebul i dava- uTanxmoeba. aman Cven udi desi samsaxuri gagvi wa. yovel Tvis da SemdegSi ac am mimarTul ebiT unda iqnes Cveni muSaoba mimarTul i. amas moviTxovdiT Cven Tavi danve ucxoETSi momuSave amxanagebis gan, magram, saubedurod isini amas seriozul yuradRebas ar aqcevdnen. maT ufro itacebda ramdenime piris sabWoTa pl atformaze gadmoyvana da iqedan maTi gamostumreba... Cveni kategoriul i moTxovna iyo anti sabWoTa organizaciebis aqturi wevrebisTvis ar miecaT ukan (ssrk- Si S.v.) dabrunebis ufl eba, radgan isini iq ufro met sargebl obas mogvi tanda vidre maTi aq Camosvl a. samwuxarod es Cveni Txovna aravin Se-

iwynara da es saki Txi dResac ar aris mogvarebul i.~ am vr cel i amonawer-
idan kargad Cans, rom pol itikuri partieb is urTierTdapi ri spi reba, par-
tiebis wevrebs Soris ambi ci ebi dan gamomdi nare Si dauTanxmoebani , erovnul
fronts maqsimal urad asustebda da sabWoTa uSiSroebis Sesabamisi
uwebebis dagegmil i Ronisziebebis gamoyenebis erT- erT mimarTul ebas
warmoadgenda. aRniSnul i faqtiT, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis
sawinaaRmdego da sabWoTa xel isufl ebisaTvis saerTaSoriso arenaze
pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri Tval sazrisiT myari dasayrdeni safex-
uri m zaddeboda.

am fonze Tuki ganvixil avT saki Txs, emigraciaSi myofi pol itikuri pa-
rtieb is warmomadgenel Ta mxridan saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl eb-
is winaaRmdeg nebi smieri saxis brZol a, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i
moZraobis winase Cadenil i damamZimebel i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis el -
ementeb s Seicavda. mi Tumetes, antisabWouri saqmi anobisa da brZol is xe-
l mZRvanel birTvs, devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavroba
da saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis biuro warmoadgenda.
Cemi es Sefaseba, saarqivo dokumentebTan mimarTebaSi mwyr al ad myof
zogierT Cems kol egas SeiZl eba gadaWarbebul ad moecvenos. am SemTx-
vevaSi, maT mxol od erTi rCeva SemiZl ia mi vce: a)im SemTxvevaSi Tuki
arqiv sacavebSi muSaobas ar moisurvebs, keTil i inebos da safuZvl ianad
gaecnos r.dauSvil is naSromis_` qarTul i emigracia 1921- 1939 wl ebSi~
meoTxe Tav s; b)masSi motanil i faqtobriv i masal iT darwmundeba, Tu ra
titanuri Sroma gaswia qarTul i social - demokratiis l iderebma da
devnil obaSi myofma saqarTvel os kanonierma xel isufl eban qarTvel i
eris interesebis dasacavad evropis masStabiT ideol ogiur frontze;9
g)harvardisa da l evil is unikal uri saarqivo masal ebis Seswavl is SemTx-
vevaSi, mi sTvis dResavit naTel i iqneba, rom imave social - demokrati am
da saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebma, saerTaSoriso
forumbze gamosvl ebiT, ucxour presaSi dabeWdil i publ ikaciebiTa da
broSurebiT, ra maRal doneze amxil a sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damcvel -
Ta cru propagandistul i saqmi anoba. swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedve-
l obaSi l .berias, roca Tavis moxsenebaSi xazgasmi T mi uTitebda: `mTel
Cvens sawinaaRmdego muSaobas saTaveSi udgas qarTul i erovnul i mTavroba
da menSevikebis sazRvargareTul i biuro. ai am organizaciebis garSemo
ikribebian yvel a kontrevol ucionerebis Zal ebi mTel i kavkasiis mas-
StabiT. Semdeg modian menSevikuri partiul i organizaciebi.-

sabWoTa saqarTvel os uSiSroebis erT- erTi maRal Cinosanis mxridan gake-
Tebul i am gan cxadebis mi xedviT Tuki vi msj el ebT, saqarTvel os emigraci-
ul i mTavroba da social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebi,antisabWour
moZraobas srul i ad kavkasiis masStabiT uwevdnen kontrol s. aqedan gamom-
dinare, gakvirvebas ar unda iwevdes is faqti, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTve-
l os uSiSroebis mesveurTa ZiriTadi Zal isxmeva qarTvel i social - demo-
kratebis (menSevikebi) ganadgurebisken rom iyo mimarTul i. dasaxul i amocanis
warmatebiT ganxorciel ebis erT- erT aucil ebel pirobad l .berias mi aCn-
da: a)damatebiTi formiT dafinansebis gazrda; b)saqarTvel oSi da ucxoET-
Si menSevizi s winaaRmdeg brZol is sadaveebis, saqarTvel os uSiSroebi sad-
mi gadacema; g)aRniSnul saki TxTan mimarTebaSi individual uri gadawyveti-

I ebis miRebis ufl eba. amasTan dakavSi rebi T imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT:
 `central uri pol itsammarTvel odan gamoTxovniI unda iqnas damatebiTi
 saxsrebi maTTan sabrZol vel ad... am muSaobaSi SetaniI i unda iqnas koreq-
 tivebi im mxriv, rom es ori mimarTul ebiT warmoebul i brZol a qarTul i
 kontrevol uciis winaaRmdeg aq da ucxoeTSi gaerTianebul i iqnas Cvens xe-
 l Si. uamisod Cven ver mi vaRwevT sasurvel mi zans.- aq dasmul i moTxovnis
 Sesrul ebis aucil ebl obas I .beria imiT asabuTebda, rom menSevikebis wi-
 naaRmdeg Sesabamisi samuSaoebis warmatebul ad Catareba, garkveul fin-
 ansebs saWi roebda. mis mier motaniI i faqtebiT irkveva, rom sabWoTa uSiS-
 roebas, sazRvargareT moqmedi antisabWouri organizaciebis sawinaaRmdego
 opoziciuri organizaciebi Seuqmnia da am mimarTul ebiT gaweul muSaobas
 dadebiTi Sedegic gamouRia. gansakuTrebul i warmatebiT `mosyidvis sabWo-
 uri instituti- muSaobda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Catarebul i krebebis Sesaxeb
 is dawvriI ebiTi cnobebi, romel sac srul i angariSis saxiT sabWoTa
 uSiSroeba iRebda. masSi motaniI i faqtebis siswore, uSiSroebis TanamSr-
 omel Ta mier miwodebul i Sesabamisi informaci iTac iyo dadasturebul i.
 sazRvargareT moqmedi saqrTvel os erovnul - demokratiul i partiis, gan-
 sakuTrebiT kedia- asaTianis daj gufebis mier social - demokratebs (menSe-
 vikebs) winaaRmdeg brZol a, I .berias zemoaRni Snul moxsenebaSi Semdeg-
 nairadaa Sefasebul i: erovnul - demokratebis `meore nawil i, romel sac
 saTaveSi kedia- asaTiani udgas,... eweva damouki debel muSaobas. isini muSaoben
 agreTve musavatel ebis da mTiel ebis opoziciasTan da scemen Jurnal s
 rusul enaze,romel sac ewodeba `НЕЗАВИСИМЫЙ КАВКАЗ.- maT aqvT sakuTa-
 ri gamomceml oba `samSobl o.- drogamoSvebi T scemen wi gnebsac. maTi muSaoba
 da gamocdiI eba umTavresad mimarTul ia menSevikebis winaaRmdeg da CvenTvis
 maTi gamoyeneba ki dev ufro aris SesaZI ebel i Tu mas mi vaqcevT saWi ro yu-
 rdRebas.- Tu ra formiT iyenebda sabWoTa uSiSroeba emigraciul i mTavro-
 bisa da saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis winaaRmdeg mebrZol
 al .asaTianis opoziciur daj gufebas, amis Sesaxeb imave dokumentSi vkiTxu-
 l obT: `asaTianis opozicias SeuZI ia Cven gagviwios udidesi daxmareba
 cnobebis mowodebis saxiT. Cven sistematurad vRebul obT maTgan Zal ian
 dal agebul moxsenebebs emigraciis moRvaweobis Sesaxeb. etyobaT isini saq-
 mis kursSi arian maTi muSaobis Sesaxeb da axerxeben ambis gagebas. isini
 gvawvdian Cven agreTve cnobebs kavkasiis komitetis Sesaxebac. es cnobebi
 Cvens mier bevrijer iqna Semownebul i da isini usaTuod ndobis Rirsni
 arian. isini amas Cveni siyvarul iT ki ar sCadian, aramed amiT ebrZvian, ase
 vTqvaT poziciis xal xs. maTi cnobebiT da Cveni utyuari cnobebi Tac arc
 menSevikebis meTaurebs Soris aris srul i Tanxmoba. garda wereTI isa, ro-
 mel ic didi xania ebrZvis Jordania- rami Svil s... erTi si tyvi T, emigraciaSi
 didi domxal ia da misi gamoyeneba Cven SegviZI ia Zal ian farTeT da **am**
wyeul menSevizms sabol ood gavusrisoT Tavi ise, rom man wel Si veRar
 gaswordes. am saqmi za ki umTavresia emigraciis daSl a, maSvin aq brZol a
 ufro gagviadvil deba.~¹⁰

am vr cel i amonawer is mi xedvi T kargad cans sabWoTa uSiSroebis mi zne-
 bi da amocanebi sazRvargareT moqmedi qarTul i emigraciis daSl asTan
 mimarTebaSi. dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul ebis ZiriTad safexurad, sabWo-
 Ta xel isufI ebis Sesabamisi uwyebis maRal Cinosnebi pirvel rigSi sa-

qarTvel os kanonieri xel isufli ebis da qarTul i social - demokratiis (menSevi zmis) ideurad da pol itikurad ganadgurebas, mis sabol ood dasamarebas isaxavda mi znad. es arcaa gasakviri imdenad, ramdenadac sabWoTa xel isufli ebis meTaurebi, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis l iderebs da qarTul social - demokratiis, evropis masStabiT anti sabWouri saqmi anobis fl agmanad moiazrebda. Tuki Cems mier dokumentebidan motanil amonawerebSi arsebul i faqtebi sinamdvil es Seesabameba, maSin, sazRvargareT moqmedi erovnul - demokratiul i partiis al .asaTianis daj gufeba, nebsiT Tu unebl ied, sabWoTa specsamsaxurebis mizandasaxul obis Semsrul ebl ebi gamodis. mi Tumetes, qarTul emigraciasTan mi marTebaSi, maTi saqmi anobis Sedegebi, sabWouri specsamsaxurebis miznebi sa da amocanebis sasargebl o qmedebis el ementebs Sei cavda. meore mxriv, aRni Snul i j gufis yovel i gadawyvetil eba, evropis saxel mwifoebis maral Cinosnebis wi naSe, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da qarTul i social - demokratiis (menSevi kebis) diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i da maTTan urTierTobaSi Sesabamisi barrieris Seqmnas iTval iswinebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs samxreTi da Crdil o kavkasiis xal xebis sabWouri imperiisadmi dapirispirebis mosamzadebl ad gaweul i titanuri Sromis gaufasurebis mcdel oba. kavkasiis xal xebis gaerTianebs da sabWoTa xel isufli ebisadmi dapirispirebis saqmeSi Tu ra rols asrul ebda qarTul i social - demokratiis, amis Tval saCinoebas l .berias igive moxseneba warmoadgens. am sakiTxTan mi marTebaSi, imave dokumentsi vkiTxul obT: `ar unda davivi wyoT,... rom kavkasiis mTel i kontrrevol ucia Cvens wi naaRmdeg dRes gaerTianebul ia da menSevikebs ukve organizaciul i kavSiri aqvT musavatel ebTan da mTiel ebis, banditebTan. gasul gazafxul ze maTi gaerTianebul i bandebis Cvens wi naaRmdeg gamosvl ebis sul is Camdgmel i xom igive wyeul i menSevizmia. isini Cveni cnobiT evropis imperial istebigan aRebul i ful iT ibrZvi an Cvens wi naaRmdeg... gamovdivar ra yvel a zemoT Tqmul idan davaskvni, rom menSevi zmTan da kavkasiis kontrrevol uci asTan brZol is sakiTxi unda daisvas Tavisi sigrZe- sigani T ara mar to Cvens wi naSe, aramed mTel i sabWoTa kavSiris revol ucionuri organizaciebis wi naSe.-

rogorc vxedavT, qarTul ma menSevozmma, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mesveurt mosveneba daukarga. maT wi naaRmdeg mi marTul i Roni sZiebebis sul isCamdgmel i da makoordinerebel i noe rami Svil i iyo. amitom saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da social - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa Soris, saerTaSoriso ideol ogiur frontze, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis saTvis n.rami Svil i yvel aze didi zianis mi myenebel da saSiS pi rovnbad iyo aRqmul i. aRni Snul idan gamomdinare, SemTxvevi Tobas ar SeiZl eba mi eweros, sabWouri imperiisa da misi xel isufli ebis uaRresad didi moZul is n.rami Svil is mkvl el obis (1930 wl is 7 dekemberi) faqti. sabWouri uSi Sroebis Sesabamisi sma uwyebebma, misi sikvdil iT sabWoTa xel isufli ebis wi naaRmdeg brZol is yvel aze didi organizatori fizikurad Camoicil a pol itikuri sarbiel idan. meore mxriv, momxdari faqtis Semdeg, qarTul emigraciasi srul i domxal i Sei qmna da misi organizaciul i saqmi anoba daRmaval i gziT warimarTa. am process erovnul - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi l ideric uwyobda xel s. social - demokratiul i partiis diskreditaciis mizniT, evropis masStabiT isini yovel gvari saxis saSu-

al ebebs miar Tavdnen. amis damadasturebl ad daviT Sal ikaSvil is weril i (1924 wl is 19 agvisto) gamodgeba. am dokumentSi srul adaa warmoceni i is gamTiSvel i da mavnebl uri pol itikuri kursi, romel sac asaTiani da kedia eweoda. `asaTiani s da kedia s Camosvl a- wers d.Sal ikaSvil i uaryofiT aRiniSna. pirvel ma... daiwyo gakeTebul is dawuneba da intriga yvel a frontiT srul i gaTiSva menSevikebi sagan. gabiTureba gakeTebul i an dawyebul i saqmisa sxva amxanagebisgan. kediam pol itikurad CafuSa Cems mier sexsis Sesaxeb ingl isel ebTan dawyebul i da gakeTebul i saqme. gawveul i viyaviT l ondonSi saqmis mosagvarebl ad. mar to rom wasul iyo wuni damdo, aiRo mTel i saRsari (ful i S.v.) da l ondonis magivrad Cavi da parizSi, sadac ukve ori Tvea das awarmoebs portfel ebis Sesaxeb menSevikebTan. igive damnaSavea did skandal Si. frangebis kontrdazvervidan miuRiaT orasi l ira, dapi rebul i saqme ki ver gaukeTebiaT... prestiJi dace mul ia... srul i diskreditacia uyves saqmes. informacias gzavni an ucvenod. Cven pasuxs ar vagebT, radgan ar vendobiT.-¹¹ am adami anebTan miarTebaSi anal ogiuri pozicia eWira n.ramiSvil sac. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, mis mier 1924 wl is ivniSi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi gagzavnil i weril i. `kedia- asaTiani da maTi yurmoWril i mona gobeCia saSinl ad iryevian da da mxol od Cven gvebrZvian. maT Cvens vercerT saiduml oebas ver gavandobT. ami tom, noe (Jordania S.v.) kategoriul ad wi naaRmdegi a kedia sTan muSaobi sa.-

xazgasmi T mi nda aRvni Sno, rom erovnul - demokratiul i partiis garkveul i j gufis mxridan saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da social - demokratiul i partiis saqmi anobis wi naaRmdeg oficial uri formiT gamZafrebul i Seteva da usafuZvl o kritika, im fonze mimdinareobda, roca sabWoTa uSiSroebis Sesabamisi uwyebis specsamsaxuris mesveurni, evropis masStabiT saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis diskreditaci iT iyo dakavebul i, xol o misi l egaciis oficial urad gasauqmebl ad, safrangeTis xel isufl ebasTan saerto enis gamoZebnas cdil obda. imis sail us-traci od Tu ra saxis danaSaul ebriv saqmi anobas eweoda zemoaRni Snul i j gufi, amis naTel suraTs n.ramiSvil is mier saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobisadmi 1927 wl is 30 agvistos wardgenil i gancxadeba iZl eva. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa dadasturebul i gr.veSapel is prosabWo- uri pol itikuri kursi. es faqti qarTul istoriografiaSi cnobil ia da siaxl es ar warmoadgens. magram, araferia naTqvami S.qarumiZis sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan TanamSroml obis Sesaxeb. sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasmam, SeiZl eba zogierTi Cemi kol egis gaRizianeba gamoi wvi os. maTi vnebaTaRel - va rom Cavacxro, mi zanSeweoni l ad mi maCnia mkiTxvel sazogadoebas SevTava- zo gazeT `axal i saqarTvel o-- Si 1925 wl is 12 ianvris # 2- Si dabeWdil i publ ikacia, romel ic nikol o miwiSvil isadmi (sirbil aZe) pasuxs warmoad- gens. es weril i sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan garkveul i formiT S.qarumiZis TanamSroml obis aRiarebiTi Cvenebis el ementebis Seicavs. `baTumi dan- wers S.qarumiZe- me emigranti ar gamovsul var. davrCi da vmuSaobdi sabWoTa sa- qarTvel oSi da gamovel i qedanac **kanonieris gziT**. me ar SemiZl ia pasuxi vago imaSi, rasac aq Cadiodnen qarTvel i eris saxel iT da razedac me da- sturi aravisTvis ar mimicia... me araerTxel gami frTxil ebia... Cveni mego- brebi saqarTvel oSi, xel i aeRoT da azridan amoecal aT ocneba evropis

daxmarebi sa da aj anyebi sa... arasodes ar Sewyvetil a CemSi didi survil i vimuSao saqarTvel oSi, mxol od Tu ra saxiT moxerxdeba es_ amaze me siamovnebi T movil aparakebdi TqvenTan, roca gnebat. gverdze dgoma, romel zedac Tqven brZanebT, zedmeti Tqmaa da merwmuneT, dRevandel saqarTvel os me arc gavdgomivar da arc gavudgebi.~

zemoT motani amonawerSi aSkarad Cans: 1)S.qarumiZis uaryofiTi damokidebul eba evropisa da antisabWouri SeiaraRebul i aj anyebisadmi; 2)S.qarumiZe aSkara Tanadgomas ucxadebs sabWoTa xel isuflebas da mzadyofnas gamoTqvams masTan TanamSroml obis gagrZel ebaze; 3)igi aRiarebs, rom sabWoTa saqarTvel oSi muSaobda da qveyana kanonieri gziT, e.i. sabWoTa xel isuflebis Sesabamisi uwyebis rekomendaciiT da nebarTviT gadakveTa saqarTvel o- osmal eTis sazRvari. aseT `fufunebas- saqarTvel os uSiSroebis samsaxuris maRal Cinosnebisgan yvel a namdvil ad ver Rebul obda, igi sabWoTa xel isuflebis Sesabamisi uwyebis mier `rCeul ad- aRiarebul Ta xvedri iyo. aseT gamonakl is nabij s mxol od gansakuTrebul SemTxvevaSi dgamdnen. rac Seexeba al .asaTians, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobisadmi n.ramiSvil is mier wardgenil zemoaRniSnul gancxadebaSi, misi sabWoTa xel isuflebasTan TanamSroml oba gamokveTil i formiTa warmodgenil i. amis Sesaxeb imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `1)b.asaTiani okupaciis dawyebis dRidanve b.spiridon kedias l ocva- kurTxeviT Sedis bol SevikebTan samsaxurSi da mal aqia toroSel izis meSveobiT saTaveSi udgeba `gaqceul i mTavrobis borotmoqmedTa gamoziebas da mis mier gatacebul simdidreTa aRricxvas.~ sabWoTa xel isuflebam, saerTaSoriso arenaze, am faqtis gamoyenebas saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis diskreditaciis mizniT Seecada. sp.kediasa da al .asaTianis prosabWouri poziciis damadasturebl ad, maTi mxridan gr.veSapel isa da l el i j afariZisadmi gagzavnil i brZaneba warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedvit, gr.veSapel sa da l j afariZes antisabWour saqmianobaSi monawil eoba ar unda mi eRoT da rac mTavaria, n.Jordanas mTavrobasTan SeTanxmebis kursze daTanxmebul iyo. meore mxriv, igive sp.kedia da al .asaTiani cdil obdnen, rom pol itikur partiaTa Soris 1922 wel s miRweul i SeTanxmeba, evropis saxel mwi foebis warmomadgenl ebTan Sexvedrebze araraobamde daeyvana. ucxo saxel mwi foebis sael Coebisadmi maTi mxridan gadacemul memorandumSi, saqarTvel os devnil i kanonieri xel isuflebis avtoriteti maqsimal urad iyo SeebRal ul i. amas Cadiodnen mxol od im mizniT, rom misi gadadgoma da axl iT Canacvleba moexdinaT. qarTul wreebSi rom veras gaxdnen, saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da pol itikur partiaTa del egaciis wi naaRmdeg moqmedebis mizniT, kavkasiis sxvadasxva erebis ukmayofil o el ementebisgan e.w. `kavkasiis konfederaciis komiteti~ Seadgines. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi n.ramiSvil is mier 1927 wl is 28 seqtembers wardgenil moxsenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `asaTianma ucxoETSi Camosvl isTanave Sekriba azerbaij anel _ TaTarTa ukmayofil o el ementebi da Seqmna `kavkasiis konfederaciis komiteti~ saqarTvel os mTavrobis gasauqmebl ad da saqarTvel oSi 1922 wel s partiaTa Soris miRweul i SeTanxmebis gasabaTil ebl ad. es dezorganizaciul - intrigul i moqmedeba b.asaTianisa CaiFuSa azerbaij anel mTiel Ta yvel a moqmed el ementTa SekavSirebiT da Cemi energiul i CareviT moewyo

samive erovnul i centris mier kavkasiis damoukidebl obis komiteti. yovel ive es da isic, rom me energi ul ad vicavdi da vicav mTI ian erovnul fronts, kargad icis bn. asaTianma da Tu is Semodavebas am ni adagze i wyeb... im mizniT, rom Tavidan moi Soros real uri safrTxemisi mTel i pirovnebis gamomzeurebi sa.¹²

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi dan gamomdinare, nebi smieri adami anis wi naSe dai smeba kiTxva: Tuki sp.kedia da al .asaTiani sabWoTa uSiSroebis samsaxurebTan kavSirSi ar iyo, maSin riT iyo ganpirobebul i is faqti, rom erovnul - demokratiul i partiis es daj gufeba, faqtiurad im saqmismkeTebi is funqciis Semsrul ebel i gamodioda, romelic sabWoTa uSiSroebas unda ekeTebina da mil ionebi daexarja. am SemTxvevaSi, sakiTximeore kuTxiTac unda daisvas: mxedvel obaSi maqvs social - demokratebTan maTi opoziciuroba. miuxedavad amisa, TiToeul i maTganis qmedebis gamarTl ebisTvis aRniSnul i faqtori ar gamodgeba. miTumetes, im etapze saqarTvel os devnil i kanonieri xel isufleba, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis l iderebTan urTierTobis da saqarTvel os deokupaciis sakiTxis oficial urad samTavrobo doneze dasmis erTaderT dasayrden safexurs warmoadgenda. swored am safexuris moSi is, misi nul amde dayvanis mcdel obisken iyo mimarTul i sp.kediasa da al .asaTianis daj gufebis mTel i saqmi anoba. am SemTxvevaSi maTi miznebi da amocanebi, nebsiT Tu unebl i eT, sabWoTa uSiSroebis miznebsa da amocanebs emTxveoda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, principul ad ismeba kiTxva: saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da social - demokratiis l iderTa winaaRmdeg brZol is garda, am j gufma SeZl o Tu ara: 1)saerTasoriso konferenciebze da sxva mniSvel ovan forumbze, saqarTvel os interesebis dacvis fonze, sabWoTa ruseTis sawinaarmdegod sakiTxis gatana da Sesabamiosi dadgenil ebis miRebis uzrunvel yofa; 2)saqarTvel os deokupaciis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, imave j gufis wevrebma ganxorciel es Tu ara evropis qveynebis l iderebTan warmatebul i Sexvedrebi. xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom am sakiTxebi T sagangebod dai nteresebis miuxedavad, sp.kediasa da al .asaTianis j gufis mxridan am mimarTul ebiT ganxorciel ebul i warmatebul i RonisZiebis Sesaxeb j er-j erobiT veranair saarqivo dokumentis ver mivakvl ie. rac Seexeba n.rami Svil is zemoarRniSnul weril s, igi imi TacaasayuradRebo, rom masSi pasuxia gacemul i sp.kediasa da al .asaTianis mier gavr cel ebul cil iswamebaze, rom TiTqos: a)menSevikebma sazRvargareT yal bi `Cervoncebi- moWra da b)erovnul i mTavroba saqarTvel oSi sxva pol itikur partiebs muSaobis ufl ebas ar aZl evda. imave dokumentSi saubar ia sp.kediasa da al .asaTianis mier saerTo saqmis motivaci iT didi raodenobis Tanxis aRebaze da miTvi sebaze.¹³

n.rami Svil is mier saqarTvel os mTavrobis saxel ze Sedgenil ganxadebaSi motanil i faqtebi utyuar dokumentur masal as emyareba. es pirovneba im adami anTa kategorias ar ganekutvneboda, romel sac natyuari informaci iT esargebl a da cil ismwamebl uri bral debebi waeyenebina ama Tu im pirovnebebis mimarT. meore mxriv, misi saqmi anobisa da gamocdil ebis specifikidan gamomdinare, igi yovel gvari saxis informaciis maqsimal urad gadamowmebas axdenda da mxol od amis Semdeg iyenebda daniSnul ebisamebr. xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno: marTal ia, sabWoTa specsamsaxurebTan TanamSroml obis dabej i Te-

biTi formiT bral debas n.ramiSvil i piradad sp.kedias ar uyenebda (es, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobisadmi 1927 wl is 3 agvis-
 tos mier wardgenil mis gancxadebaSiadadasturebul i), magram, sp.kedia-
 al .asaTianis duetis saqmianoba safuZvl ian eWvs warmoSobda. am sakiTxTan
 da zemoaRniSnul iyal bi ful is moWrasTan mi marTebaSi, sayuradRebo info-
 rmacias Seicavs l eo keresel iZis mier spiridon kediasadmi 1930 wl is 4 ag-
 vists gagzavnil i weril i. `giorgim (maCabel i S.v.) gadmomca, rom SenTvis-
 vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- viRacas moutania ena, viTom me miTqvams, rom Sen
 erieyal bi ful is saqmeSi. savsebiT tyuil ia. piriqiT, me meubnebodnen amas
 Seni yofil i pol it. amxanagebi. gar da magisa, meubnebodnen da mi mtkicebdnen,
 rom Sen ruis monarqistebTan gqonda saqme da maTgan iRebdi ful s. **amas
 meubnebodnen umTavresad S.amirej ibi, r.gabaSvil i da sxvebi, TviT asa-
 Tiani, swored maSin, rodesac is viTomda SenTan erTadiyo, meubneboda rom
 Sen yal bi ful is saqmeSi erie.** Tu ginda simarTl e, me mxol od maSin
 davij ere es saqme, radgan ar warmomedgina, rom Seni mokavSire mogigonebda
 amnair saqmes. is mi mtkicebda, rom Sen erie am saqmeSi da, rom es erovn. de-
 demokratiul partias avnebda. Tumca me kargaT vicodi, **rom asaTiani orpi-
 robda da matyuebda,** rom mas Seni Ral ati edo gul Si, magram mainc ver wa-
 rmovidgendi, rom usabuTod i tyoda amistanames. Sen al bad gaxsovs, rom
 erTxel mogitanes ambavi, viTom me meTqvas, rom Sen ruis monarqistebTan
 kavSiri gqondes. **es S.amirej ibis intriga iyo.** mas surda me da Sens Soris
 usiamovneba Camoegdo, magram me saj arod da mowmeebis TandaswrebiT vamx-
 il e, rom TviTon man miTxra Sens Sesaxeb es da me vupasuxe, rom ara mj ero-
 da. gTxov, araviTar magistanas ar dauj ero xol me. al bad ki dev bevr ambavs
 mogitanen da gTxov ar dauj ero. xom ici, ra intriganebi arian. **me rom Sens
 Sesaxeb r.gabaSvil is da d.vacnaZisgan l anZRva- gineba da borotebis
 bral deba gamigia, asaweradac Znel ia, magram arc ki gamimeorebia.** me
 gcnob Sen patiosan qarTvel ad,kacad,romel Tan SesaZl ebel ia l oial uri
 TanamSroml oba da megobroba, amitom cuds ar vi tyvi da arc sxvas davu-
 j ereb...~¹⁴

Cems mier motanil am vrcel amonawerSi sarkesaviTaa warmoceni l i is wi na-
 aRmdegobrivi da urTierTganmaqi qebel i procesebi, romel ic emigraciaSi
 myofi erovnul - demokratiul i partiis wevrebs Soris mimdinareobda. me-
 ore mxriv, kargadaa naCvenebi al .asaTianis pol itikuri saxe, romel ic fu-
 l iStvis ukadris qmedebazedac ar dai xevda ukan. rac Seexeba n.ramiSvil is
 mier al .asaTianisadmi wayenebul bral debas_ ful is miTvisebis Sesaxeb,
 imave n.ramiSvil is mier rezo gabaSvil isadmi 1927 wl is 28 seqtembers ga-
 gzavnil weril Si dawvril ebiTaa saubari. masSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i,
 rom igi Tanaxma iyo samediatoro sasamarTl os moexdina mi si mxridan asa-
 TianTan mi marTebaSi gamoTqmul i bral debebis sakiTxis ganxil va. imavdrou-
 l ad n.ramiSvil i pirobas iZl eoda, rom al .asaTianis pirovnebis srul ad
 gamoaSkaravebis mi zni T, aRni Snul sasamarTl os Sesabamis dokumentur masal as
 warudgenda. imave weril is dasasrul s, n.ramiSvil i dasZenda: `me vacxadeb
 yvel a pol itikuri partiisa da j gufis sayuradRebod, rom mudam mzada var
 warvdge samediatoro sasamarTl os wi naSe, rom iq gamovaaSkaravo basaTianis
 mTel i pirovneba, ukeTu romel ime pol itikuri partia, an j gufi mas Zal as
 daatans da aiZul ebs mi iRos samediatoro sasamarTl os Sedgena Tanaxmad

mTavrobis da pol itikur partiaTa del egaciis krebis dadgenil ebisa 22 ivl isis TariRiT.¹⁵

xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom n.rami Svil is mxridan asaTiani sadmi wayenebul i bral deba natyuar informaciaze rom yofil iyo danyarebul i, igi same-diatoro sasamarTl oSi al .asaTians namdvil ad ar gamoiwvevda da qarTul i emigraciis winaSe Tavsar Seircxvenda. imave saarqivo masal ebis mi xed-viT, n.rami Svil is am moTxovnisadmi Tanxmobis micemas, al .asaTianma Tavi aarida. Cems mier Seswavi il i dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom erovnul - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi lideri, Tavis qmedebi T, ero-vnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis rigebSi wyal samRvrevda, riTac nebsiT Tu unebi eT sabWoTa xel isufl ebis uSiSroebis maRal CinosanTa sa-sargebl o saqmes akeTebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kedia- asaTianis mier ero-vnul - demokratiul i partiisadmi 1927 wl is maisSi miweril i weril i. mas-Si vkiTxul obT: `menSevikuri partia TandaTan xel siRebs erovnul brZol aze, amitom, Cven rogorc erovnul ma partiam unda viTaoT ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZol is meTauroba. amitom saWiroa Tqven mogvceT dasturi, aq SevqmaT mTavrobis gareSe yvel a danarCeni erovnul i daj gufebebidan saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis komiteti- omis xanaSi arsebul i komitetis msgavsi. am ideas iziareben menSevikuri partiis zogi gavleniani wreebic da kerZod, saqarTvel os el Ci safrangeTSi akaki Cxenkel i Segvpirda yovel gvar Tanam-Sroml obas da daxmarebas. **sul mal e Cven gveqneba finansuri saxsari, roml iTac advil ad SevZl ebT saqmis gaZRol as da menSevikebis damx-obas.**~ am amonaweris pirvel i nawil i, sadac social - demokratebis gan erov-nul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi xel is aRebazea saubari, srul sicrues warmoadgenda, radgan aseTi faqti arcerTi oficial uri saarqivo dokumentiT ar dasturdeba. piriqit, sazRvargareTul i qarTul i social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis mxridan, n.rami Svil is meTa-urobi T antisabWoTa saqmi anobi sadmi ukompromi so saxis micema gaxda am pi-rovnebis fizikurad l ikvidaciis mizezi.

mi uxedavad imisa, rom sp.kedia- al .asaTianma, sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan mi marTebaSi n.rami Svil is Seurigebel i pozicia kargad icoda, maTi mxri-dan gavr cel ebul i zemoarNi Snul i tyuil i, social - demokratebis dis-kreditaciaze, emigraciul i mTavrobis Sevl aze da `Zal aufl ebis- dap-atronebaze iyo gaTvl il i. rac Seexeba meore sakiTxs_ saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis `damxobas,~ amasTan dakavSi rebiT saqarTvel o-Si aral egal urad moqmedi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i parti-is cekas mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvarga-reTul i biurosadmi 1930 wl is 30 ivl iss gagzavnil weril Si xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i, rom kedia- asaTianis j gufs, Cafi qrebul i saqmis- saqarTve-l os kanonieri mTavrobis damxoba marTl ac rom SeZl eboda `bol Sevike-bi... mil i onebs miscemda mag xal xs da dResac ician bol Sevikebma Cveni mTavrobis mniSvnel oba evropasi. am gaWirvebis drosac mil i onebs daxa-rj avdnen Tu mis gauqmebas SeZl ebdnen.~ saarqivo masal ebiT isic dastu-rdeba, rom al .asaTianis wigns da Jurnal `samSobl os- nomrebs bol Se-vikebi Tavisufl ad hyiddnen saqarTvel oSi. mi Tumetes, erTic da meorec saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobisa da social - demokratiul i partiis l anZRva- gi nebas Sei cavda. am faqtis SefasebasTan mi marTebaSi, saqarTvel oSi

aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis cekas mier, social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biurosadmi miweril weril Si (1930 wl is 30 ivl isi) vkiTxul obT; `Cven vfiqrobT, rom mag xal xma dahkarga yovel gvari zomiereba da isini moqmedeben mxol od pirovnul i Tval sazrisiT da cxadia maq muSaobs mtris xel i... Cven gamovdivarT ra qarTvel i xal xis Tanamedrove mdgomareobidan, Cven... xel s vuwyobT sxva antisabWoTa pol itikur daj gufebebs da vaRiarebT srul iad gul axdil ad, rom Cven ufro moxarul i viqnebiT, Tu sxva partiebi ufro ZI ieri iqnebodnen. samwuxarod unda aRiaron, rom isini sustni arian da siyal bea asaTianami rej ibis mtkiceba maTi, e.i. memarj veneebis gavlenis zrdaze qarTvel erSi. gamovdivarT ra aqauri mdgomareobidan, Cven aucil ebel saWi roebad mi gvaCnia, rom xsenebul j gufTan Tqven gawyvi toT yovel gvari kavSiri, erTxel da samudamoT dahgmoT maTi antiqarTul i saqmi anoba.-

aRniSnul i faqtis si swore, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis aral egal uri konferenciis (1930 wl is 21 ivl isi) mier qarTvel i erisadmi gakeTebul mimarTvaSiac iqna dadasturebul i. `isic unda vuTxraT qarTvel ers, rom emigraciaSi gadaxvewil i qarTvel ebis erT umni Svel o j gufs - vkiTxul obT dokumentSi - ver Seugnia Tavisi moval eoba samSobl os winaSe da yovel ad sazi zRrad ebrZvis am qarTvel i eris mTI i anobas da mis erTian erovnul fronts. es gzadabneul i j gufi scems Jurnal `samSobl os - da cal ke wignakebs da maTi saSual ebiT, quCuri I anZRviT ebrZvis Cvens partias, ucxoeTis qarTul erovnul centrs, sadac gaerTianebul ia erovnul i mTavrobis irgvl iv qarTvel ebis yvel a mebrZol i partiebis warmomadgenl ebi. isini ebrZvis qarTvel i eris suverenobis matarebel erovnul mTavrobas da yvel a danarCen pol itikur partiebs... da Seuracyofs Cvens gmirTa uricxv safl avebs.- am amonawerSi motanil i faqtebi simarTI es Seesabameba. marTI acda Jurnal `samSobl oSi - dabeWdil i publ ikaciebis didi nawil i, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis, social - demokratiul i partiis gansakuTrebul kritikis Seicavs da nakl eb yuradRebas uTmobs okupanti saxel mwi fos qmedebebs saqarTvel oSi. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan isini sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurebTan garkveul mol aparakebas eweodnen. am faqtTan dkavSirebiT, saqarTvel odan social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTis biurosadmi gagzavnil (1930 wl is 30 ivl isi) erT-erT weril Si vkiTxul obT: `Cvens xel T aris utyuari cnobebi da sabuTebi, rom es xal xi eweva Cvens winaaRmdeg j aSuSobas komunistebTan. amas rom Cadian isini, es Cven srul iadac ar gvakvirvebs, magram samwuxaro da saval alo is aris, rom am xal xma yvel aferi icis Tqveni muSaobis Sesaxeb. Cven gaZI evT kategoriul winadadebas, mi iRoT zomebi amis winaaRmdeg. gacnobebT agreTve, rom l el i j afarize Camovi da aq asaTian- kedias daval ebiT ukl onistebTan mosal aparakebl ad saerTo muSaobis Sesaxeb. es daadastura erTma gavleni ama komunist- ukl onistma CvenTan mol aparakebis dros. (am mol aparakebis istorias... homeri gadmogcems). ai amxanagebo ra xal xTan gvaqvs saqme.-¹⁶

Cems mier motanil i es amonawerebi da sxva dokumentebi, Tavdayira ayenebs erovnul - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi daj gufebis Sesaxeb dRemde gafetiSebul Sexedul ebas. zemoaRniSnul i faqtebis si sworesTan mimarTebaSi, zogierTma Cemma kol egam SeiZI eba eWvi Seitanos, magram am dokumentebisadmi aseTi formiT midgoma araswori iqneba Tundac im

el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom: 1) Cems mier motanil i saarqivo masal eb-
 is mimarT sandoobis eWvi im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda dasaSvebi, igi sagaze-
 To publ ikaciisaTvis, opoziciur partiebTan Ria ideol ogiuri brZol i-
 saTvis da sazogadoebaSi farTo propagandisaTvis rom yofil iyo gankuTv-
 nil i; 2) am dokumentebSi motanil i faqtebi, mxol od saqarTvel os so-
 cial - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTis biurosa da devnil obaSi
 myofi mTavrobis wevrebis gafrTxil ebas isaxavda mi znad. zemoaRni Snu-
 l i dokumentebisagan gansxvavebiT gansakuTrebul datvirTvas izens
 saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad Catarebul i saqarTvel os social - demokra-
 tiul i partiis konferenciis (1930 wl is 21 ivl isi) mimarTva qarTvel i
 erisadmi. masSi al .asaTiani da S.qarumiZe, Savi kombinaciebis sul isCa-
 mdgmel ad da bol SevicebTan TanamSroml obaSi dadanaSaul ebul i. amis
 Sesaxeb imave mimarTvaSi vkiTxul obT: `maTi `saqmeni sagmironi - mxol od
 zizRs gamoiwvevs qarTvel xal xSi da is odnav ver Seasustebis mis
 mTI ianobas da brZol is energias (pol itikuri rosqipis) al eqsandre
 asaTianis da misi amyol - danyol Ta boroti zraxvebi da moRal ate qa-
 rumiZis Savi kombinaciebi da yal bi Cervoncebi, saxel s ver gautexs
 Cvens wminda saqmes da veras daakl ebs qarTvel Ta udides ganmaTavisu-
 fl ebel moZraobas da qarTvel i xal xi maT bol SevicebTan erTad sa-
 marcxvino moRal atis boZze gaakravs. qarTvel o ero! mtkiced da mama-
 curad gadamwyveti brZol isaken. amas gaval ebs Tqven tanj ul i samSob-
 l os gmirTa saerTo da tyve safl avebi... Zirs rusul i wiTel i imperial -
 izmi. gaumarj os Cagrul erTa amoZravebas mis winaaRmdeg. Zirs saokupa-
 cio reJimi. gaumarj os saqarTvel os damoukidebel demokratiul res-
 publ ikas. Sors qarTvel i xal xisgan moRal ate asaTian- qarumiZeebi da
 maTi miyol ni. gaumarj os qarTvel i eris mTI ianobas da mis erovnul
 mTavrobas.~ am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans saqarTvel oSi aral ega-
 l urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa ukompromiso da
 Seurigebel i damokidebul eba sabWouri reJimis batonobasTan da erovnu-
 l i wamosasxami T Seni Rbul adami anebTan mimarTebaSi. samwuxar od, dRevan-
 del qarTul istoriografiaSi uaRresad mavne tendenci aa damkvidrebul i.
 mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) Tuki erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis fonze,
 so-cial - demokratebis damsaxurebis sakiTxi daismeboda, yovel gvare saar-
 qivo dokumentisa da dasabuTebis gareSe, uaryofiT konteqsSi unda yofil -
 iyo moxseniebul i. am tendenciuri poziciis `gamagrebas- zogierTi Cemi ko-
 l ega im adami anebis memuarebis damowmebiT cdil obda da dResac cdil obs,
 romel Ta pol itikuri cxovreba saeWvo kiTxvebi Taa aRsavse da mis Sesaxeb
 uamravi makomprometirebel i saarqivo dokumentebi arsebobs.

pol itikuri partieb is warmomadgenel Ta Soris arsebul i dapi rispireba
 da zogierTi maTganis gaumarTI ebel i qmedeba qonda mxedvel obaSi, saqarTve-
 l os social - demokratiul i partiis central ur komitets, roca social -
 demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTis biurosadmi 1930 wl is 30 ivl iss
 gagzavnuil weril Si erTiani makoordinirebel i organos_ qarTul i erovnu-
 l i centris daarsebis aucil ebl obas rom moiTxovda. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki
 aseTi organo Sei qmneboda, igi erovnul i centris, emigraciul i mTavrobisa
 da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi xel Semwyobis rol Si
 gamovidoda. aRni Snul i pozicia, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi pol i-

tikuri partieb is erTobl iv gadawyvetil ebaze iyo dafuZnebul i. mxedvel o-
 baSi maqvs, sami pol itikuri partiis (social - demokratebi, erovnul - de-
 mokratibi, social ist- federal istebi) warmomadgenl ebis aral egal uri kre-
 bis (1930 wl is 29 ivl isi) mier sabWoTa reJimis winaaRmdeg erTobl ivi br-
 Zol is Sesaxeb miRebul i SeTanxmeba. pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT, ramdena-
 dac es dokumenti gansakuTrebul i Rirebul ebis matarebel ia, am faqtoris
 gaTval iswi nebidan gamomdinare, mkiTxvel isadmi misi srul i teqstis miwo-
 deba mizanSewoni ad CavTval e. `saqarTvel os pol itikur partiaTa SeTa-
 nxmeba. 1930 w. 29 ivl isi. pol itikur partiaTa warmomadgenl obis kreba. sa-
 qarTvel os pol itikur partiaTa mizania amJamad, ruseTis okupaciisagan ga-
 nTavisufl eba da saqarTvel os damoukidebel i demokratiul i respubl ikis
 aRdgena. am mizniT, saqarTvel oSi moqmedi pol itikur partiaTa warmomad-
 genl ebi: social - demokratebis, social ist- federal istebis da erovnul -
 demokratebis saerToT samoqmedoT saokupacio reagi rebis winaaRmdeg Tanxm-
 debian Semdeg safuZvl ebze: 1)1922 wl is april is SeTanxmeba dadebul i sa-
 qarTvel os pol itikur partiaTa Soris faqtiurad gauqmebul ia dankomis
 Sepyrobis Semdeg; 2)sqarTvel oSi moqmedi es sami pol itikuri partia awar-
 moebs saorganizacio da pol itikur muSaobas damoukidebl ad; 3)xol o moZrao-
 bis saxel mZRvanel od da sainformacio mizniT xsenebul i partiebi qmnian
 erovnul centrs sami pirisgan Semdgars. centris Tavmj domare iqneba so-
 cial - demokratebis warmomadgenel i; 4)erovnul i centri muSaobs partia-
Ta centrebis direqtivebiT da is kontaqtsia ucxoETSi gaxiznul erovnul
centrTan; 5)bol Sevikuri rejimis likvidaciisas, is adgens saqarTvel os
 droebiT mTavrobas arsebul i Zal Ta ganwyobil ebebis mixedviT, Tavmj domare
 iqneba social - demokrati; 6)droebiTi mTavrobis mizani iqneba wesrigis
 aRdgena da respubl ikis sazRvrebis dacva sanam ucxoETidan dabrundebo-
 des saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavroba, romel ic Sevsebul i iqneba SeTanxme-
 baSi Semaval i partieb is warmomadgenl ebisgan; 7)respubl ikaSi srul i wes-
 rigis aRdgenis Semdeg xdeba parl amentis arCevnebi, romel sac angariSs abarebs
 Jordani as mTavroba da gadadgeba; 8)pol iti-kur partiaTa warmomadgenl eb-
 is kreba adasturebs ucxoETSi dadebul xel Sekrul ebebs ucxoETis erovnul i
 centris Sesaqmnel ad da amtkicebs mis Semadgenl obas; 9)saokupacio reJim-
 is gauqmebamde, Jordani as mTavroba kvl av ganagrZobs qarTvel i eris sa-
 xel iT dipl omatiur muSaobas da mas emorCil eba saqarTvel os yvel a
 oficial uri da araoficial uri warmomadgenl ebi; 10)saqarTvel os pol iti-
kur partiaTa warmomadgenl ebi aRiareben rom qarTvel i eri mTl ianad
Tavis kanonier mTavrobad Tvl is ucxoETSi gaxiznul Jordani as mTavrobas
da vinc mas ebrZvis is qarTvel i eris moRal atea; 11)pol itikur partia-
Ta warmomadgenl ebi adgenen, rom gawyvetil i iqnas kavSiri yvel a im pa-
rtiebTan da j gufebTan, roml ebi c ebrZvian qarTvel i eris mTl ian erovnul
fronts da moqmedeben separatul ad. xel sawers: social - demokratebis_
 saba; erovnul - demokratebis_ nikol ozi; social ist- federal istebis_
 gedeon _warmomadgenl ebi.~

am vr cel i dokumentis meoTx e, meaTe da meTerTmete muxl ebi, zustad pasux-
 obs im pozicias, romel ic asaTian- qarumiZis j gufTan mi mar TebaSi a gamoTqmu-
 l i saqarvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biuro-
 sadmi gagzavnil weril Si da saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis

aral egal uri konferenciis mier qarTvel i erisadmi gakeTebul mi marTva-
 Si. marTal ia, saqarTvel os pol itikuri partieb is ZiriTadi nawil is Zal Ta
 konsol idaciis mi zniT, erTiani makoordinirebel i organo Sei qmna, magram,
 maT winaSe principul ad daisva kiTxva: ramdenad real uri iyo uzarmaz-
 ari potenciis (finansuri, fizikuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) mqone sabWo-
 Ta imperiisadmi patara saqarTvel os dapirispireba. es Seusabamoba qarTul
 pol itikur speqtrs kargad qonda gacnobierebul i. amis dadasturebas,
 erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis sivrceSi amierkavkasiis res-
 publ ikebis Semoyvanis aucil ebl obis formiT dasma warmoadgens. es
 sakiTxij er kidev 1922 wl is 16 Teberval s ganixil a stambol is pol iti-
 kuri komisiis sxdomam. mxedvel obaSi maqvs n.xomerikis moxseneba yuba-
 nis kazakebTan mol aparakebisa da maTTan am mi marTul ebiT muSaobis ga-
 RrmavebasTan dakavSirebiT. sabWoTa ruseTis imperiisadmi dapirispire-
 bis da Tavisufl ebis mopoveba- SenarCunebis real ur saSual ebad, qarTul i
 pol itikuri speqtris mxridan erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwifos Seqmna
 pirvel xarixovan amocanad iqna miCneuli. am mxriv ganskuTrebul yura-
 dRebas saqarTvel os mTavrobis da sazRvargareTul i del egaciis gaerTi-
 anebul i sxdomis (1924 wl is 27 oqtomberi) saoqmo Canawerebi iqcevs. aRniS-
 nul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT moxseneba_ kvkasiis respubl ikebis Sesaxeb_
 n.rami Svili ma gaakeTa. misi TqmiT, mezobel i respubl ikebis warmomadgenl ebTan
 Sexvedris dros, erTiani kavkasiuri unitarul i saxel mwifos Seqmnis mi za-
 nSewonil eba dausvamT dRis wesrigSi. am fonze man sxdomis monawil ebs
 kavkasiis momaval i saxel mwifos konstiruciis proeqti gaacno. imave sxdom-
 maze amierkavkasiis respubl ikebis konfederaciul i principiT mowyobis
 sakiTxis s.fircxal avam daayena. imavdroul ad eWvi gamoTqva am ideis praq-
 tikul ad gaxorciel ebis SesaZl ebl obasTan mi marTebaSi. misi es pozicia,
 konfederaciisadmi somxebis TavSekavebas da azerbaij anel Ta mxridan osma-
 l eTisaken swrafvas efuZneboda. ramdenadac amierkavkasiis saxel mwifos
 konstiruciis proeqtSi saSiSi muxl ebi ar iyo Cadebul i, iv.gobeCiasa da
 e.gegeWkors winadadebiT im etapze misi miReba pirobiTad unda momxda-
 riyo da dasaxul i amocanis Sesasrul ebl ad aqtiuri muSaoba dawyebul i-
 yo. rac Seexeba somxebsa da azerbaij anel ebs, maTTan mi marTebaSi sp.kedia
 acxadebda: `unda movimxroT isini, ur omli sodac Cven ar SegviZl ia saqarTve-
 l os gnTavisufl eba. me momxre var SevqmnaT erTiani saxel mwifo. es xal xi
 davakmayofil oT da praqtikul muSaobas SevudgeT.~ saoqmo CanawerebSi ar
 figurirebs Tu ra moTxovnebi gaacnda somxebsa da azerbaij anel ebs, rom-
 l is dakmayofil ebas sp.kedia moitxovda. dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas,
 rom qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebi dros ar kargavdnen
 da erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwifos SeqmnisaTvis safexuris mosamzade-
 bl ad pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebas droul ad axdendnen. amis da-
 dasturebas saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da saqarTvel os social demokrati-
 ul i partiis del egaciis SeerTebul i sxdomis 1924 wl is 14 noembris dad-
 genil ebebi warmoadgens. am dokumentebis mi xedviT, kavkasiis respubl ikaTa
 kavSirs warmomadgenl ebad daniSnul i iqnen: n.rami Svili, ak.Cxenkel i, sp.kedia,
 xol o sakonstitucio komisi aSi g.gvazava da r.arseniZe, roml ebsac warmom-
 adgenl obis rekomendaciis ufl ebebi qonda miniWebul i.

Sesabamisi saarqivo masal ebis mi ukvl evl obis gamo, am etapze SeuZl ebel i

xdeba imis garkveva, ganxorciel da Tu ara aRni Snul i konstituciis sru-
 l yofa. erTi ram dabej iTebi T SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom qarTul i mxare, maqsi-
 mal urad cdil obda samxreT kavkasiisa da sxva respubl ikebis warmomad-
 genel Ta gaerTianeba moexdina da erTiani fronti T sabWoTa ruseTs dapi-
 r ispireboda. am mxriv saintereso informacias Seicavs n.rami Svil is mier
 abesal omisadmi gagzavnil i saprogramo weril i. dokumentis mixedvi T irkveva,
 rom im etapze Seqmnil i iyo kavkasiis damouki debl obis komi teti, romel mac
 frangul enaze gamosca Jurnal i `promeTe.- `am komi tetSi Sedian- vkiTxu-
 l obT dokumentSi- Cveni, azerbaijanis da mTiel Ta respubl ikis warmoma-
 dgenl ebi, ori TiTo respubl ikidan. kavkasiis komi teti mWidrod dakavSi re-
 bul ia Turqestanis damouki debl obis komi tetTan da ukrainasTan (l evic-
 ki- petl iuras moadgil e). Cveni mi zania am Zal ebis saerTo amoZravebi T ru-
 seTis gan gamoyofa da maT Soris samxedro kavSiris Seqmna. ruseTTan omis
 dros da Semdegac.- aq garkvevi Taa naTqvami im mi znebis sa da amocanebis Se-
 saxeb, roml ebi c ruseTis sabWour imperiasTan mi mar TebaSi kavkasiis komi-
 tets qonda daki srebul i. meore mxriv, aRni Snul i komi tetis amocanas, kavkasiis
 xal xebis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis centrebis gaerTianeba
 da misi koordinaciis funqcia warmoadgenda. am uaRresad sapauxis mgebl o
 misiis Sesrul eba udides sirTul eebTan, gansakuTrebi T konspiraciul i mu-
 Saobis ganxorciel ebasTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. mi Tumetes, sabWoTa uSi Sro-
 ebis Sesabamisi uwebebi Zal Ronesar i Survebda yvel a im pirovnebaTa ga-
 mosavl enad, roml ebi c anti sabWour organizaciebTan metnakl ebad iyo dakavSi-
 rebul i. es mosal odnel i safrTxebebi hqonda mxedvel obaSi saqarTvel os
 emigraciul i mTavrobisa da damouki debl obis komi tetis del egaciis 1925
 wl is 5 dekembris SeerTebul sxdomas, romel mac kavkasiis respubl ikebTan
 damokidebul ebis sakiTxi (momxsenebel i ak.Cxenkel i) sagangebod ganixil a.
 mi Rebul dadgenil ebaSi xazgasmi T iqna aRni Snul i: `stambol Si arsebul i
 kavkasiis respubl ikaTa organizacia unda emorCil ebodes centrs da cen-
 tris pol itikur xel mZRvanel obas. organizacia unda iyos konspiraciul i
 da muSaobdes kavkasi aSi. teqnikuri sakiTxebis mowesri geba am princi pis mi-
 xedvi T endoba im kacss vinc aqedan gai gzavneba.- imave dadgenil ebi T, aRni S-
 nul i mi marTul ebi T Catarebul i samuSaoebis koordinacia kavkasiis res-
 publ ikaTa sabWos kompentenciadi qna gamocxadebul i. mis Semadgenl obaSi
 saqarTvel os mxridan ak.Cxenkel i, n.rami Svil i da S.amirej ibi iqnen dasax-
 el ebul ni.

kavkasiis xal xTa Soris erTiani antisabWouri frontis Seqmnis ideis
 myar safexurze aRmocenebis mi zni T, aucil ebl obas im meqanizmis amoqmede-
 ba warmoadgenda, romel ic kavkasiis erebs Soris warmoqmnil sadao sakiTx-
 ebs mi ukerZoebad gadawyvetda. es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi ak.Cxenkel s,
 romel mac mTavrobisadmi 1930 wl is 25 april s wardgenil i Tezisebis mesame
 muxl Si am sakiTxze sagangebod gaamaxvil a yuradReba da iqve gamokveTil i
 formi T mi uTi Ta: `droa Cveni qveynis moqmedi Zal ebi gadaeban ama Tu im sa-
 xi T mezobl ebis moqmed Zal ebs, rom uzrunvel i iyos gadamwyvet momentSi
 sol idarul i gamosvl a. orientacia Tavis Tavze, konfederaciis idea, sadao
 sakiTxebis saval debul o arbitraJiT gadaWra_ ai baza TanamSroml obisa.
 kavkasiis damouki debl obis komi tetis pirdapiri dani Snul eba am sferos
 ekuTvnis.- imave dokumentis # 12 muxl Si dasmul i iyo sakiTxi `samTa

sabWos- dauyovnebl iv aRdgenis Sesaxeb da rac mTavaria,princi pul ad iyo miTiTebul i; `erTxel ki dev scados saerTo enis gamonaxva somxis del ega- ciasTan da ganagrZos TanamSroml oba ukrainis misiasTan.-

xzgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom kavkasiis respubl ikaTa bazaze erTiani antisabWouri frontis Seqmnis Semaferxebel bariers somxuri mxare qmni da. daSnakcuTiunis partiis l iderTa pol itikurad gameZavebul i kursi, mxol od somexTa interesebiT ifargl eboda da saerTo kavkasiur saqmesTan mi marTebaSi i otisodena sakompromiso nabij is gadadgmaze sastik uars acxadebda. imavdroul ad, somexTa sasargebl od gansakuTrebul i pirobebis Seqmnas da zRvargadacil ebul i moTxovnebis maqsimumis maT- Tvis gaTval iswinebas moiTxovda. okupaciis uRI is mosacil ebel i meqaniz- mis- saerTo frontis SeqmnasTan mi marTebaSi, somexTa qmedeba al ogi kur saxes atarebda da arc saerTaSoriso samarTI ebriv normebSi j deboda. daSnakuri azrovnebisa da l ogikis mixedviT, kavkasiis respubl ikebi- dan saqarTvel o, azerbaij ani da daRestani Tuki sabWouri uRI is moicil e- bas SeZl ebda, yovel gari sisxl is Rvris, somexTa cocxal i genofondis danakargisa da finansuri danaxarj ebis gareSedac mi iRebda somxebi Ta- visufl ebas. aseT azrovnebaze dafuznebul i qmedeba, erTiani antisabWo- uri kavkasiuri frontis droul ad Seqmnis xel SemSl el faqtors war- moadgenda. im etapze kavkasiis regionSi Seqmnil pol itikur situacias Tuki gaviTval iswinebT, erTiani frontis Seqmnis oficial uri gaforme- ba da koordinebul i moqmedeba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. miTu- metes, kavkasiis respubl ikebis mTel rig ol qebSi spontanurad da araor- ganizebul ad xdeboda adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis antisabWouri gamosvl i ebi. arada, mimdinare pol itikuri procesebi, am gmosvl ebis koordina- cias da erTian samoqmedo CarCoSi moqcevas saWi roebda. amis aucil e- bl obas kavkasiis respubl ikebiSi moqmedi partizanul i razmebis qmediTunar- ianoba iZl eoda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, sai ntereso faqtebia dadastu- rebul i 1930 wel s Seqmnil dokumentSi_ `partizanul i moZraoba kavkasi a- Si.- masSi motanil i faqtobrivi monacemebi, general uri sakonsul os moxse- nebidan aris aRebul i da sinamdvil es Seesabameba. dokumentis mixedviT, ka- vkasiis respubl ikebiSi moqmedi antisabWoTa partizanul i razmebi, regi one- bSi konspiraciul ad arsebul i organizaciebis xel mZRvanel ebs emorCil e- boda da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis wi naaRmddeg brZol is aprobi rebul meTodebs mi marTavda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)partizanul i razmebis Tavdasxma saxel m- wi fo obieqtebze, misi dacvis nawil ebis gani araReba, partiul i el itis gana- dgureba da mTebSi mimal va; b)sabWoTa Sei araRebul i Zal ebis erT adgil ze koncentrirebis mizniT, partizanul i razmebis erT da imave obieqtebze xSiri Tavdasxmehis ganxorciel ebiT, dacari el ebul regioneSi aj anyebul eb- is Tavisufl ad moqmedebis SesaZl ebl oba. imave dokumentidan irkveva: ram- denadac antisabWoTa aj anyebebi erTiani kavkasiuri gegmis CarCoSi ar iyo moqceul i, cal - cal ke ganxorciel ebul gamosvl ebs, xel isufl eba advil ad umkl avdeboda. amis magal iTs, zaqaTal as ol qSi dawyebul i antisabWouri Sei araRebul i aj anyeba da mis Casaqrobad dauyovnebl iv 10 aTasi sabWoTa j ariskacis gagzavnis faqti warmoadgens. isic cnobil ia, rom aRniSnul i j aris nawil ebis, ukan tyviamfrqvevebiT Sei araRebul i gpu- s (saxel mwi fo pol itikuri sammarTvel o) j aris nawil ebi daadevnes. brZanebis maRal doneze

Seusrul ebl obis SemTxvevaSi, pirvel kol onas, meore kol onisgan sadam-
sj el o safrTxe emuqreboda.

marTal ia, antisabWoTa gamosvl ebs adgil i qonda: a)Cr dil o kavkasiaSi (Ce-
CneTi, inguSeTi, daRestani), b)azerbaij anSi (zaqaTal a, ganj a, kubis ol qi),
g)saqarTvel oSi (kaxeTis Cr dil o- aRmosavl eTis nawil is garda). samwuxa-
rod, es gamosvl ebi arakoordinirebul da erTian kavkasiur xel mZRvanel o-
bas mokl ebul STabeWdil ebas tovebs. miuxedavad amisa, misi rezonansi im-
denad ZI ieri iyo, rom sssr kavSiris komunisturi partiis yril obaze ami-
erkavkasiidan gasagzavni del egatebis marSruti_ Tbil isi_ baqo_ moskovi,
moul odnel ad ucnauri marSrutiT Sei cval a_ Tbil isi_ foTi_ novorosi-
iski_ moskovi. momxdari faqti, amierkavkasiis komunisturi organizaciebis
partiul yril obaze Semdegi motivaci iT iqna axsnil i: `adgil obrivi parti-
ul i organizaciebis Secdomebma sofl ad xal xi bevr SemTxvevaSi mi iyva-
na antisabWoTa wyobil ebis winaaRmdeg aqtiur gamosvl amde.~ am amonaweris
mixedvi T, antisabWoTa gamosvl ebis ZiriTadi mizezebi adgil obrivi parti-
ul i organizaciebis `Secdomebzea- gadatanil i da ara saxel mwifos mxri-
dan dakanonebul i gl exTa umkacresi Cagvris, misi xel ovnurad gaRatakebi-
sa da Zarcvis mizezebze. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sofl is gl exkacobisadmi
Seweril i umZimesi gadasaxadebi. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom sa-
xel mwifos mier dawesebul i gadasaxadebis vergadaxdis gamo, urCi gl exka-
cobis bral debisa da cixis saknebis acil ebis mizniT, guriis sofl is mo-
saxl eoba iZul ebul i gaxda, ful adi gadasaxadis sanacvl od, gamwevi piru-
tyvi (xarebi) da wl is sarCo simindi Caebarebina adgil obrivi sabWoTa xe-
l isufl ebis mesveurebisTvis. aseTi pol itikuri kursi, saqarTvel os mosa-
xl eobis, gansakuTrebiT misi marCenal i gl exkacobis wel Si gatexas da
usityvo monur Semsrul ebl ad gadaqcevas iTval iswinebda. qarTvel i gl exka-
cis umZimesi yofa safuZvl ianadaa warmodgenil i saqarTvel os social -
demokratiul i partiis aral egarul i konferenciis (1930 wl is 21 ivl isi)
mi marTvaSi. am dokumentSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi formiT
SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)kol eqrtivizaciis kursiT, qarTvel i xal xis erTa-
derTi saarsebo saSual eba_ sofl is meurneoba, sabWoTa xel isufl ebam mi-
zanmi marTul ad gaanadgura da qveyana ekonomikuri krizisis zRvr amde mi iy-
vana; 2)umZimesi gadasaxadebiT gaRatakebul qarTvel xal xs, gansakuTrebu-
l i si frTxil e unda gamoeCnia, raTa bol Sevicebis mier dagebul badeSi ar
moyol il iyo da udroo gamosvl ebi ar moewyo. mi Tumetes, sti qiuri da anti-
sabWouri gamosvl ebi, damarcxebisTvis iyo ganwirul i da erovnul i moZraobis
dasustebis faqtorad gadai qceoda; 3)qarTvel i eris j oj oxeturi wamebi-
sgan xsnis da saokupacio reJimis mocil ebis erTaderT saSual ebad, bol Sevi z-
mis Sinagani dasuste ba da maTi dacemis momenti unda yofil iyo gamoyenebu-
l i. `am sanatrel i JamisTvis- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- unda iqnas dazo-
gil i yvel a Cveni sasicocxl o Zal ebi;~ 4)bol Sevicebis diqtaturam misi
ganvitarebis yvel a etapi gaiara da mis winaaRmdeg yvel a Cagrul i erebi,
maT Soris qarTvel ebi c aamxedra. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia, erTobl ivi
Zal ebis rusul i imperial izmisadmi dapiri spi rebiT, Tavisufl ebis mopove-
bis SesaZl ebl obis gzas xsnis, romel ic erovnul i saxel mwifos Seqmni sken
swrafvastan aris dakavSirebul i.~

marTal ia, am dokumentis ZiriTadi debul ebebi erovnul - ganmaTavisu-

fl ebel i moZraobis gaRrmavebis, xel sayrel i momentis maqsimal urad gamoyenebis da Tavisufli ebisaken swrafvis ideiT iyo datvirTul i, magram, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mowinave nawil s kargad esmoda, rom dasavvl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa mxardaWerisa da Tanadgomis gareSe, erovnul i saxel mwifos real urad aRdgena SeuZl ebel i iyo. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, Taviani SesaZl ebl obis fargl ebSi isini Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebas cdil obdnen. amis Sesaxeb sainteresofaqtebia motanil i saqarTvel os mTavrobis, demokratuiul i kavSiris del egaciis da damkomis krebis (1930 wl is 11 ianvari) sxdomis stenografiul CanawerebSi. masSi garkveviTaa aRniSnul i, rom saqarTvel os devnil i xel isufli ebis mcdel obis miuxedavad, dasavl eT evropaSi im etapze ar aRmoCnda saxel mwifo, romel ic kritikul momentSi saqarTvel os daudgeboda gverdiT. amis Sesaxeb imave sxdomaze e.gegeWkori xazgasmiT miuTitebda. `Cveni cda- ambobda igi- evropaSi Segveqmna Cveni qveynis aRdgenis SemTxvevaSi misi damcavi baza, es ar moxerxda. Cven dRes ar gvyavs iseTi megobari qveyana, romel ic gadamwyvet momentSi xel s gamogviwvdis.- am mware sinamdvil es, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri kargad xedavda, magram imeds ar kargavda da gamosaval i gzebis Ziebas maqsimal urad cdil obda. amis erT- erT dadasturebad ak.Cxenkel is mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1930 wl is 25 april s wardgenil i Tezisebi gamodgeba. am dokumentis dasawyisSi, saqarTvel os devnil i xel isufli ebisadmi gamafRTxil ebel i fo-rmiTaa naTqvami: `dadga dro, roca val debul i varT movikriboT mTel i Cveni Zal a da gamWriaxoba. saerTo koniunqtura erTis mxrit ise rTul ia da bevr saqmeSi araxel sayrel i, rom Tu marjveT ar viqeniT, SeiZl eba ver aRmovCndeT Sesafar momentSi saTanado simaRl eze da wavagoT.-

ak.Cxenkel is es gafrTxil eba droul i iyo da mimdinare pol itikur procebs savsebiT Seesabameboda. swored am faqtoris gaTval iswineba daedo safuZvl ad saqarTvel os mTavrobis damokidebul ebas aRniSnul i dokumentisadmi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, Tezisebis wardgeni dan meore dResve (1930 wl is 26 april i) mTavrobis sxdomaze misi ganxil vis dawyebis da masSi mTel i rigi Sesworebebis Setanis faqti. arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i dokumentebidan kargad Cans, rom emigraciaSi myof saqarTvel os pol itikur el itas kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i, Tu ra didi fsiqol ogiuri da moral uri datvirTva eqneboda evropis qveynebis mxridan qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobisadmi mxardaWeris. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, isini SesaZl ebl obis maqsimums akeTebdnen, raTa am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi evropis qveynebis l iderTa pozicia gaegoT, da rac mTavaria, maTTvis gaecnoT qarTvel Ta gasawiri. amis udao dadasturebas, ital iis mTavrobis meTaurTan b.musol inTan ak.Cxenkel is Sexvedris da saubris stenograma warmoadgens. Tu ra mimarTul ebiT warimarTa saubari, am dokumentis mi xedviT, ramdenime sakiTxis gamoyofa SeiZl eba: 1) sabWoTa kavSiris daSl is SemTxvevaSi da didi krizisis Seqmnis dros, ra pozicias daiWerda italia saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi; 2) saqarTvel os geografiul ma mdebareobam axl o kavSirusTierTobis damyarebis xel Semwyobi funqcia Seasrul a kavkasiis respubliketan, ukrainastan da TurqestanTan; 3) ramdenadac ruseTi kavkasiis advil ad ar daTmobda, garedan damxmare Zal a auci-

I ebl obas war moadgenda. saqarTvel osadmi aseTi daxmarebis survil i ital iam adre gamoTqva. aqedan gamomdinare, ak.Cxenkel s ainteresebda, gauwevda Tu ara ital ia dipl omatiur, material ur, finansur da pol itikur daxmarebas saqarTvel os.

roca ak.Cxenkel i, b.musol inis winaSe zemoaRniSnul sakiTxebs ayenebda, imavdroul ad, gamokveTil i formiT kavkasiaSi ital iisaTvis sasargebl o garemoebzedac mi ani Snebda: 1)kavkasi is simdi dre_ navTi da marganeci, roml is sargebl obis ufl eba ital iis saxel mwi fos mi ecemoda; 2)ramdenadac saqarTve- l o evraziis damakavSi rebel xids war moadgenda, ital ias sazedamxedvel o funqciis xel Si aRebis SesaZl ebl oba eqneboda. `sazogadoT kavkasia- ambobda ak.Cxenkel i- is gzaj varedinia, romel ic damakavSi rebel ia mTel wina aziasTan. Tbil isi gansakuTrebiT, Savi zRva, roml is gasaRebi saqarTvel o- Si Zevs, sakmarisia Cveni qveynis mniSvel obis dasanaxavad. saqarTvel os gareSe, kavkasi is mniSvel obac ikargeba.- moqnil i dipl omatiuri saubriT, ak.Cxenkel ma didaT da interese b.musol ini, magram, dasmul sakiTxebTan mi- marTebaSi misgan konkretul i pasuxi ar mi uRia. musol ini mxol od sakiTx- is Seswavl as da drogamoSvebiT ak.Cxenkel isadmi informaciis mi wodebas daTanxmda.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom qarTul i dipl omatiis mesveurni, saqarTvel o- sTan mi marTebaSi gansakuTrebul imeds ital iis saxel mwi foSi xedavdnen. am SemTxvevaSi, amosaval safuZvl ad ital ia- osmal eTis kargi urTierToba mi aCndaT. am sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, d.k. del egaci- is da damkomis prezidumi s gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1930 wl is 11 ianvari) e.gegeWkori xazgasmiT ambobda: `kavkasiaSi mimdinare procesebSi didi ro- l is Sesrul eba roms SeuZl ia, mi Tumetes, roms yvel aze ukeTesi ganwyoba aqvs osmal eTTan da ami tom Cven gansakuTrebul i yuradReba unda mi vaqci- oT mas da am saqmeSi gamovi yenoT. osmal eTis sakiTxi Zal ian didi probl e- maa. pirdapir war moudgenel ia kavkasi is da saqarTvel os damouki debl oba, Tu osmal eTi mtrad iqna misadmi ganwyobil i. amis mosagvarebl ad Cvens mier zogierTi nabij i gadadgmul i iyo, magram j er verafers gavxdiT.-

osmal eTis faqtoris e.gegeWkoris mxridan wina pl anze wamoweve, SemTxve- viTobiT ar iyo ganpi robebul i. qarTul i dipl omatiis mesveurni Semdeg garemoebes uwevdnen angariSs; 1)osmal eTi rogorc saqarTvel os mezobe- l i qveyana; 2)osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTis megobari da mokavSire (moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martisa da yarsis 1921 wl is 13 oqtombris xel Sekrul ebebi); 3)osmal eTis pretenziebi saqarTvel os teritoriisadmi (osmal eTis didi erovnul i yril obis mier 1920 wl is 28 ianvars mi Rebul i aqtis meore mux- l iT, osmal eT_ saqarTvel os sazRvari md.Col oqzea gavl ebul i).

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, winaswar Znel ia imis Tqma, Tu ra pretenziebi gauCndeboda osmal eTis xel is ufl ebas damouki debl obisTvis mebrZol i saqarTvel os kanonier xel is ufl ebasTan mi marTebaSi. sazRvarg- areT gaxiznul i saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis mesveurTa mi marT yve- l aze did ideol ogiur, pol itikur da moral ur dartyas, germani is mTavrobis mier sabWoTa ruseTTan mi marTebaSi Semrigebl uri kursis aReba war moad- genda. samecni ero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom genuis konferenci- is msvl el obis (1922 wwl is 10 april i- 19 maisi) periodSi, sabWoTa ruseTsa da germanias Soris rapal oSi xel moeweril i xel Sekrul ebiT (1922 wl is 16

april i), am or qveyanas Soris yovel gvare saxis pretenzi ebi moixsna. imavdrovoul ad, dipl omatiuri da savaWro urTier Tobebi aRdga.¹⁷

am xel Sekrul ebis Semdeg Tu ra damokidebul eba gamoavl ina germaniis xel isufli ebam saqarTvel osTan da qarTul dipl omatiasTan mimarTebaSi, kargad Cans vl adimer axmetel is mier noe Jordaniasadmi 1923 wl is 30 ianvars gagzavnil weril Si. `germaniis gol iaTuri ekonomuri gegma, romel - mac moicva germaniis yvel a wreebi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, - saqarTvel os sakiTxi_ TviT im pol itikur moRvaweebiStvisac ki, roml ebic mTel i Tavisi miswrafebiT, survil iT gul wrfel ad Cvens ni adagze idgnen, patara da umniSvnel o sakiTxad gadaiqca. aseT pirobebSi Cveni moTxovnebis gayvana SeuZl ebel i xdeba da bol os, rapal os xel Sekrul eba saqarTvel ozedac gaavrcel es, Tumca am xel Sekrul ebam savsebiT ar gaaqro Cveni sael Cos mniSvnel oba. marTal ia, Cven amJamad iuridiul ad aRar varT cnobil i, magram sael Co faqtiurad ganagrZobs arsebobs da faqtiurad awarmoebis miwer- moweras sxvadasxva oficial ur dawesebul ebebTan... rapal os xel Sekrul ebis saqarTvel oze gavrcel ebis ratifikacia jer ar momxdara. germaniis mTavrobam xel Sekrul eba saratifikaci od raixstags warudgina. xel Sekrul ebis ratifikaciis Semdegac gvaqvs imedi, rom saqarTvel os warmomadgenl oba germaniaSi SezRudul i ufl ebebiT mainc iarsebobs... ruseTisken orientacia mdgomareobiT aris gamowveul i. Tu Cven saxel mwi foebri vTavisufli ebas veRirseT, maSin germania mxurval ed dagviwers mxars da ruseTisadmi usazRvro siyvarul i ganel deba. ~ amis imeds vl .axmetel s `venis muSaTa gazeTSi- brauntal is mier dabeWdil i 12 vrcel i publ ikaciis da Semdeg wignad gamocemul i narkvevis mimarT, germaniis pol itikuri wreebis dadebiTi gamoxmaureba aZl evda. `saqarTvel os didi samsaxuri gauwia brauntal - is wignma da misma weril ebma. unda iTqvas- wers vl .axmetel i- axl ad warmoSobil saxel mwi foSi, germaniis sazogadoebri v cxovrebaSi yvel aze metad cnobil ia saqarTvel o. saqarTvel oze yvel aze mets weren da l aparakoben. axl a Cveni mTel i yuradReba iqeTken aris mi pyro bil i, rom es pol itikuri kapital i ar dagvekargos, es pol itikuri Tanadgoma bol omdis SegvrCes. saerTo mdgomareoba rom Sei cval os, saqarTvel os Tavisufl eba mi eni Wos, mTel i es simpaTia SemdegSi didi sargebl obas mogvitan. ~ amas werda vl .axmetel i 1923 wel s. dasavl eT evropasi ganvitarebul ma pol itikurma procesebma da XX saukunis 30- ian wl ebSi germaniaSi momxdarma pol itikurma cvl il ebebma, germania- saqarTvel os urTier Tobis sakiTxis axal safexurebri v doneze gaazreba da ganxil va moiTxova. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciis da damkoms krebis prezidiumis 1930 wl is 11 ianvris gaertianebul i sxdoma iqcevs. mxe-dvel obaSi maqvs ak.Cxenkel is uaRresad sayuradRebo gamosvl a. krebis monawil eebis igi erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda Zvel i qarTul i pol itikisaken dabrunebisa da megobrebTan saerTo enis gamonaxvis aucil ebl obas. `dipl omatiuri daxmareba- ambobda ak.Cxenkel i- didi saqmea, miT ufro Tu is gamodis didi saxel mwifosgan. ai amas unda mieqces seriozul i yuradReba. Cven unda davubrundeT Zvel qarTul pol itikas. mezobl ebTan da megobrebTan saerTo enis gamonaxvis pol itikas... Cven unda veridoT anti- faSistur demonstraciebs, ar unda iwerebodes Cvens gazeTebSi faSizmis wi naaRmdeg. mas Semdeg mainc, rac qarTul wreebi Sei qmna iseTi mdgomare-

oba, rom yvel a dokumentebis Targmans aZl even maT, vi sTanac saqmi s gakeTeba gvi nda. germani is Sesaxeb gaugebrobaa. marTal ia, mas sxva pol itika aqvs, magram vinc ityvis rom ruseTSi gardatexis dros mas nakl ebi mniS- vnel oba eqnebao- is Semcdari iqneba. piriqiT, germania im dros did rol s iTamaSebs da Cven gvmarTebis iq muSaoba. is Tu ar gvargebs, nu gva- vnebs mainc. amas unda mi eqces ganskuTrebul i yuradReba. Cven ki iq arc mi vdi varT. marTal ia, warmomadgenel i gvyavs, magram misi muSaoba ar aris damakmayofil ebel i. j er iq am mxriv araferi gaukeTebia_ es unda gamos- wordes.-

germaniasTan urTierTobis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi ak.Cxenkel is gafrTxi- l eba angari Sgasawevi iyo. miT umetes, samoRaweo asparezze didi warmate- biT moqmedebda germaniis nacional - social istebis (faSisturi) partia. aqedan gamomdinare, misi l iderebis ar ganawynianebs da pirvel safexu- rzeve urTierTobis dal ageba, ak.Cxenkel s aucil ebl obad miaCnda. ak.Cxe- nkel is aseTi gamokveTil i progermanul i poziciis miuxedavad, imave sxdo- mis monawil eTa garkveul i nawil i, germaniis saxiT saqarTvel ostvis erT- gul i megobris SesaZl ebl obis sakiTxs, kiTxvis qveS ayenebda. am mxriv ga- nsakuTrebiT n.rami Svil i gamoirCeoda. `iseT patara qveyanas, rogoric aris saqarTvel o, ueWvel ad swiria- ambobda igi- erTgul i megobari da CvenC aqe- Tken unda mi vapyroT gul isyuri. me darwmunebul i var, roca Cven saqa- rTvel oSi viyaviT, gveyofoda pol oneTis daxmareba. is rom CvenTan yofil - iyo, ruseTi Tavdasxmas ver gabedavda. magram samwuxarod maSin es ar moxda da exl a SevecadoT rom es garemoeba kidev ar ganmeordes.- warsul is mware gamocdil ebi dan gamomdinare, igive n.rami Svil i evropisadmi imedad yofnas il uziad miCnevda da amas Semdegi argumentebiT asabuTebda: `rasac samsoni (fircxal ava S.v.) l aparakobs, tyvil i il uzi aa. bol Seviz- mis wi naaRmdeg yvel ani arian, magram aravin araferis ar akeTebis. es imis bral ia, rom omis Semdeg gamosvl a aravis SeuZl ia. me vfiqrob, yvel a is zomebi, romel ic aq momxsenebel ma CamoTval a, mi saRebia. magram me davu- matebdi, rom Tu gadatrial eba moxda ruseTSi, maSinac ki, gareSe Zal ebi mxol od seirs uyureben da seriozul daxmarebas ar gagviweven, xol o Cveni namdvil i mokavSireni Cagrul i erebi iqnebian.-

n.rami Svil is mxridan evropis qveynebisadmi aseTi skeptikuri damok- idebul eba simarTI es Seesabameboda. gasul i saukunis 30- iani wl ebis evropi, saqarTvel ostvis Tavs maSinac ar gamoi debda, saqarTvel oSi mi s- Tvis gankuTvnil i tonobiT oqros zodebi rom yofil iyo dawyobil i. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyvet rol s, sabWoTa ruseTTan evropis qveynebis l i- derebis damokidebul eba gansazRvravda. am urTierTobis normal urad warmarTvaSi xedavda isini Tavianti qveynebis da erebis warmatebul momaval s. am fonze, saqarTvel o maTTvis danamats, xel SemSI el amonaz- ards warmoadgenda. rac Seexeba gansxvavebul pozicias, igi oficial urad s.fircxal avam daafiqsira. `SeuZl ebel ia evropi ar Caebas bol SevizmTan i araRiT brZol aSi. aq aSkarad dapirispirebul ia- ambobda s.fircxal ava- ori qveyana, ori sxvadasxva SinaarsiT. konfl i qti am or Zal as Soris auci- l ebel ia.- aseTi gadaWarbebul i imedebiT Sezavebul mis gamosvl aSi, gan- sakuTrebul i aqcenti ingl issa da safrangeTze iyo gakeTebul i. `Cven mego- brad unda gavixadoT- ambobda s.fircxal ava- ingl isi da safrangeTi.-

rac Seexeba evropis danarCeni qveynebis (germania, italia, poloneTi da bal tiispireTi) xel isufli ebisadmi damokidebul ebas, maTdami undobl obas gamoTqvamda da dasZenda: `maTgan movel i mxol od moral ur daxmarebas da mets arafers.- Seqmnil i umZimesi politikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebis fonze, s.fircxal avakrebs monawil eeb savsebiT kanonzomierad mi ani Snebda_ saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi osmal eTis mosal odnel safrTxes. `ar unda dagvaviwydes, rom SeiZl eba Cveni udidesi mteri- ambobda igi- iqnes osmal eTi. SeiZl eba man daikavos kavkasiac ki, magram isic SeiZl eba, man pirobac mogvces `ar SegexebiTo,- magram ar aris es dasaj erebel i. es sakiTxi Cveni eris yofna- aryofnis sakiTxia. CvenTvis aranakl eb saWi roebas Seadgens ruseTis social istur- demokratiul partiasTan saerTo enis gamonaxva, ris cda samwuxarod arcki momxdara. agreTve saWi rod mi maCnia sakuTari momzadeba garTul ebis droisaTvis.-

s.fircxal avas sityvis teqstidan Cems mier motanil i amonawerebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, erovnul i Tavisufli ebis mopovebaze figri kiTxvis qveS dgeboda, Tundac im mizezis gamo, rom saqarTvel os samxreTel i mezo- bel i qveynis- osmal eTis pozicia gaurkvevel i iyo. qarTvel politikosebs isic kargad esmodaT, rom osmal eTis mxridan gacemul i piroba ndobas ar imsaxurebda, radgan sabWoTa ruseTis megobar da mokavSire saxel mwi fos, danapirebis darRveva nebsmier dros SeeZl o. am SemTxvevaSi, evropis qveynebis faqtoris gamoyeneba aucil ebl obas war moadgenda. magram, Znel i saTqmeli ia, ikisrebda Tu ara am sapasuxi smgebl o misionis Sesrul ebas Tundac igive ingl isian safrangeTi.

saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi evropis qveynebis polititurad gameZavebul i kursis anal izidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, demokratiul i kavsiris del egacis da damkomis krebis prezidiums 1930 wl is 11 ianvris gaerTianebul sxdomaze iv.gobeCia, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis mesveurebs, saqarTvel odan da evropis qveynebis politikuri wreebi dan Camocil ebis bral debas uyenebda da iqve gamafrTxil ebel i formiT miuTitebda, rom ukrainidan da mTiel _ azerbaijanel ebidan araferi gamovidoda. aRniSnul is da sxva faqtorebis gaTval iswinebit, igi Semdeg daskvnas akeTebda: `evropaSi saqme CafuSulia, finansurad gakotrebul i varT_ ai Cveni dRevandel i mdgomareobis suraTi.- aseTi mzime fonis Seqmnis Semdeg, Znel i iyo imave sxdomis monawil eebisadmi optimizmit damZimebul i formulirebis SeTavazeba. mi Tumetes, **sabWoTa ruseTis zemoqmedebi dan gamomdinare, dasavleT evropis qveynebma saqarTvel osadmi TandaTanobiti zurgSeqcevis procesi daiwyo.** am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums da demokratiul i kavsiris del egacis gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1930 wl is 29 marti) ak.Cxenkel ma xazgasmiT aRniSna, rom saerTaSoriso arenaze politikuri procesebis cval ebado- bidan gamomdinare, evropis saxel mwi foebma: safrangeTma da poloneTma, saqarTvel os sael Coebi gaauqmes. xolo, ucxo Zal is zemoqmedebis gamo, saqarTvel os okupaciac uaryves. `okupacias- ambobda ak.Cxenkel i- ar scnobs safrangeTis mTavroba... sxva saxel mwi foebi sadac kargad gviyureben, mag. poloneTsi sul gaauqmes Cveni sael Co. es saxel mwi foebi mTavrobas iuridiul ad aRar scnoben.- es faqti, qarTul i politikuri speqtristvis bevr is mTqmeli i iyo. maTTvis cxadi gaxda, rom evropis sa-

xel mwifoebSi ganTavsebul i saqarTvel os moqmedi sael Coebi, ruseTTan evropis qveynebis normal uri urTierTobis xel SemSI el ad iqca. aqedan gamomdinare, isini Tavisi erisa da qveynebis interesebi T moqmedebden. am SemTxvevaSi saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufli eba, maTi mxridan zedmeti tvirtis formatSi ganixil eboda da mis gaqroba- ganadgurebas did wi-naaRmdegobas ar gauwevda, mi Tumetes, Tuki sabWoTa ruseTidan sarfiani SeTavazebis pirobebi iqneboda. am ekonomikuri da pol itikuri `savaWro proceduris,~ amosaval i safexuri, l oid- jorjis formul ireba iyo: `vaWroba kanibal istebTanac SeiZl eba.~ pol itikuri meZavisadmi damaxasiaTebel i es kursi, sabWoTa ruseTsa da evropis qveynebs Soris gamokveTil i formiT, saqarTvel os okupaciidan mTel i 13 wl is ganmav- l obaSi gagrZel da.

saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi indiferentul i damokidebul ebi T, amerikis SeerTebul Statebic gamoirCeoda. am safexuris momzadebaSi sabWoTa ruseTis dipl omatiuri misiis rol i gansakuTrebiT didi iyo. saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom aSS da ruseTi erTobl ivi samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebas apirebda. es faqti, garkveul i formiT, egegeWkoris mier n.ramiSvil isadmi 1924 wl is 21 martiT daTariRebul weril Siac aris dadasturebul i. aRniSnulis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, aSS- is mxridan raime saxis daxmarebas, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis mesveurni gamoricxavda. amis naTel dadasturebas n.ramiSvil is mier s.d. partiis parizis biuros sxdomaze (1926 wl is 8 maisi) gakeTebul i gancxadeba warmoadgens. misi mtkicebi T, aSS- isa da sabWoTa ruseTis urTierTobis mkveTri cval ebadoba, raime saxis daxmarebaze fiqrs SeuZl ebel s xdi da. igive n.ramiSvil i, sxdomis monawil eebS Seaxsenebda: `nu dai viwyebT, rom saqarTvel os damouki debl oba... yvel aze gvian amerikam icno.~

erovnul i saxel mwifos mSenebl obis gzaze damdgari patara erebis damouki debl obis aRiarebis dagvi anebis da maTdami indiferentul i damokidebul ebis tendencia, aSS -is xel isuflebis Tandayol il Tvi sebas warmoadgenda da mas garkveul i pol itikuri faqtorebi gansazRvra. aseT rTul vitarebaSi myofi saqarTvel os devnil i xel isuflebis mesveurni, gamosavali i gzebis da mxardamWeri saxel mwifos l iderTa Ziebas maqsimal urad cdil obden. amis dadasturebas ingl isis sagareo saqmeTa ministrTan ostin Cemberl enTan k.gvarjal aZis Sexvedris (1928 wl is 4 dekemberi) da saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi gamarTul i saubris amsaxvel i stenograma warmoadgens. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom l oid- jorjis mxridan kavkasi asTan mimarTebaSi zurgSeqcevis pol itikur kurss, o.Cemberl enma, l oid- jorjis mier Cadenil i mraVal i sisul el idan, erT- erTi didi sisul el e uwoda. imave dokumentidan cnobil i xdeba, rom k.gvarjal aZes, moridebul i formiT o.Cemberl enis winaSe dausvams sakiTxi saqarTvel os rkinigziT sargebl obiT Seqmnil i im val is gastumrebis Sesaxeb, romel ic ingl isis mTavrobas hgonda saqarTvel os pirel i respublikis mTavrobisadmi. iqve k.gvarjal aZes isic dadasturebia, rom es Tanxa, antisabWour saqmianobas da qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel moZraobas moxmardeboda. `CvenTvis- ambobda k.gvarjal aZe- metad saSuria vawarmovoT Cveni eris organizaciul i muSaoba. daxmarebis formas CvenTvis ara aqvs arsebi Ti mniSvnel oba, Tuki Tqvengan es daxmareba gveqneba. SeiZl e-

ba Tqvens daxmarebas sxvadasxva wyaroebi hqondes. aRmosavl eTSi mdgomar-eoba dRes Tval saCinod rTul deba. Cven gvsurs, rom yvel afrisTvis mzad viyoT. vfiqrob saWi roebis dros qarTvel ebi Sesafar rol s viTamaSebT kavkasiis erebis moZraobaSi. saWi roa mxol od Cven zurgs gvimagrebdes didi da ZI ieri saxel mwifo.-

miuxedavad imisa, rom qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZrao-bisa da momaval i perspeqtivebis Sesaxeb, k.gvarj al aZem TiTqmis amomwuravi informacia miawoda Cemberl ens, misi pozicia TavSekavebis formatiT Semoi-fargl a.marTal ia, ingl isi araoficial urad im etapze antisabWouri bl okis SeqmniT iyo dainteresebul i, magram, damarcxebul i mTavrobis warmomadgen-l ebis mi marT daxmarebis an zemoaRniSnul i val is dabrunebis Sesaxeb, rai me dapirebis mi cemasTan mi marTebaSi maqsimal urad ikavebda Tavs. es `avadmy-ofuri seni,~ im etapze evropis TiTqmis yvel a saxel mwifos l iderebi-sadmi iyo damaxasiaTebel i. amis udao dadasturebaa ak.Cxenkel is mier Jenevidan 1929 wl is 23 april s saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domarisad-mi gagzavnili werili. masSi garkveviTaa aRniSnul i, rom ak.Cxenkel is mier erTa l igis ganiaraRebis komisiisadmi gadacemul i nota, dapireb-is miuxedavad, sxdomaze ar waikTxes mxol od rusebis argaRizianebis mizeziT. imave dokumentidan isic irkveva, rom anal ogiuri motiviT, pre-sac dumil s amj obinebda rusebTan mi marTebaSi. `aqaur presas- werda ak.Cxenkel i- nabrZanebi aqvs bernidan, rac SeiZl eba TavSekavebul ni iynen rusebTan mi marTebaSi.~

evropis qveynebis aseTi pol itikuri kursi, qarTul i mxaris interesTa sa-zianod moqmedebda. momxdari faqti, im garemoebebededac mi aniSnebda, rom qa-rTvel pol itikosebs, evropis saxel mwifoebis l iderebTan axal i forme-biT urTierTobis iseTi gzebi da saSual ebebi unda gamoeZebna, romel ic qa-rTul i saqmisadmi metnakl ebad sasargebl o aRmoCndeboda.

naSromSi motanil i saarqivo dokumentebi da misi anal izi Semdegi da-skvnebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva: 1)sbWoTa xel isufli ebis mier saqarTvel oSi 1924- 1925 wl ebSi gatarebul i umkacresi represiebi, ara-l egal urad moqmedi pol itikuri Zal ebisa da antisabWourad moazrovne adami anTa fizikur ganadgurebaze iyo gaTvl il i. `represiebis axal i meTodis~_ quCidan adami anebis motacebis da sukis sardafebSi gamomw-yvdevis praqtikaSi danergviT, uSiSroebis maRal Cinosnebi, mosaxl eobaze fsiqol ogiurad zemoqmedebis da erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZrao-bisadmi zurgSeqcevis miRwevas cdil obda. saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis Zal isxmeviT, gazeTi `Cveni erTobas- da pol itikuri xasiaTis broSurebis aral egarul ad dabeWdva_ gavrcel eba, arsebul i xel isu-fl ebis mxil ebas da sazogadoebaSi Tavisufli ebis mopovebisadmi rwme-nis SenarCunebas emsaxureboda.

2)saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi partiul i organizaciebisadmi cixis patimarTa saxel iT gagzavnil kol eqtiur weril ebSi dasmul i moTxovnebi_ maTi gegmebisa da amocanebis gasaj aroebis Sesaxeb, uSiS-roebis TanamSromel Ta SekveTil RonisZiebas warmoadgenda da TiToeul i pol itikuri organizaciis sal ikvidacio safexuris momzadebaze iyo gaTvl il i.

saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da social - demokratiul i par-

tiis pirvel xarixxovan sazrunavs, represiebs gadarCeniI i pol itikuri Zal ebis konsol idacia da konsesusze dafuZnebul i erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis erTiani samoqmedo programis SemuSaveba warmoadgenda. sami pol itikuri partiis (social - demokratebi, social ist-federal istebi, erovnul - demokratebi) mier 1925 wl is 16 noembers miRebul i `SeTanxmehis debul eba,~ saokupacio xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg brZol isTvis Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebas iTval iswinebda. dasaxul i amocanis ganxorciel ebis SedarebiT srul yofil Teoriul gegmas, `pol itikuri muSaobis Sesaxeb- n.ramiSvil is Tezisebi warmoadgenda. igi amierkavkasiis masStabiT pol itikur Zal Ta konsol idaciaze, antisabWouri saqmi anobis gaaqtiurebaze da saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobis aRdgenaze akeTebda orientacias. qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mier erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwifos Seqmnis da konfederaciis principi pebze mowyobis idea, sabWoTa ruseTis gan regionis gamoyofaze da mosal odnel i safrTxis gan erTobl ivi Zal ebiT Tavdacvis uzrunvel yofaze iyo gaTvl il i.

3) pol itikuri partiebis erTiani erovnul i frontidan r.gabaSil is j gufis gasvl a, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis pasuxismgebel wevrTa krebam (1929 wl is 28 april i), partiis programisa da taqtikuri xazis ignorirebad, erovnul i saqmisadmi zurgSeqcevad da pol itikuri ambiciebiT Sepyrobil i adamianis qmedebad Seafasa. evropis qveynebis sael Coebisadmi asaTian- kedias j gufis mier gadacemul i memorandumumi, saqarTvel is emigraciul i mTavrobis diskreditaciaze da mis gadasayenebl ad safexuris momzadebaze iyo gaTvl il i. maTi es qmedeba, im etapze antisabWouri frontis da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis winaSe Cadenil danaSaul ebrivel ementebs Seicavda. nebsiT Tu unebl ied, isini sabWoTa uSi Sroebis miznebsa da amocanebs exmi anebodnen. mxdvel obaSi maqvs, sabWoTa specsamsaxurebis Sesabamisi uwyebis gegmi T gaTval iswinebul i (qarTul i emigraciis daSl a, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis ideurad da pol itikurad ganadgureba, misi l egaciis gauqmeba) RonisZiebebis gatarebis mcdel obis faqtebi. dokumenturi masal iT ar dasturdeba, rom; a)saerTaSoriso forumbze, aRniSnul daj gufebas sabWoTa ruseTis sawinaaRmdegod da saqarTvel os interesebis dasacavad raime mniSvnel ovani sakiTxir rom gaetana, an Sesabamisi rezoluciis miRebis uzrunvel yofa moexdina; b)saqarTvel os deokupaciis sakiTxTan mi marTebaSi, imave j gufis wevrebs, evropis qveynebis l iderebTan mcireodeni warmatebis montani Sexvedrebi car CautarebiaT.

4)saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi sami pol itikuri partiis (social - demokratebi, erovnul - demokratebi, social ist-federal istebi) aral egal ur krebaze (1930 wl is 29 ivl isi), sabWoTa rejimis winaaRmdeg brZol is Sesaxeb miRweul i SeTanxmeha da Sesabamisi dadgenil eba, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xaziT wingadadgmul i nabiji iyo. imavdroul adigi erovnul i wamosasxamit SefuTul i saeWvo reputaciis mqone pol itikuri daj gufebebisadmi Rirseul pasuxs Seicavda. gasul i saukunis 30- iani wl ebis pol itikuri procesebis fonze, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da misi dipl omatiuri korpusis mcdel oba, evropis qveynebis gan, damouki debl obisaTvis brZol aSi mxardaWera mie-

Ro, uSedego aRmoCnda. maTi pozicia, ruseTis argaRiziane baze, maSTan aqtiuri ekonomikuri da pol itikuri urTierTobis gaRrmavebaze iyo gaTvl il i. es faqtorebi daedo safuZvl ad evropasi saqarTvel os sael - Coebis oficial urad gauqmebas, ramac evropis qveynebisadmi qarTul i emigraciis didi nawil is skeptikuri damokidebul eba ganapi roba.

Tavi V qarTul i emigracia da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis pol itikuri aspektebi (1931- 1945 ww.)

§. 1. qarTul i pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianebis mcdel oba

Ggasul i saukunis 30- ian wl ebSi, sabWTAaruseTsa da dasavl eT evropis qveynebs Soris mimdinare cval ebadi pol itikuri procesebis gaTval iswinebis aucil ebl oba, qarTul i emigraciis winase umkacresi moTxovnebs ayenebda. Ppirvel i rigis amocanas, konsesusze dafuznebul i erTiani moqmedebis gegmis Semusaveba da saerTasoris arenaze setanxmebul i gamosvl a warmoadgenda. evropis wamyvan saxel mwi foTa l iderebis dasanaxad, garegnul ad aseTi forms Seqmnis demonstrireba aucil ebl obitiyo ganpirobebul i. mitumetes, TiToeul i matganis dadebit Tu uaryofit pozicias unda ganesazRvra, qarTul i emigraciisa da saqarTvel os kanonieri mtavrobisadmi daxmareba- ar daxmarebis sakiTxi. aqedan gamomdinare, erTiani Zal ebit moqmedebas, im etapze pol itikuri da ideologiuri datvirTva eZl eoda. samwuxarod, am marmarTul ebit qarTul i emigraciis Signit yvel aferi rigze ar iyo. gansakutrebit momZl avrebul saxes Sida pol itikuri dapi rispreba izenda. qarTul i pol itikuri elitis garkveul nawil s kargad esmoda, rom ucxo qveyanaSi Tavsefarebul i qarTvel ebisgan, erTmaneTTan marmarTebaSi `qvebis srol a- da pol itikuri ambiciebis vermTokva, evropis qveynebis l iderTa Soris, qarTvel emigrantebTan marmarTebaSi uaryofit damokidebul ebas iwvevda. am fonze, bol Sevikuri uRl isgan saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebaze da evropisgan Tundac dapi rebis saxit daxmarebis miRebaze saubarigamoricxul i iyo. Aam marmarTul ebit qmediTi RonisZiebebis gatareba da erTianobis garegnul i saxis Senarcunebis warmocena, yofil i mmarTvel i pol itikuri Zal is_ social - demokratebisgan iyo aucil ebel i. amis saWiroebas, partiis xel mZrvanel i wreebi kargad acnobierebda da Sesabamisi pragmatul i nabij is gadadgmis sakiTxsac ayenebda. anal ogiuri pozicia ewira saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmed social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZrvanel birTvsac. am sakiTXTan dakavSirebit, Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul i dokumentebidan, gansakutrebul yuradRebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis aral egal urad Catarebul sxdomebze (1931 wl is 19 agvisto) `amiranis- moxsenebis safuzvel ze miRebul i rezol ucia iqcevs. am dokumentSi, partiis Signit fol adiseburi discipl inis damkvidrebis aucil ebl oba, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xel Semwyob pirobadi qna gamocxadebul i. rac Seexeba partiis general uri xazis gadasinj vas, dauSvebl ad iyo miCneul i. mimdinare rTul i pol itikuri procesebi dan gamomidnare, `aset gadamwyvet momentSi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- gansakutrebit saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partias eval eba Tavisi rigebis metad ganmtkiceba, fol adiseburi disciplina da garkveul i samoqmedo xazi. misgan rogorc eris mesveurisgan, istoria amas moiTxovs. yovel ive gadaxra partiis general uri xazidan, moaswavebs... eris ganTavisufl ebi saTvis brZol aSi arev- darevis Setanas da partiis mTlianobis dasustebas. samwuxarod, sazRvargareTul i organizaciis erT nawil Si.....fexs iki debs partiis general uri xazis gadasinj vis cda. saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i

partii cekas dauSvebl ad mi aCnia gadamwyveti brZol is win aseTi ganzrax-
va.-

Cems mier motaniI amonawerSi dasmul i sakiTxebis praqtikul ad ganxor-
ciel ebis aucil ebl oba, evropaSi Seqmnil pol itikur koni unqturas da erT
dros mmarTvel i pol itikuri Zal is imij is arSel axvis faqtorebis gaTval -
iswinebas efuZneboda. mi Tumetes, saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobas,
roml is umravl esoba social - demokratiul i partii warmomadgenl ebiT
iyo dakompl eqtebul i, qveynis ganTavisufl ebis mizniT, erovnul - gan-
maTavisufl ebel i moZraobis mesaWeoba qonda dakisrebul i. Tuki Sida-
partiul i dapirispireba pol itikur brZol aSi da partiul i erTianobis
rRvevaSi gadai zrdeboda, saqarTvel os xval indel i dRisadmi dasavl eT
evropis qveynebis indi ferentul i damoki debul eba ki dev ufro gaRrmavde-
boda da qarTul i emigracia xavsze CaWi debul mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnde-
boda. yovel ive aRni Snul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel oSi
aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partii warmomadgenl ebi-
sadmi gagzavnil erT- erT dokumentSi, gamafrTxil ebel i formiT iyo mi u-
Titebul i: `azrTa sxvadasxvaoba sakiTxebis gansj is dros... da azrTa Wi di-
l i ar unda xdebodes anti partiul i gamosvl iT, partii sawinaaRmndego
saqciel iT. Cven Tavidanve vicavdiT im azrs, rom organizaciebis moval e-
obas Seadgenda da Seadgens partii di reqtivebis cnoba, partii saTvis aqedan
yovel gvare daxmarebis gaweve, partii l iderTan... partii xazis cxovre-
baSi gatareba.-

sazRvargareTul i partiul i da saqarTvel oSi moqmedi social - demokra-
tiul organizaciebSi dasaxul i amocanis praqtikul ad ganxorciel ebis
mizniT, imave dokumentebSi principul i formiT Semdegi moTxovnebis Ses-
rul ebis aucil ebl oba iyo dasmul i: 1) saqarTvel os social - demokratiu-
l i partii aRmasrul ebel organod partii biuro unda yofil iyo aRiare-
bul i, roml is ZiriTadi amocana partii pol itikuri xazisa da saqmi anobi-
sadmi organizaciis gaweveT Semoifargl eboda; 2) biuros arCeva, adgil o-
brivi da sazRvargareTul i organizaciebi dan wamoyenebul i kandidatebis
safuZvel ze partii yril obas an cekas unda ganexorciel ebina; 3) biuro, sa-
qarTvel os winaSe iyo angariSval debul i. Mmisi yovel i gadawyvetil eba
qveynis interesebis gaTval iswinebiT unda momxdariyo; 4) ramdenadac biuro
partiul i organizaciebis xel mZRvanel ad iTvl eboda, TiToeul i organiza-
cia val debul i iyo, maTi muSaobis Sesaxeb biurosadmi srul yofil i info-
rmacia mi ewodebina; 5) biuros dadgenil eba sazRvargareTis da adgil obri-
vi partiul i organizaciebis xwl mZRvanel obas sistrul eSi unda moeyvana;
6) sazRvargareTis partiul i organizaciebi ufl ebamosil i iyo, partiul i
sakiTxebis mimarT, Tavisi Sexedul ebebi da winadadebebi saqarTvel oSi mo-
qmedi social - demokratiul i organizaciebis cekasadmi, konferenciis an
yril obisadmi mi ewodebina.

marTal ia, es moTxovnebi social - demokratiul i partii saqmi anobis ma-
Ral doneze dayenebasa da pasuxismgebl obis gazrdas iTval iswinebda, ma-
gram, imavdroul ad partii xel mZRvanel obas saqarTvel os interesebisad-
mi Sesatyvisi gadawyvetil ebebis miRebas aval debul ebda. aRni Snul is gaTval -
iswinebi dan gamomdinare, Tuki ganvixil avT Cems mier zemoT motaniI Ziri-
Tad debul ebebs, igi ara mar to partiul i organizaciis ganmtki cebas, aramed

saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmTavisufi ebel i moZraobis gagrZel ebis xel Semwyobi safexuris gasamagrebl adac iyo gaTvl il i. rac Seexeba partiul i xazis ganmtkicebaze yuradRebis gadatanas da sazRvargareT moqmedi social - demokratiul organizaciebi sadmi partiis wesdebiT da programiT gaTval iswinebul i debul ebebis (partiul i disciplina, partiis erTiano-bis SenarCuneba da pasuxismgebl oba) kategoriul i formiT Sesrul ebis moTxovnas, social - demokratiul i partiis berlinis organizaciaSi mimdinare arasasurvel i politikuri procesebiT iyo ganpirobebul i.

aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biurosadmi ereTeoz ramiSvil is mier berlinidan parizSi 1931 wl is marts gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. Am dokumentis gansakuTrebul i mniSvel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi dawvril ebiTaa aRweril i berlinis qarTul koloniaSi warmoqmnil i dapirispirebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebi da am process, berlinSi moqmedi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiul i organizaciis SigniT gadmotanis mcdel oba. am saqmiserT-erT Tavkacad, igi germaniaSi myof yofil el Cs vl adimer axmetel sasaxel ebda. imave weril idan isicirkveva, rom social - demokratebisadmi dapirispirebis mizniT, vl .axmetel ma special uri j gufi (d.sariraSvil i, siremaSvil i, iv.gogniaSvil i, k.veku) Seqmna. imave eramiSvil is mtkicebiT, vl .axmetel is j gufis mxridan dokumentebis gareSe dausabuTebel i bral debemi mdinareobda partiis umaRlesi organoebis da misi xel mZRvanel obis winaarMdeg. `uaryofas axdendnen erovnul i mTavrobis da saerTo frontiT faSistebTan erTad mis winaarMdeg moqmedebdnen.- vl .axmetel is j gufis aseTi qmedeba, rogorc er. ramiSvil i aRniSnavs, social - demokratiul i partiis dangrevaze da mis ganadgurebaze iyo gaTvl il i. imave er. ramiSvil is mtkicebiT, maTi saqmi anoba mi marTul i iyo mTel i eris sasicocxlo interesebis winaarMdeg- ai ra axasiaTebis am 5 wl is ganmavl obaSi vidre dRevandl amd is am Cveni organizaciidan gamdgar j gufs... dRes es xal xi aSkara opoziciur mimdinareobas amoefara im erTaderTi mizniT, rom Tavianti saqciel i raRac `ideuri- SaravandediT Semosos... j gufis mizani iyo partiis SigniT daqsqsul obis Seqmna da biuros mTel i saqmi anobis xel Si Cagdeba.- ramdenadac Canafiqris Sesrul eba ver SeZl es, j gufma organizacia demonstraciul ad datova.

berlinis qarTul koloniaSi Seqmnil i urTul esi mdgomareobis Sesaxebaa saubari imave ereTeoz ramiSvil is mier social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biurosadmi berlinidan 1932 wl is martSi gagzavnil i meore weril Si. am dokumentSi dawvril ebiTaa moTxrobel i berlinis qarTul koloniaSi dapirispirebis warmoqmnis ganmapirobebel i mizezebi. masSi motanil i faqtobrivi monacemebis safuZvel zeirkveva, rom es dapirispireba 1927 wl idan iRebda saTaves. igi memarj veneTa daj gufepis mxridan erovnul i frontisa da mTavrobisadmi brZol is gamocxadebiT daiwyo. aqedan gamodinare, berlinis axal Senis Tavmj domared aseTi daj gufepis warmomadegenel is daniSvna, social - demokratiul i partiis berlinis partiul i organizaciis wevrebma dauSvebl ad miicnia. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, imave ereTeoz ramiSvil is weril Si vkiTxul obT, rom dapirispirebande `kol oni is Ta-

vmj domareobas social - demokratebis umravl esoba memarj veneebis uTmobda, magram exl a izul ebul i gaxda Tavisi kandidati s.d. aerCia. amiT gabrazebuli memarj veneebi ufro amZafreben brZol as kol oniasida mis gareT. isini xel s uSl idnen gamgeobis muSaobas, krZal avdnen mTavrobis saxel is xsenebas, presasi cil iswamebit gamodi odnen.~ imave dokumentidan irkveva, rom memarj veneebi `TeTri giorgis- daj gufebas SeuerTdnen, social - demokratebSi- ac ipoves mokavSire vl .axmetel is saxiT,roml is Zal isxmevit social - demokratebis rigebi dan d.saRiraSvil i, si.remaSvil i, iv.gogniaSvil i da k.vekua memarj veneTa mxareze iqna gadayvani li. imave weril Si dawvril ebiTaa aRweril i berl inis qarTul kol oniasimmdinare Sida pol itikuri brZol is procesi da am fonze, saqarTvel os mTavrobis wi naaRmdeg memarj vene daj gufebebis saqmi anobis Sefaseba caa mocemul i. dapi rispirebis ZiriTad mi zezad, berl inis qarTul i kol onis Tavmj domaris kandidaturebis (**g.keresel iZe da m.wul ukiZe**) dasaxel eba gamxdara. ramdenadac arCevani oridan erT- erT maTganze unda gakeTebul iyo, am garemoebam, berl inis qarTvel Ta kol onis SigniT seriozul i dapi rispireba gamoiwvia. am SemTxvevaSi saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi mxardamWeri kandidatis gayvanas gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba eniWeboda.

zemoarNiSnul i pol itikuri dapi rispirebis Sesaxeb arsebul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom am procesma berl inis qarTul i kol onidan, berl inis social - demokratiul i partiul i organizaciis rigebsi gadainacvl a da **g.keresel iZis** momxre memarj veneebis, social - demokratebic (vl .axmetel i, si.remaSvil i, iv.gogniaSvil i, d.saRiraSvil i, k.vekua) miemxro. es dapi rispireba imdenad rTul formebsi gadai zarda, rom berl inis partiul i organizaciis erTianobaze figri gamoiricxa. mitumetes, am adami anebis bazaze cal ke damouki debel i j gufi Camoyal ibda da social - demokratiul i partiis parizis konferenciaze warsagzavni damouki debel i kandidatebic daasaxel a. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom memarj vene mi mdinareobis warmomadgenl ebma, oficial urad gail - aSqres.n.imnaiSvil is mier berl inSi daarsebul i presis biuros wi naaRmdeg. am dapi rispirebam imdenad mwvave xasiaTi mi iRo, rom amis Sesaxeb sazRvargareTis saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis berl inis organizaciis biuros sxdomam (1932 wl is 19 marti) sagangebod imsj el a. partiul organizaci asa da kol oniasia arsebul mdgomareobaze special uri moxseneba m.wul ukiZem gaakeTa. am dokumentSi dapi rispirebis ZiriTad mi zezad sami garemoebaa dasaxel ebul i: 1)kol onis Tavmj domaris Tanamdebobi dan g.keresel iZis gadadgoma; 2)kol onis saqmi anobis ganTavisufleba pol itikuri funqciebisgan da 3)kol onisadmi mxol od kul turul - ekonomikuri saqmi anobis ganxorciel ebis ufl ebebis datoveba. Aam j gufis mier umravl esobis mimarT wayenebul i pretenziul i xasiaTis moTxovnebi, m.wul ukiZis moxsenebaSi Semdegi formiTaa warmodgenil i: `sazogadoebaSi, romelic srul ebit apol itikuri, upartio unda iyos, Tqven partial pol itikas atarebT. Tqven SezRuduli xarT `parizSi gabatonebul i j gufis- directivebit. Tqven asrul ebT `Tqveni mTavrobis- brZanebebs_ mTavrobis, romelic arsebitad saqarTvel os social - demokratiul partias ufro warmoadgens, vidre qarTvel ers da amitom am kol oniasi cven muSaoba aRar gvsurs. is unda iyos Tavisufali da idges yovel gvari gavlenis gareSe.~

am amonawer i s mi xedvi T, berl inis qarTul i kol oni is opozici urad gan-
wyobil i j gufi, saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobas, TavianT mTavrobad
ar Tvl ida da mas `parizSi gabatonebul j gufad- aRiqvamda. am mima-
rTul ebiT Sesabamis saagi tacio saqmi anobasac eweoda. es xdeboda im pe-
riodSi, rodesac sabWoTa ruseTis zemoqmedebi dan gamomdinare, safrangeTis
mTavrobam, saqarTvel os mTavrobis l egaciasTan mimarTebaSi sakiTxi
oficial urad daayena. am fonze, berl inis qarTul i kol oni is memarj ve-
neTa j gufis mier saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis diskreditaciis mi-
zniT, saqarTvel os social - demokretiul i partiis warmomadgenl obis
formatSi warmosaxva, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis
mowinaaRmdegeTa sasargebl o el ementebS Sei cavda. Mmi Tumetes, saqarTve-
l os emigraciul i mTavroba, sabWoTa kavSiris uSiSroebis Sesabamisi
uwyebis maRal Cinosnebis mxridan, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebe-
l i moZraobis l iderad da antisabWoTa saqmi anobis erT- erT gamorCe-
ul organizatorad iyo aRiarebul i. Cemi azriT, savsebiT marTebul ia
m.wul ukiZis moxsenebaSi aRniSnul i j gufisadmi wina wl ebis naazrevis Sexse-
nebiTi meTodis gamoyeneba. `Tqven dRemde sul sxva azrze ideqiT batone-
bo_ vkiTxul obT imave moxsenebaSi_ swored pol itikurs aqcevdit umTavres
yuradRebas kol oni is cxovrebaSi da mTavrobas- saqarTvel os damouki de-
bl obis simbol od scnobdiT. mis muSaobas mxars uWerdiT ... Cven dResac im
gzas mi vyebiT, romel ic berl inis kol oni am Tavi danve airCi a, Tqveni ve war-
momadgenl ebTan erTad. mTavrobisa da misi pol itikis savsebiT uaryofis
sakiTxSi Cven ver dageTanxmebiT. Nnu gadavitanT kol oniaSi parti aTa po-
l itikis sakiTxebS... SevTanxmdeT imaSi, rac yvel as unda gvaerTianebedes:
saqarTvel o da misi warmomadgenl oba, 26 mai si da 29 agvisto, 25 Teberva-
l i da momaval i ganTavisufl ebisTvis brZol a. Cven ver dageTanxmebiT
imaSiac, rom kol oni is Tavmj domared iyos adami ani, romel ic saqarTve-
l os kanonieri mTavrobis pol itikas ara Tu ar iziarebs, aramed ebrZvis
mas.-

m.wul ukiZis imave moxsenebaSi, citatis saxiTaa motanil i memarj veneTa ga-
monaTqvami berl inis kol oni is Sesaxeb, n.imnaiSvil isadmi da saqarTvel os
mTavrobasTan mimarTebaSi. berl inis `kol onia- acxadebda memarj veneebi
aSkarad gadaiqca parizSi gabatonebul i j gufis agenturad, presis biuros
Tavmj domare b.n. n.imnaiSvil i mTavrobis mier daqiravebul i agentia, presis
biuroSi kol oni is Tavmj domaris Sesvl iT, qarTvel sazogadoebas waerTva
yovel i Tavisufl eba da damoukidebl oba.- rac Seexeba saqarTvel os ofi-
cial ur el Cs berl inSi vl .axmetel s, mis poziciasTan dakavSirebiT imave
dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `vl .axmetel i da misi j gufi CvenTan ar iyo. maTac
gamoil aSqres presis biurosa da misi Tavmj domaris n.imnaiSvil is winaaRm-
deg gansakuTrebiT. yvel aferi mas daabral es. es maSin, roca yvel a aSkarad
xedavs, Tu ra sasargebl o muSaobas awarmoebda da awarmoebS amx. n.imnaiSvil i
berl inSi.-¹ mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom memarj veneebma, brZol is
asparezi presis furcl ebze gadaitanes. am SemTxvevaSi, pol itikuri SeTan-
xmebisa da qarTul i sazogadoebis gaerTianebis sakiTxi i sevkixvis qveS
dadga.

berl inis qarTul kol oniaSi Seqmnil i urTul esi dapirispirebis da-

regul irebis xel SemSi el ZiriTad faqtors vl .axmetel is pozicia war-
moadgenda. mi Tumetes, igi saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi srul
daumorcil ebl obas acxadebda da el Cebis Tanamdebobidan gadayenebas
mis prerogativad ar Tvl ida. amis udavo dadasturebas, vl .axmetel is
mier 1932 wl is 15 ivni ss SaraSiZisadmi gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens.
CemTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxu-
l obT: `mandats giuqmebTo brZanebT. Tqven TiTon kargad iciT, rom es
l itoni si tyvebia. Tqveni mandatiT arc aravis usargebl ia da arc ara-
visTvis aris gamosadegi. rac gnebvT ise qeniT!... Tqveni saxel iT gamos-
vl a srul ebiT ar momxdara da arc saWi ro yofil a. 1918 wel s me gamomg-
zavna saqarTvel os social - demokratiul ma partiam da Camaabara Tavis
mandati. am mandats vcem pativs da vemorcil ebi. araviTar upasuxismgeb-
l o j gufs, wres am mandatis gauqmeba ar SeuZl ia, sanam partia normal ur
pirobebSi Tavmoyril i kanonierad ar gaauqmebs mas-. am amonaweris mi xedviT
kargad Cans: 1)vl .axmetel i aSkarad tyuis, roca germaniaSi el Cad misi
gagzavnis ufl ebamosil ebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul par-
tias rom miawers. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom mmarTve-
l i pol itikuri partia, ama Tu im pirovnebis el Cad gagzavnasTan dakav-
SirebiT, Sesabamis kandiats rekomendacias aZl evda. amis Semdeg xdebo-
da erovnul i sabWos sxdomaze maTi damtkiceba da samarTI ebrivad Sesa-
bamisi ufl ebamosil ebis miniWebi. es imas niSnavs, rom igi germaniaSi
el Cad partiam ki ara, erovnul ma sabWom gagzavna; 2)vl .axmetel i daumor-
cil ebl obas ucxadebda emigraciaSi myof saqarTvel os kanonier mTavrobas.
igi amas akeTebda im dros, roca sabWoTa ruseTis zewol is miuxedavad,
safrangeTis mTavroba saqarTvel os mTavrobis l egaciis gauqmebaze j er
ki dev yoymanobda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, vl .axmetel is
qmedeba, saqarTvel os kanonier mTavrobasTan mimarTebaSi, nebsiT Tu une-
bl iet, garkveul i formiT sabWoTa xel is ufl ebis poziciis Tanxvedri
iyo.

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi hqonda mxedvel obaSi er. ramiSvil s, roca k.gva-
rjal aZisadmi 1932 wl is 27 ivni ss gagzavnil weril Si werda: `yvel asaTvis
aSkaraa da naTel ia, rom misi gamosworebis da keTil gzaaze Sedgomi s ime-
di dRes aRar arsebobs.- imave saarqi vo dokumentebi dan kargad Cans, rom ber-
linis qarTul kol oniaSi 1932 wl amde arsebul i `simSvi de,- mxol od soci-
al - demokratiul i organizaciis interesebis ukana pl anze gadataniT da
kol oniis Tavmj domaris Tanamdebobaze pretenziebis argacxadebiT iyo gan-
pirobebul i. amis Sesaxeb berl inis social - demokratiul i organizaciis
Tavmj domaris m.wul ukiZis mier n.Jordaniasadmi 1832 wl is 31 maiss miweril
weril Si xazgasmi Taa miTitebul i.

dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom social - demokratiul i partiis SigniT
warmoqmnil i diskusia, berl inis social - demokratil ma organizaciam, par-
tiul i pol itikis sakiTxebi, kol oniis gansjis sagnad aqcia da memarj vene-
ebs am faqtis emigraciul i mTavrobis wi naaRmddeg brZol isTvis gamoyenebis
SesaZl ebl oba misca. Aam saqmeSi gansakuTrebul i rol i vl .axmetel ma Sea-
srul a. Ddokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom berl inis social - demokrati-
ul organizaciaSi zemoaRniSnul i partiul i dapi rispireba 1928 wl is zafxu-

I Si daiwyo da 1929 wl is miwurul Si gansakuTrebiT gamwvavda. mdgomareoba imdenad garTul da, rom es sakiTxi berl inis social - demokratiul i organizaciis sazRvargareTul i biuros 1932 wl is 16 ianvris sxdomis sagangebo msjel obis sagani gaxda. saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT, imave biuros mier miRebul ma dadgenil ebam, partiis SigniT warmoqmnil i dapirispireba da vl .axmetel is jgufis mier organizaciis datoveba sabotaJis kval ifikaciiT Seafasa. amasTan dakavSirebiT, berl inis social - demokratiul i partiis Tavmj domaris m.wul ukiZis mier ssdm partiis sazRvargareTul i biurosadmi parizSi gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `Cveni organizaciis Semadgenl obidan ganze gadga da saTanado gancxadebis gakeTebiT organizaciis saqmianobaSi sabotaJis taqtika aiRo oTxma amxanagma. saxel dobr: vl .axmetel ma, d.sariraSvil ma, gogniasvil ma da b.gel azaniam. pirvel ma samma `organizaciul ad,- ukanasknel ma ki personal urad. Mmizezad moiyyanes is garemoeba, TiTqos organizaciama angariSi ar gauwima maT, rogorc jgufs da biuros arCevnebSi ixel mZRvanel a ara SeTanxmehisa Tu paritetis wesiT, aramed gadaWarbebul i umravl esobis survil iT... gamdgarma amxanagebma organizacias wamouyena arCeul i biuros xel axali, SeTanxmehis principiT gadarCevis moTxovnil eba ul timatumis TandarTviT, rom winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi rCebian organizaciis wevrebada, magram mis muSaobaSi monawil eobisgan Tavsikaveben.- zemoarNiSnul i dapirispireba, social - demokratiul i partiis SigniT mimdinare uTanxmehis (n.Jordania- ir.wereTel i) garkveul i formiT gamozaxils warmoadgenda. es faqtori kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i emigraciaSi myof social - demokratiul i partiis aqtiur wevrebs da erTaderT gamosavals, partiis amori lideris SeTanxmehisa xedavda. amis erTerT dadasturebas m.wul ukiZis mier n.Jordaniasadmi 1932 wl is 31 maiss gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. am dokumentSi m.wul ukiZe pirdapir miuTitebda: `Tqvensa da amx.ir.wereTels Soris arsebul davaze aqvityviT mxol od Semdegs: Cven Tqveni uTanxmehisa Zier gvawuxebis da uaRresad msurvel ni varT Tqvens Soris kvlav Tanxmehisa da sol idaroba damyardes. aqve arvniSnavT, rom amx.Aaxmetels TviTon araerTxel ganucxadebia CvenTvis, rom amx. irakli mTavrobis moxsnis da gauqmehis momxrea. es mas sabuTad mohyavda, rom CvenTvis keresel izis kandidatura, roml is mTavrobisadmi loial obaSi Cven eWvi Segvqonda, misaRebi gaexada.-

am amonaweridan kargad scans, rom partiis SigniT arsebul i dapirispireba, politikuri manipuli rebis sagnadiyo qceuli. saqmes gansakuTrebiT politikuri ambiciebiT `datvirTul i- pirovnebebisgan axali jgufehisa da gaertianebebis Seqmnis sakiTxis dasma arTul ebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, social - demokratiul i partiidan gasul i wevrebis bazaze `ornatis- jgufis daarsebis faqti. martal ia, mis kavSirs social - demokratiul partiasTan kvarjal aze gamoricxavda, magram, imasac ver uaryofda, rom am jgufis wevrebi yofil i social - demokratebi iyvnen. amasTan dakavSirebiT, parizis social - demokratiul i partiis 1934 wl is 21 aprilis konferenciazewarmotqmul si tyvasi igi EgarkveviT miuTitebda: `dava da azrTa sxvadasxvaoba Cvens partiaSi iwyeba 1924 wlidan. Ees dava grZel deboda aj anyebis Semdeg 1930 wl amde. Mmagram aqedan iwyeba axali dava. Tu dRemde opoziciara sebobda politikuri sakiTxebis Sesaxeb, axali dava

mi marTul i iyo wmind a organizaciul i sakiTxebis garSemo. axal opozici-
 cias, egreT wodebul `centrs- gver dSi amoudga Zvel i brZol is xazi, mi si
 mizani iyo xel Si aeRo pol itikuri xel mZRvanel oba... im nawil Tan, romel -
 ic mxol od organizaciul i sakiTxebisaTvis i brZoda parti aSi, Cven saerTo
 ena gamovnaxeT, SeTanxmeba movaxdineT, saerTo debul ebebi mi viReT da maT-
 Tan erTad vawarmoebT muSaobas, rogorc biuroSi ise organizaci aSi.~ so-
 cial - demokratiul i parti is SigniT ori mi marTul ebis daj gufebis
 mizans warmoadgenda: 1)pol itikuri xel mZRvanel obis daufI eba da 2)parti-
 is SigniT organizaciul i sakiTxebis Sexedul ebisamebr gatareba. zemo-
 aRni Snul meore j gufTan saerTo enis gamoZebnam, parti is SigniT garkveul i
 stabil uroba Seqmna. rac Seexeba pirvel maTgans_ pol itikur opozici-
 as, massa da `centrs- Soris warmoqmnil i dava, rogorc ak.Cxenkel i ambo-
 bda, `umTavresad iyo samxedro kombinaciebis Sesaxeb da igi 1924 wel Si
 damTavrda kompromisi T. mi Rebul i iqna SeTanxmebi Ti rezol ucia, romel -
 Siac... aRni Snul i iyo wereTel is azri, rom samxedro kombinaciebi CvenTvis
 mi uRebel ia.~ aseTi fonis Seqmni T, imave konferenci is monawil eebis ak.Cxe-
 nkel ma Seaxsena ir.wereTel is damsaxurebaze bol Sevizmis wi naaRmdeg
 brZol aSi. xazi gausva mis mier gaweul muSaobas meore internacional -
 Si da mi uTiTa ruseTis social istebisa da maTi mxar damWerebis mxil e-
 baSi ir.wereTel is damsaxurebis Sesaxeb. aRni Snul is gaTval iswinebis
 safuZvel ze, man kategoriul i formiT ganaxxada: `wereTel i akeTebda sa-
 qmes ara Tu social istebTan da internacional Si, aramed, is akeTebda
 saqmes saxel mwi foebTan.~²

am SemTxvevaSi, ir.wereTel isadmi wayenebul i bral debebis gaqarwyl ebas
 Seecada ak.Cxenkel i da ir.wereTel is saqmianoba, saxel mwi fo interesebis
 rangSi ai yvana. am qmedebi T, igi n.Jordani asa da mis mxar damWerebs daupi r-
 ispi rda. imave konferenci aze warmoTqmul si tyvaSi s.menaRari Svil ma, ir.we-
 reTel Tan uTanxmoebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebis fonze, ak.Cxenkel is sawi n-
 aaRmdegod ganaxxada: `ak.Cxenkel ma mogvca axal i axsna, TiTqos wereTel s
 aqvs CvenTan dava mxol od organizaciul sakiTxebze. es ar aris marTal i.
 Cvensa da wereTel is pozicias Soris aris Rma principal uri gansxvaveba
 da dava. es aris ruseTis kvSirSi momwyvdeul erebTan damoki debul ebis sa-
 kiTxi.~ s.menaRari Svil s mxedvel obaSi hqonda ir.wereTel is mier saqarTvel
 l o_ ruseTs Soris SesaZl o SeTanxmehis da saerTo enis gamoZebnis aucil
 ebl oba,romel ic Semdeg etapze mi si mxridan principul moTxovnaSi gada-
 izarda. amis Sesaxeb imave sakiTxze n.Jordania xazgasmiT ambobda: `ganxe-
 Tqil eba Cvens parti aSi sazRvargareT daiwyo 1924 wel Si saqarTvel oSi mo-
 mxdari aj anyebis Semdeg da es ganxeTqil eba da dava iyo pol itikur xazze...
 cnobil i kamaTis dros wereTel is mier Semotanil rezol uciebSi weria:
 ruseTi iseTi didi faqtoria saqarTvel os cxovrebaSi, rom masTan SeTa-
 nxxmeba da saerTo enis gamonaxva aucil ebel ia.~ ramdenadac sabWoTa ruse-
 TTan nebismieri kompromisi da or skamze j domis taqtika n.Jordani asa-
 Tvis mi uRebel i iyo, igi konferenci is monawil eebis kategoriul i formiT
 mi marTavda: `saWi roa parti a daadges erT xazze, an man unda mi iRos wereTe-
 l is xazi, an darCes Tavis Zvel pozici aze. Cven unda davadgeT an erTs an
 meores.~ aseTi mkacri moTxovnebi dan gamomdinare, imave konferenci is monaw-

il e deputatebis didma nawil ma partiis SigniT arsebul i dapirispireba miuRebl ad imiicnia. isini dasavl eT evropasi mimdinare polititur procesebs uwevden angariSs da social - demokratiul i partiis erTianobis SenarCunebas gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas aniWebden. dasaxuli i miznis ganxorciel ebis ZiriTad pi robad, orive mxridan garkveul i kompromisze wasvl as Tvl idnen mizanSewonil ad. am mxriv gansakuTrebul juradRebas vaso wul aZis pozicia iqcevs. igi Zal Ta konsolidaciis mizniT, oponentebis mimarT, l mobierebis gamoCenas moiTxovda da social - demokratiul i partiis irgvl iv yvel a Zvel i partiul i muSakis gaerTianebis sakiTxs ayenebda. Tuki am mimarTul ebiT raime saxis kompromisul i nabiji gadaidgmeboda, partiis muSaobis taqtikuri xazic unda Se cvl il iyo. aseTi saxis RoniZiebis gatareba, partiis SigniT axal i dapirispirebis Sedegi SeiZleba gamxdariyo. amis Sesaxeb garkveul i formiT imave konferenciaze e.gegeWkoris gamosvl aSi iyo miniSnebul i. `ori wl is brZolis Semdeg- ambobda igi- Cveni dava morigebiT gaTavda, magram exla mekvl av meSinia bevri Cvengani partiis gareT ar darCes. Cven gvqonda didi gansxvaveba organizaciul i sakiTxebis niadagze... Cveni mizani iyo... organizaciul i gaj ansaReba, Cven amas TiTqos mi vaRwieT, magram darCnen gareT mTel i rigi amxanagebis... araviTari Zal a dRes Cveni organizaciis gareSe myofi amxanagebis mosabrunebl ad ar arsebobs garda erTisa: Cven maT unda davanaxoT Cveni simtkice, imaTma unda dai naxon Cvens organizaciul muSaobaSi axal i wesebi. parti aSi amxanagebis mimarT momxre ara var iseTi meTodebis gamoyenebis, rogoric Cveni mtris winaaRmdeg. Cveni taqtika aq unda iyos Tavdacva, Cven aravis Tavze ar vesxmiT, CvenTvis es saWi ro ar aris.-

am amonaweis mi xedviT, e.gegeWkori yovel gvare saxis kompromis gamoricxavda da partiis SigniT umkacresi disciplinis damyarebas uWerda mxars. igi muSaobis axal i wesebis damkvidrebaSi unda gamovl enil iyo. saqarTvel os sazRvargareTul i social - demokratiis partiul i organizacia, ramdenadac Tavserovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobis mesaWed mi iCnevda, garegnul i fonis Sesaqmnel ad, partiis SigniT gansakuTrebul i disciplina da erTianoba aucilebl obas wrmoadgenda. am faktor, saerTasoris politiki procesebis fonze gansakuTrebul i datvirTva eZleoda. igi partiisa da emigraciul i mTavrobis avtoritetis xel Sewyobis myar safexurs qmni da. es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi odenkuris social - demokratiul i partiis 1931 wl is 14 ivni sis biuros sxdomis monawil eebis, roca miRebul dadgenil ebaSi xazgasmiT miuTites: `biuros saWi rod miacnia saqmi ani da mWi dro kavSiri hgondes saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis sazRvargareTul biurosTan informaciis miRebis Tusxva partiul i kiTxvebis Sesaxeb. is mizanSewonil ad scnobs saqmi an kavSirs parizis da sxva sazRvargareTul organizaciebTan. agreTve aRiarebs kavSirs da mWi dro TanamSroml obas adgil obriv qarTul i asociaciis gamgeobasTan sazogado da kul turul i muSaobis sawarmoebel ad. odenkuris social - demokratiul i partiul i organizacia (1931 wl is monacemebiT 39 wevrs aerTianeabda), kargad acnobi erebda, rom saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis avtoritetis erT- erT safexurs, qveynis yofil i mmarTvel i politiki partiis SigniT erTianoba da saerTasoris arenaze qarTul i

emigraciis yvel a politikuri Zalis saxel iT, saqarTvel os deokupaciis moTxovniT gamosvl a warmoadgenda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, am organizaciis xel mZRvanel i birTvi, erTianobis principis dacvas maqsimal urad cdil obda. amis erT- erT damadasturebel dokumentad, social - demokratiul i partiis odenkuris organizaciis 1932 wl is ivl isis krebaze umravl esobisa da umciresobis mier wardgenil i dokumentebi gamodgeba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs umravl esobis saxel iT l .baqraZis mier krebaze gaxmovanebul i dekl aracia da umciresobis warmomadgenel is z.wul aZis Tezisebi. orive maTgani ZiriTad sakiTxebSi TiTqmisi denturi iyo da social - demokratiul i partiis erTianobis SesanarCunebl ad, parizSi dagegmil konferenciaze warsadgeni del egatrbis mimarT winaswari saxis instruqias Seicavda. amastan dakavSirebiT, l .baqraZis mier warmodgenil dekl araciaSi vkiTxul obT; `odenkuris s.d. organizacia agzavnis ra del egacias parizSi sazRvargareTul organizaciaTa konferenciaze dasaswrebad da mis muSaobaSi monawil eobis misaRebad, aZl evs maT Semdeg daval ebas: del egaciam Tavisi muSaobas unda daudvas safuZvl ad idea partiul i mTli anobis da mTel i Tavisi energia... moaxmaros, raTa es idea, romelic asul dgmul ebda Cvens organizacias gansakuTrebul is siZl ier iT ukanasknel i wl is ganmavl obaSi, ... gaxdes konferenciis saxel mZRvanel o l ozungat.- am amonawerSi garkveviTaa warmodgenil i odenkuris organizaciidan parizis konferenciaze warsagzavni del egaciis moqmedebis ZiriTadi mimarTul eba. dasaxul i amocanis Sestrul ebis pirobad, igive dokumenti del egaciisgan konferenciis winaSe Semdegi sakiTxebis dayenebis da misi praqtikul ad gatarebis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda: 1) dauyovnebl iv unda Sevl il iyo xel mZRvanel i organoebis arsebul i muSaobis meTodi; 2) partiul i organizaciisTvis miecaT TviTmoqmedebis ufl eba. aqtual ur sakiTxebze yvel a partiul i mimdinareobebidan Tavisi azris gamoTqmis, xel mZRvanel i organoebis Sefasebis, kritikisa da TviTkritikis Tavisufl eba; 3) partiis gaerTianebul i konferencia yovel wl i urad unda Sekrebi iyo da misi dadgenil ebebis yvel a organizaciisadmi gacnoba moexdina; 4) partiis politikuri xaziT gaweul i saqmianobis is nawili, romelic gasaiduml oebas ar eqvemdebareboda, yvel a partorganizaciisaTvis unda yofil iyo cnobil i.

rac Seexeba z.wul aZis mier imave sxdomisadmi umciresobis saxel iT wardgenil Tezisebs, igi parizis konferenciaze warsagzavni del egatebis saqmianobasa da pozicias Semdegi formiT gansazRvavda: 1) del egatis movl eobas Seadgenda, yovel mxriv ezruna da mxardaWera gamoecxadebina: a) partiis mTli anobis SenarCunebisatvis; b) partiis cewntral uri biurosa da organizaciebs Soris arsebul i dapi rispirebis aRmosafxvrel ad gasatarebel i RonisZiebebisadmi; g) partiul i masa xel mZrvanel i organoebis garSemo daerazma; 2) konferenciis mizani, partiis SigniT mtkice disciplinis damyareba da udisciplino el ementebze aRniSnul i xazis gavr cel eba unda yofil iyo da rac mTavaria, partiis muSaoba, saqarTvel os s. d. partiul i konferenciis da cekas dadgenil ebebis fargl ebSi ganxorciel ebul iyo; 3) sazRvargareTis social - demokratiul i partiis konferenciis wevrTa mxridan, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis central uri komitetis dadgenil ebasTan mimarTe-

baSi, gansxvavebul i azris SemTxvevaSi, misi gadasi nj vis sakiTxi, konferenciis monawil eebis, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul partiis Liderisatvis unda miendo; 4) partiis yvela organizacia, konferenciis mierarCeul centralur biuros damorcil eboda; 5) partiis xazi qarTvel i erisada sxva Cagrul i erebis ganTavisuflebis Sesaxeb ucvl el i rCeboda.

am dokumentSi kategoriul i formiT iyo miTitebul i: `konferenciam bol o unda mouros dausrul ebel dasvaz organizaciebSi, mTel i Zal a da energia mimarTos saqarTvel osadmi daxmarebisken. erisixl isgan icleba, partia aq gansacdel Sia, daxmareba da gamagreba yovel mxriv Cveni upirvel esi val i unda iyos. es debul ebebi warmoadgens masal as del egacisatvis.-

aRniSnul dokumentebSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi, social - demokratiul i partiis erTianobis aucil ebl obas da saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmatavisuflebel i moZraobisadmi ukeT xel mZRvanel obas moiTxovda. sxvaoba mxol od konferenciaze gasagzavni del egatebisadmi dakisrebul i movaleobebis Camonatval Si SeiniSneboda. saarqivo masal ebidan isic irkveva, rom zogierT partiul organizaciaSi, parizis partiul konferenciaze gasagzavni del egatebis arCevam mwvave dapi rispreba gamoiwvia. amis klasi kur magal iTs berl inis social - demokratiul i organizacia warmoadgenda. damouki debul i 5 kaciani j gufis (d.sariraSvil i, iv.gogniasvil i, siremasvil i, k.vekua, vl .axmeteli) saxel iT, berl inis social - demokratiul i partiis krebaze d.sariraSvil ma pretenziul i gancxadeba gaakeTa da xazgasmiT miuTita, rom is mTel i j gufis saxel iT l aparakobs, romelic mas Tavis del egatad gzavnis parizSi, sadac is am j gufis saxel iT cal ke dekl araci iT gamova. Cveni dabruneba organizaciaSi konferenciis gadawyvetilebaze aris damokidebul i.- dokumenturi masal eb iT irkveva, rom social - demokratiul i partiis parizis 1934 wl is 21 april is konferenciaze sazRvargareTis social - demokratiul i partiis 119 wevris del egatTa warmoadgenl oba 23 kaciT iyo gansazRvrul i. (berl inidan gaigzavna d.Sarasize da vl .mgel aZe, xol o odenkuridan S.qarumiZe da z.wul aZe). konferenciis muSaobis dRis wesrigSi 10 sakiTxi iyo Setanil i: 1) moxsenebebi adგი- l ebidan; 2) saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis mdgomareoba; 3) social - demokratiul i partiis biuros moxseneba; 4) saerTasoris mdgomareoba da saqarTvel os sakiTxi; 5) meore internacional i; 6) erovnul i centri da Cveni damokidebul eba sxva partiebTan; 7) damokidebul eba erebTan; 8) Sina partiul i dava; 9) partiul i programis ganxil va; 10) biuros kandidatebis dasaxel eba. imave dokumentidan irkveva, rom konferenciis mier biuros Semadgenl obaSi erTxmad airCies n.Jordania da e.gegeWkori. am proceduris Catarebis Semdeg, biuros wevrobis 10 kandidati (k.gvarjal aZe, g.qavTaraZe, i.WavWaniZe, d.Sarasize, geraZe, smenaRarisvil i, gurataZe, vl .mgel aZe, al .vadaWkoria, v.inwki rveli) iqna dasaxel ebul i.

partiis SigniT Zal Ta SeTanxmehisa da yovel gvargi gaugebrobis droul ad acilebis erT- erT saSual ebad, aseTi saxis konferenciebis yovel wl i urad mowveva da azrTa gaziareba z.wul aZes aucil ebl obad miacnda. aqedan gamomdinare, social - demokratiul i partiis mmarTvel birTvs, aRniSnul i sakiTxis ugul ebel yofis gamo, igi savsebiT kanonzomierad sayvedur obda.

`CemTvis- ambobda z.wul aZe- Zal ian sainteresoa erTi sakiTxis gamorkveva: ra iyo mi zezi, rom dRemde, Tavis droze, drogamoSvebi T mainc, sazRvargare-Tul i biuro ar iwvevda aseT konferenci ebs da is Tavis muSaobis Sesaxeb Cven aravi Tar moxsenebebs ar gvikeTebda... SeiZl eba amas bevri mar cxi Cvens partiaSi aecdenia da dRes arsebul i uTanxmoeba... arc yofil iyo. momaval - Si... es nakl i gamosworebul i unda iqnas da amxanagebs yovel Tvis qondes saSual eba biuros saqmianobis kursSi iyos. es... Tqvens muSaobasac gaadvil ebs da xel s Seuwyobs Cvens ganmtkicebas da gamagrebas.³

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom erTdros saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mmarTvel i pol itikuri partiis (saqarTvel os social - demokratia) l iderebis emigraciis cxovrebis umZimesma pirobebma, qveynis ganTavisufli ebi saTvis gasatarebel i RonisZiebebis Cavar-dnam, partiis SigniT dapi rispirebis warmoqmniis safexuri Seamzada. igive mi zezi ganpirobebda saqarTvel os emigraciis pol itikuri Zal ebis SigniT mimdinare dapi rispirebebs.

XX saukunis 30- iani wl ebis qarTul i emigraciis pol itikurad gaTi-Tokacebul mdgomareobaSi arsebobis faqti, im meqanizmis gamozebnas sa-Wiroebda, romelic garkveul i formiT dapi rispirebas aRmofxvrida da disciplinas daamyarebda. am uarresad mniSvel ovan sakiTxebis mi eZRvna saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidumis wevrebis da demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciis gaerTianebul i sxdoma (1931 wl is 3 ianvari). ganxil vis erT- erT ZiriTad sakiTxad_ emigraciis SigniT dapi- rispirebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebi iqna gatanil i. imave sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi dan irkveva, rom aRniSnul Tan mimarTebaSi, n.Jordani am Tavis gamosvl aSi xazgasmiT miuTiTa: `emigracias nacional uri discipl inisken unda movuwodoT, Tu es ar vqeni T, maSin ra azri aqvs Cvens aq yofnas! marTalia, saqme wydeba ara aq, aramed iq saqarTvel oSi, magram emi- gracias saqmistvis vnebac SeuZlia.~ aqedan gamomdinare, kategoriul i formiT ayenebda sakiTxs emigraciis rigebsi umkacresi discipl inis damyarebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. am mimarTul ebit gadamwyveti nabij is gadadgmas igi centrs akisrebda. `muSaobis aseT sistemas bol o unda mo- eRos- ambobda n.Jordania- Torem Cven arafris gakeTeba ar SegviZlia, tyvi- l a gamogviva energiis da Sromis xarj va.~ misi es pozicia savsebit marTe- bul i iyo, radgan dasavl eT evropasi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebi da saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis l egaciis sakiTxis safrangeTis mTa- vrobis mxridan ki Txvis qveS dasma, emigraciis rigebsi gansakuTrebul dis- cipl inas da srul konsolidacias saWiroebda. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti si tyva saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobas ekuTvnode. es gar emoeba hqon- da mxedvel obaSi n.Jordanas, roca man 1931 wl is 6 ianvars sagangebo ci- rkul arul i weril iT rom mimarTalias. sal ayaias, al .axmetel s, r.ingil os, s.mdivans, v.dumbaZes_ saqarTvel os nacional uri mTavrobis warmomadgen- l ebs ucxoetsi da saqarTvel os srul ufl ebian el Cs ucxoetsi ak.Cxe- nkel s. am dokumentis mniSvel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom igi, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri el itis mesveurebs erovnul centrSi 1930 wl is 27 dekembris SeTanxmebas axsenebda. masze xel momwerma pol itikuri par- tiebis l iderebma, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da misi Tavmj -

domaris kompetencia, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki konstituciis 70- e muxl iT gaTval iswinebul i ufl ebebiT gansazRvres: 1)mTavrobis Tavmj domare rCebeda saqarTvel os umaRI es warmomadgenl ad, romel ic: a)ucxoeTSi ni Snavda el Cebes da uZRveboda maT saqmi anobas; b)asrul ebda kanonebs da dadgenil ebebs; g)axdenda sasamarTI os sxvadasxva dargis revizias. es imas ni Snavda, rom mTavroba xel Si i Rebda sagareo saqmi anobis xel mZRvanel obas da mas oficial uri Tu araoficial uri warmomadgenl ebis meSveobiT anxorciel ebda; 2)mTavroba, rogorc kol egia warmoadgenda erT mTI ian pol itikur erTeul s, roml is wevrebi val debul i iyo exel mZRvanel a mTavrobis pol itikiT da gaetarebina Tavmj domaris mier micemul i pol itikuri kursi; 3)mTavrobis wevrebi im etapze iTvl ebodnen ara ministrebada, aramed, nacional uri mTavrobis mxol od wevrebada, roml ebic gaerTianebul ni iyvnen Tavmj domarisa da misi kancellariis garSemo; 4)nacional uri centri rCebeda pirvel i kompetenciis fargl ebSi.

saqarTvel os konstituciisa da partiaTa warmomadgenl ebis nacional ur centrSi miRebul i zemoarNi Snul i debul ebebi dan gamomdinare, cirkul arul weril Si noe Jordania Sesabamis pirovnebebTan mimarTebaSi konkretul ad miuTitebda: `a)Tqven uSual od emorCil ebiT saqarTvel os umaRI es warmomadgenel s mTavrobis Tavmj domares, gaqvT maTTan pirdapiri damokidebul eba, iRebT misgan yvel a direqtivebs da pasuxs agebT mis winaSe; b)amJamad Zvel i dadgenil ebi dan rCeba ori wesi: angariSebis Sesaxeb miwer- mowera gaqvT mTavrobis wevr kandel akTan romSi. Cveni warmomadgenel i ganagebs muSaobas parizis el Cis xel mZrvanel obiT; g)saqarTvel os nacional uri mTavrobis saxel iT l aparaki SeuZl ia mxol od mis Tavmj domares da im pirt, visac aval ebs is, an misi mTavroba pirdapiri dadgenil ebiT. es debul ebebi SegiZl iaT gaacnoT im pirebsa da organizaciebs, romel nic Cvens saqmeSi dai nteresebul ni arian da visac Tqven saWi rod dai naxavT.~⁴

am dokumentSi gasagebadaa ganszRvrul i mTavrobisa da misi Tavmj domaris ufl eba- moval ebebi. miuxedavad amisa, emigraciis pol itikur wreebSi mimdinare dapiri spirebis gagrZel ebam, dRis wesrigSi Sesabamisi oficial uri dokumentis miRebis aucil ebl oba daayena. am mxriv, mni Svnel ovani nabij i 1932 wl is ivniSi gadaidga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums wevrebis, damouki debul i komitetis del egaciis gaerTianebul i sxdomebi, romel ic 3 dRis ganmavl obaSi (1932 wl is 16, 20, 25 ivni si) gagrZel da. ganxil visa da msj el obis ZiriTad sagans, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis muSaobis wesebis erTxel kidev dazusteba warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, mTavrobisa da special uri komisiis proeqtebis ZiriTadi debul ebebis erTmaneTTan Sejereba mimdinareobda. orive proeqtTan mimarTebaSi gamartul i diskusiis Sedegad miRebul i konsesusi dan gamomdinare, 25 ivni sis sxdomis dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1)mTavrobis da centrifunqciebi rCeba 1925 wl is statusiT gansazRvrul ni adagze; 2)mTavroba aris erTi mTI iani kol eqtiuri kol egial uri organo da atarebs erT garkveul pol itikas Tavmj domaris xel mZRvanel obiTa da kontrol iT; 3)mTavrobaSi ar Sei-

Zl eba iyos ori pol itika, raimo opoziciuri mimdinareoba da saqmi anoba. mis dadgenil ebas asrul ebs TiToeul i misi wevri Tundac is ar eTanxmebodes mas; 4)mTavrobis wevrebs da mis warmomadgenl ebs ara aqvT ufl eba pirdapir Tu arapirdapir xel i Seuwyon iseT pol itikur daj gufebebs, roml ebic ebrZvian TviT mTavrobis arsebobas, an mis pol itikas, frontSi Semaval partiebs; 5)mTavrobaSi Sroma ganawil ebul ia saerTo Tanxmobis da SeZl ebis fargl ebSi; 6)mTavrobas SeuZl ia Tavis sxdomebze saTaTbiro xmiT moiwvios visac saWi rod CaTvl is da iRebs val debul ebas daicvas zemoT CamoTvl il i ZiriTadi moval eoba; 7)mTavrobas unda hqondes Tavis bina da kancel aria.⁵

ramdenadac es dokumenti pol itikur Zal Ta SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze iqna miRebul i qarTul emigracias da pol itikuri partiebs l iderebs, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da misi Tavmj domarisadmi angariSi maqsimal urad unda gaewia. samwuxarod, es dadgenil eba, dadgenil ebad darCa.

evropaSi ganvitarebul i pol itikuri procesebis gaTval iswinebi dan gamo mdinare, saqarTvel osi erovnul i moZraobis gaRrmavebi sTvis Sesabamisi samuSaos erTian CarCoSi mosaqcevad, qarTul i emigraciis konsolidacia pol itikur dil emadiqca. es sakiTxi emigraciis saRad moazrovne l iderTa fiqrisa da gansjis sagani gaxda. Seqmnili rTul i situaciidan gamosvl is erTaderT saSual ebad, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis muSaobis wesebis garkveul i formiT Secvla iqna mizanSewonil ad miCneul i. amis Sesaxeb saintereso informacias Seicavs saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis da partiaTa warmomadgenl ebis 1939 wl is 30 martis gaerTianebul i sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom msjel obis ZiriTad sagans, mTavrobisa da sangebo komisiis mier SemuSavebul i proeqtebis_ mTavrobis muSaobis wesebis Sesaxeb ganxil va warmoadgenda. saeqmo Canawerebis mixedvit, sxdomis monawil eni konsesusze dafuZnebul i debul ebebisadmi srul yofil i saxis micemas Seecadnen. imave sxdomis stenografiul angariSSi, mTavrobis muSaobis wesebis redaqtirebul i variantia motanili. es dokumenti 7 muxl isagan Sedgeba da sitya- si tyvit imeorebs 1932 wl is ivnisis saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis da damoukidebel i komitetis erTobl iv sxdomaze miRebul dadgenil ebas. xazgasmit unda iTqvas, rom am dokumentis ZiriTadi debul ebebi, ra formiT ac ar unda yofil iyo gameorebul i, wingadadgmul i nabij i iyo da pol itikur Zal Ta erTobl ivi saqmi anobis samomavl o perspeqtivis SesaZl ebl obas qmni da. aseTi gancxadebis gakeTebis myar safuZvel s, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis da damoukidebl obis komitetis mier daarsebul i sazRvargareTul i del egaciis TanamSroml obis Sesaxeb imave sxdomaze miRebul i wesdeba iZl eva. am dokumentiT, axl adSeqmnili del egaciis funqciebi da ufl eba- moval eobani iqna dazustebul i: 1)saqarTvel os damoukidebel i komitetis mier daarsebul sazRvargareTis del egaciis Semadgenl oba social - demokratebis da social ist- revol ucionerebis TiTo, xol o gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratebis 2 warmomadgenl iT ganisazRvra. yvel a sakiTxis gadawyveta del egaciaSi partiaTa SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze iyo gaTval iswinebul i. del egaciis Tavmj domaris funqciis Sesrul eba social - demokratiul i partiis warmomadgenel s hqonda dakisrebul i;

2) del egaciis moval eoba iyo: a) moral uri da nivTier i daxmareba gaewia sazRvargareTel i qarTvel ebisTvis; b) maTTvis organizaciebi moewyo da igi gamoeyenebina saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebisTvis xel Semwyob saSual ebad; g) ucxoel ebSi gaewia qarTul i sakiTxis propaganda; 3) del egaciis val debul eba iyo saqarTvel os damouki debul obis komitetTan da mis mier warmodgenil polititur partiebTan uwyveti kavSiris damyareba. mis mier gaweul i muSaobisa da saqarTvel os saerTaSoriso mdgomareobis Sesaxeb angariSis wardgineba damkomisa da masSi gaerTianebul i politituri partieb is warmomadgenil ebisTvis; 4) mTavrobisa da del egaciis gaerTianebul i sxdomis prerogativas, politituri sakiTxebis gamorkveva_ gadaWra da xarj TaRricxvis damtkiceba warmoadgenda; 5) mTavrobis Tavmj domaresTan SeTanxmebi T, del egaciis erTi wevri monawil eobas i Rebda konspiraciul saqmi anobaSi da moqmedebda mTavrobis reglamentis Sesabamisad; 6) mTavrobisa da del egaciis SeerTebul sxdomebs mTavrobis Tavmj domare xel mZRvanel obda da sakiTxTa gadawyveta xmaTa umravl esobi T xdeboda; 7) SeerTebul i sxdomaim SemTxvevaSi CaiTvl eobda kanonierad, Tu mas mTavrobis da del egaciis aranaki eb orori wevri daeswreboda; 8) SeerTebul sxdomas mTavrobis Tavmj domare Tavisi iniciativi T, an sazRvargareTul i del egaciis moTxovni T iwvevda. sxdomis mier miRebul i dadgenil ebebis Sesrul ebis val debul eba mTavrobis prerogativas warmoadgenda. aRni Snul i dadgenil ebis Senaxva gasaidumli oebul formebsi xdeboda.

polititur Zal Ta gaerTianebis mi zni T es dokumenti wingadadgmul nabij i iyo. mi uxedavad amisa, gansakuTrebul datvirTvas, saqarTvel os mTavrobasa da erovnul sabWos Soris damouki debul ebis Sesaxeb damtkicebul i debul eba izens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuznebel i krebis prezidi umis wevrebis da parti aTa del egaciebis gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1939 wl is 28 april i) miRebul i dadgenil eba, romelic iTval iswinebda: 1) saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebisTvis ucxoetsi dagegmil i samuSaoebis damtkiceba, mTavrobis da erovnul i sabWos gaerTianebul sxdomebze unda momxdariyo; 2) mTavrobasa da sabWos Soris urTier Tobis gasaRrmavebl ad, mTavrobis Tavmj domaresTan SeTanxmebi T, sabWos ufl eba eZl eoda ori warmomadgenel i gadamwyveti xmit mTavrobaSi gaegzavna; 3) gaerTianebul i sxdomis dadgenil ebis sisrul esi moyvana, mTavrobis Tavmj domaris an prezidi umis prerogativas warmoadgenda; 4) mTavrobisa da sabWos gaerTianebul sxdomaze unda momxdariyo xarj TaRricxvis Sedgena, xol omisi ganxil va mTavrobis zedamxedvel obit ganxorciel ebul iyo. mTavrobisa da sabWos gaerTianebul sxdomebs, saWiroebi samebr komisi ebis arcevis ufl eba eZl eoda.

Cems mier motanil i dokumenturi masala, imis safuzvel siZl eva, rom emigraciaSi myof qarTul polititur speqtrs, erTmaneTTan saerTo ena gamoezebna da erToblivi Zal ebisT efiqra saqarTvel os monobidan gamoxsnaze. samwuxarod, maT mier xel moweriT dadasturebul i yovel i SeTanxmeba, wuTier samarTI ebriv saxes- atarebda da evropasi politituri situaciis cval ebadobisTanave irveoda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, emigraciis politituri Zal ebis mcire nawil is mier, saerTo frontidan gasvla da qarTvel i eris warmomadgenil obis ambici iT, erovnul centrad- Tavis gamocxade-

ba gamodgeba. momxdar faqtTan dakavSi rebiT, social - demokratiul i parti- isgan sapasuxod gavr cel ebul dokumentSi- `erTi axirebul i dekl araciis gamo,- `erovnul i centris- wevrTa qmedeba, evropaSi mimdinare saomari procesebis fonze uaryofiTad iqna Sefasebul i. `omebis qariSxl is da dRes dauwynarebel i msofi ios aboboqrebul tal Rebs- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- maTi yuradRebis karamde j er kidev ar miuRwevia. isini... ver xedaven, Torem brmisTvisac advil i SesamCnevia, rom am gigantur Zal Ta Widi l Si saqarTvel os sakiTxs, ise rogorc sxva daCagrul i erebisas, mxol od demokratiis miswrafebaTa bazaze SeuZl ia moipovos gadaWris SesaZl ebl oba. am sakvirvel i `centris- Semdgenel T erTi si tyvac ver gamounaxavT am Zal ebTan dasaxl oeb l ad, maT rige bSi sakuTari adgil is mosapovebl ad, maTTan dasaxmarebl ad... ram daaobl a maTi azrovnebis unari?... j er j erobiT oriode mezobl is SesaZl o keTil ganwyobil ebis garda, daCagrul erebTan kavSiris dapi rebiT gvi keTeben gul s.-

am amonaweris mi xedviT, aRni Snul i `centris- Seqmnis xel mZRvanel ebi pol i- tikuri procesebis srul fasovnad gacnobierebis da mTavar mamozravebel Zal ebTan saerTo enis gamonaxvis SesaZl ebl obas iyvnen mokl ebul ni. aqedan gamomdinare, Znel ia imis Tqma, Tu ramdenad SeZl ebdnen evropis umZimes pol itikur l abirintebSi gzis gakvl evas da saqarTvel os sasikeTod mxar- damWeri qveynebis mopovebas. es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi- `erTi axi- rebul i dekl araciis gamo- avtorebs (s.s.d. partia), xazgasmiT rom miuTi- Tebdnen: `Cven vafrTxil ebT qarTul sazogadoebas am axirebul i centris gamTiSvel i avanturisagan. Cveni miswrafebaa Sei qmnas erTi erovnul i centri demokratiul principebze agebul i. Cven gvinda, mas ideur safuZvl ad daedvas erTxel mowonebul i pl atforma anu dekl aracia, romelic angariSs uwevs yvel a zemomoyvanil mosazrebebs. esaa erTaderTi Tavdebi qarTul i emigraciis Rirseul ad ametyvel ebis.-

es mosazreba garkveul i formiT gasaziarebel i iyo, radgan qarTul i emi- graciis rige bSi arsebul i dapi rispireba, ucxo saxel mwi foebTan saqarTve- l os emigraciul i mTavrobis dabezRebisa da `CaSvebis- formatSi gada- izar da. samwuxarod, aseTi qmedebiT saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis mowinaaRmdege Zal ebi, nebsiT Tu uneb l ied sabWoTa ruseTis sasargeb- l o saqmes akeTebdnen. mi Tumetes, sabWoTa ruseTs, Tavis `mokavSire- osma- l eTze udi desi pol itikuri da ekonomikuri zemoqmedebis berketebi ga- aCnda. meore mxriv, osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTis `megobar saxel mwi fod- aRiqmeboda. aRni Snul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, osmal eTis Sesa- bamisi uwyebebi, qarTul i emigraciis saqmi anobis safuZvl i anad Seswav- l iT iyo dai nteresebul i, raTa xel sayrel i situaciis SeqmnisTanave Se- sabamisi informacia mi ewodebina sabWoTa ruseTis uSiSroebis uwyebi- sadmi. amis damadasturebl ad osmal eTis xel isuf l ebis warmomadgenl ebis mxridan S.berisvil is dakiTxvis faqti gamodgeba. saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis sazRvargareTul i biurosa- dmi S.berisvil is mier 1931 wel s miweril weril Si amis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom igi sxva qarTvel emigrantebTan er- Tad osmal ebma yarsSi gadai yvanes da iq mouwyves dakiTxva. wi naswar gaaf rTx- il es, Tuki gul axdil ni ar iqnebodnen da maTTvis cnobil informaci as da- mal avdnen, ruseTis xel isuf l ebas gadascemden. mi Tumetes, aseTi saqmi sTvis

ruseTis xel isufli eba osmal eTs didi raodenobiT uxdi da ful s. osmal ebi muqara, qarTvel emigrantebze garkveul i zewol is berkets warmoadgenda da sasurvel i informaciis mopovebas iTval iswinebda. aRni Snul sakiTxe- bTan dakavSirebiT, igive S.berisvil i xazgasmiT werda, rom yarsis ol qis gubernatorma mas daufaravad ganucxada: qarTvel i emigrantebis sabWoTa ruseTisaTvis gadasacemad, `rusebi osmal eTis mTavrobas aZl evs auarebel ful s. magram, osmal ebi aseT rames Cveni xal xis mimarT ar Cai denda da Cven ukan ar migvcemda. Tanac miTxra, rom saiduml od gadmosul ia ruseTidan teroristebi Cvens mosakl avad an mosatacebl ad. Tu vinmes aseTs SevamCnevdiT, maSinve gvecobebina pol iciisTvis... mogvicines ramdenime saiduml o agenti, roml ebi c... mudmivad CvenTan iyo da gvi cavda.-

dokumenti dan kargad Cans, rom rusul i terorizmis faqtoris gamoyenebiT, osmal eTis xel isufli eba, qarTvel i emigrantebis yvel a nabij isa da moqmedebis gakontrol ebas axerxebda. imave S.berisvil is weril idan irkveva, rom qemal is partiis mdivanTan Sexvedrisa da saubris Sedegad (eswreboda gubernatori, kavkasiis sasazRvro j arebis ufrosi, adgil obrivi garnizonisa da Stabis ufrosi), osmal Ta interesebi Semdeg sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi gamoikveTa: 1)ruseTis saerTo pol itikuri da ekonomikuri mdgomareoba; 2)wiTel i armiis mdgomareoba saqarTvel oSi da kavkasiaSi; 3)komunisturi partiisa da antisabWoTa partieb is mdgomareoba; 4)kavkasiis damoukidebl obis komitetis Sesaxeb informacia; 5)saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi pol itikuri partieb is miznebi da amocanebi.

am proceduris msvl el obasTan dakavSirebiT, S.berisvil i uaRresad sayuradRebo ni uansze amaxvil ebs yuradRebas da qemal is partiis mdivanis mxridan misadmi dasmul i SekiTxvebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebis Sesaxeb Semdegi saxis informacias iZl eva: `mas edo magidaze sami didi dosie savse sxvadasxva saxis sabuTebiT. gadaSl i da xan erTs, xan meores da iqedan maZl evda sxvadasxva saxis SekiTxvebs. qaRal debSi iyo sbuTebi frangul da rusul enazec... xSirad iseT SekiTxvebs maZl evda, rom me davrwmundi, rom maT Zal lian bevri icodnen aq, ucxoetsi muSaobis Sesaxeb da agreTve... hqondaTerTi meoris sawinaaRmdego cnobebi. ami tom me mas vTxove, rom moeca CemTvis saSual eba dawvril ebiT gavcnobodi zog mis dokumentis saqmis interesebisatvis da Semdeg mivcemdi amomwurav pasuxs yvel a sakiTxze. is amaze ar damTanxmada da miTxra, rom es dokumentebi Sedgenil ia CemTvis ucnob TaTrul enaze. mas mivutiTe, rom dokumentebSi aris qaRal debi rusul da frangul enebze, is mainc uarze idga.-

S.berisvil is mcdel oba, srul fasovnad gacnoboda sami ve saqaRal des, gaego aRni Snul i dokumentebis warmomavl oba da Semdgenl ebis vinaoba, uSedego aRmoCnda. mi uxedavad amisa, qemal is partiis mdivanis meSveobiT, mistvis cnobil i gaxda, rom saqaRal deebSi ganTavsebul i dokumentebis `mtkicebul ebiT-: 1)menSevikebi mTli anad ruseTis orientaciisani iynden da ebrZodnen ara ruseTs, aramed bol Sevikur reJims; 2)n.Jordani as mTavrobas araviTari gavlenar hqonda saqarTvel oSi da qarTul emigraciaSi; 3)n.Jordani as mTavrobis arsebobas da mis SenarCunebas dasavli eTis imperial istebl dafinansebiT uwyobda xel s da isini gancxromi T cxovrobdnen ucxoetsi; 4)saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobiT ara mar to

qarTvel i eri, aramed social _ demokratiis partiul i masebi da cnobil i social - demokrti moRvaweebi iyvnen ukmayofil o. parizSi mas mxol od 2- 3 kaci emxroboda sazRvargareTul i biurodan. ZiriTadi nawil i maTi winaaRmdegi iyo da opoziciasTan saerTo enis gamozebnas cdil obda; 5) federal istebsa da g.gvazavas j gufi, n.Jordani as mTavrobas imi tom uWerda mxars, rom isini `ful istebsi- iyvnen, Torem xal xSi aranairi gavl ena ar hqondaT.

saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi wayenebul i zemoaRniSnul i bral debebi, osmal eTis xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebis mier Sekrebi l dokumentebSi iyo asaxul i. igi saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis mowinaaRmdege qarTul i emigraciul i pol itikuri partieb is da daj gufebebis warmomadgenl ebis mxridan, qarTvel Ta dauZinebel i mtrebisadmi_ osmal ebisadmi miwodebul informacias emyareboda. samwuxarod, isini nebsiT Tu unebel ied erovnul i saqmis sawinaaRmdego qmedebas eweodnen. saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis dabezRebisa da diskreditaciis mi zniT, yal b sabral debo masal ebs im qveynis maRal Cinosnebs awvdi dnen, rom l ebic sabWoTa ruseTis mokavSi red da `megobrad- moiazreboda. am faqts, S.berisvil is winaSe qemal is partiis mdivanic aRiarebda. `isini (osmal ebi S.v.) kavSirSi arian ruseTTan da amitom, miuxedavad maTi Cvendami (qarTvel ebisadmi S.v.) simpaTiisa, izul ebul i arian ruseTis daJinebul i moTxovniT mi iRon Cvens winaaRmdeg zomebi. Tu Cven konspiraciul ad SevZl ebT muSaobis warmoebas, isini xel sar SegviSl ian, radgan dainteresebul ni arian Cveni Tavisufl ebiT da Sesafar momentSi aRmogviCenen yovel gvar daxmarebas.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom sabWoTa ruseTi, osmal eTis xel isufl ebas mTel rig sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi daJinebul i formis moTxovnebs uyenebda. osmal Ta saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis saqmi anobis Sesaxeb informaciul i monacemebis srul i paketi, sabWoTa ruseTis Sesabamis uwebebs, osmal eTis mxridan aucil ebl ad gadaecemoda. am samusaos, ruseTisadmi erTgul ebis damtkicebis gasapiarebl adac gamoiyenebdnen. mi Tumetes, saerTaSoriso arenaze, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis srul i diskreditacia, sabWoTa ruseTis pirvel xarixovan amocanas warmoadgenda. maTi Canafiqris maRal doneze Sesarul ebaSi im masal ebs eyrdnobodnen, roml ebsac saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi opoziciurad ganwyobil i emigrantTa nawil i da social - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi wevri awvdi da osmal ebs. amis Sesaxeb, S.berisvil Tan pirad saubarSi qemal is partiis pirad mdivans daufaravad uTqvams, rom mTavrobis sawinaaRmdego bevr mniSvnel ovan faqtebs osmal ebs, opozicia da social - demokratiul i partiis gan gamdgari xal xi awvdi da. am mimarTul ebiT, gansakuTrebiT warmatebul ad moqmedebda stambol Si Seqmnil i `kavkasiis aral egarul i komiteti.- dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom komitetis wevrebs osmal Ta xel isufl ebis maRal CinosnebsTvis 25 gverdiani memorandumi gadaucia, romelic saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis diskreditacias isaxavda mi znad. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Cemi yuradReba saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidumis wevrebis da demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciis gaerTianebul i sxdomis (1931 wl is 3 ianvari) stenografiul ma angariSma miipyro. am dokumentidan dasturdeba, rom osmal eTis xel isufl ebisadmi gadacemul `memeoran-

dumSi- xazgasmi T iyo mi Ti Tebul i_ `mTavrobas kol egiaSi mxars ori- sami kaci uWers, danarCenebi mi si winaaRmdegia.- emigraciul i opozicia, aseTi formul i rebiT saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis diskreditacias axdenda. samwuxarod, am memorandum s xel s TobCibaSevi c awerda. exeboda ra am saki Txs, imave sxdomaze n.Jordania xazgasmi T ambobda: `memorandumze xel i aqvs moweril i TobCibaSevs da rac mTavaria, es memorandumi gadacemul ia swored maSin, rodesac tobCibaSevTan aq mol aparakeba gvqonda. gamodis, rom erTis mxriv SeTanxmebaze gvel aparakeboda da meore mxriv, Cvens sawinaaRmdego memorandum s xel s awerda. es marTI ac dauSvebel i da amoral uri saqciel ia da es unda gamovarkvi oT... es aRmaSfoTebel i ambavi upasuxodar unda davtovoT.- rac Seexeba memorandumSi motanil faqts_ kol egiaSi mTavrobisadmi mxardamWerTa raodenobis gansazRvris Sesaxeb, amasTan mi mar TebaSi igive n.Jordania sxdomis monawil eTa mi samarTiT savsebiT kanonzomierad svamda ki Txvas: `memorandumSi weria, rom mTavrobas kol egiaSi mxars uWers ori- sami kaci, danarCenebi winaaRmdegiao. visze I aparakoben? an saidan ician es yvel aferi, rogorc memorandumSi weria? es ician imitom, rom aqedan ambavi gadis da gadis imitom, rom gamdgar xal xs ver Camovcil diT. varSavidan pirdapir macnobes, rom mTavroba erTs ambobs, gegeWkori da Cxenkel i ki sxvaso... muSaobis aseT sistemas bol o unda moeRos, Torem Cven arafris gakeTeba ar SegviZl ia... amas bol o unda mouRos centrma.- am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom n.Jordania ver uaryofda: 1)kol egiaSi mTavrobis mowinaaRmdegeTa arsebobas; 2)sxdomis procesSi gansaxil vel sakiTxebTan mi mar TebaSi misaRebi gadawyvetil ebi sadmi, mTavrobis poziciisadmi mxardamWerTa raodenobis saiduml oebis gareT gatanas. am danaSaul ebriv qmedebas, igi `gamdgar i xal xis- kol egiaSi yofnas mi- awerda.

rac Seexeba uSual od `memorandums,- qemal is partiis mdivans igi S.berisvil isaTvis wasakiTxad gadaucia. imave S.berisvil is mtkicebiT, aRniSnul memeorandumze xel s al .asaTiani, TobCibaSevi da gaidar bamati awerda. igi Semdegi formiT iyo dasaTaurebul i: `kavkasiis nacional uri centris memorandumi osmal eTis mTavrobas da sxva.- daTariRebul i iyo 1930 wl is 15 martiT. es dokumenti pirobiTad or nawil ad SeiZl eba daiyos: 1)kavkasiis nacional uri centris miznebi da amocanebi; 2)kavkasiis pol itikuri partiebis daxasiaTeba.

rac Seexeba dokumentis pirvel nawil s, _ kavkasiis nacional uri centris miznebsa da amocanebs, memorandumSi Semdegi formiT iyo warmodgenil i: 1)kavkasiis nacional uri centri, konfederaciis niadagze kavkasiis erebis damoukidebl obis aRdgenas isaxavda miznad; 2)aucil ebl ad miacnda mtkice megobruli urTierTobis damyareba osmal eTis xel isufl ebasTan; 3)centri aerTianebsda kavkasiis erebis yvel a imerovnul Zal ebs, roml ebi c ruseTis mowinaaRmdege da osmal eTis orientaciisani iyvnen; 4)memorandumSi CamoTvli il i iyo `kavkasiis nacional ur centrSi- Semaval i j gufebi. mocemul i iyo TiToeul i maTganis daxasiaTeba,pirvel msofli o omSi qarTul i l egi- onis osmal eTis j arebis gverdiT ruseTis winaaRmdeg brZol a, osmal eTi- sadmi erTgul ebis fonze iyo warmodgenil i; 5)memorandumSi Sesabamisi faqtebiT dasabuTebul i iyo `kavkasiis nacional ur centrSi- Semaval i j gufebis damsaxureba kavkasiis erebi sa da osmal eTis winase. aqedan gamomdinare, me-

morandumis avtorebi osmal eTis mTavrobas sTxovdnen: 1)kavkasi is naci ona-
l uri centrisadmi saWi ro daxmareba aRmoeCina da maTi mi znebis ganxorci-
el ebisaTvis brZol aSi xel i Seewyo; 2)kavkasi is pol itikuri partieb is saqmi a-
nobis fonze, memorandumSi gansakuTrerbul i yuradReba social - demokrati is
(menSevikebi) daxasi aTebaze iyo gadatani l i. dokumentis Semdgenl ebi, am pol-
itukur Zal as rusul pol itukur partiad acxadebda. am Tval sazrisisad-
mi damaj erebl obis el feris micemis mi zni T, xazgasmit mi uTi Tebdnen: a)sa-
qarTvel os social - demokratiul i partia, qveynis damouki debl obas im mo-
sazrebi T uWerda mxars, rom brZol a mxol od moqi Spe bol Sevikebis da ara
ruseTis eqspansionisturi pol itikis winaaRmdeg ewarmoebina; b)ruseTsi
normal uri urTierTobis aRdgenis SemTxvevaSi, qarTvel i menSevikebi, ruse-
Tis xel isufi ebas mi mxrobodnen da maTTan erTad Seutevdnen saqarTve-
l os damouki debl obas da osmal eTs.

memorandumis avtorTa es qmedeba, osmal eTis winaSe saqarTvel os mTavro-
bis dabezRebas warmoadgenda. ramdenadac qarTul i emigraci is rigebsi, sa-
qarTvel os emigraci ul i mTavrobis diskreditaci is mi zni T sawinaaRmdego
qmedebema da dasmeni Tma kurssma permanentul i saxemiiRo, am faqtisadmi
oficial uri reagirebis gakeTeba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. am mxriv,
gansakuTrebul yuradRebas saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis
prezidi umis wevrebis da damouki debel i kavSiris del egaci is gaerTianebl-
ul i sxdomis (1931 wl is 3 ianvari) stenografi ul i angari Si iqcevs. doku-
mentidan irkveva, rom n.Jordani am IIIY- s (saxel mwi fo pol itikuri sam-
marTvel o) agentad gamoacxada S.qarumiZe. xol o i.gobeCiam, gamdgari da
damsmeni xal xis mimarT pol itikuri zomebis dauyovnebl ivi gatareba
moiTxova. kidev ufro mkacri iyo s.fircxal avas gamosvl a. rac Seexeba
gamdgari xal xis danoss- ganacxada man- amas unda SevebrZol oT da sa-
qveynod gavxadoT maTi umsgavso saqciel i. rodesac Cven amas vizamT, me
darwmunebul i var, bevri maTi wevridan (iq arian patiosani xal xi) Ca-
ufiqrdeba maTi l iderebis saqmi anobas da zurgs Seaqcevs. agreTve Cven
unda SevecadoT gamdgar xal xSi gamovnaxoT saRi el ementebi da isini
saerTo fronts davukavSi roT, amaze yvel am unda vifiqroT.-

s.fircxal avas es gamosvl a, erTis mxriv saqarTvel os mTavrobis ucxo
qveynebis winaSe damsmenti dagmobas iTval iswinebda. meore mxriv, kom-
promisul el ementeb sac Seicavda im Tval sazrisiT, rom gamdgar adami-
anebsi saRad moazrovneTa SerCevas da swor gzaze dayenebas iTval i-
swinebda. rac Seexeba imave sxdomis mier memorandumTan mimarTebsi mi-
Rebul dadgenil ebas, dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `saqarTvel os naciona-
l uri centri gaecno ra im memorandumis Sinaarss, romel ic daTari Rebu-
l ia 15 marti 1930 w. da romel ic gagzavnil ia angoris mTavrobis sax-
el ze asaTianis, bamatis da ToFCibaSevis mier, daadgina: mi endos b. ak.Cxe-
nkel s gamoarkvi os marTI a aqvs Tu ara memorandumze xel i moweril i b.
ToFCibaSevs. saWi roa es pasuxi iqnes mi Rebul i TobCibaSevis gan weri-
l obi T.-

Cemi mcdel obis mi uxedavad, aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebi T, j erj ero-
bi T SeuZl ebel i gaxda ToFCibaSevis gan gacemul i da xel moweril i doku-
mentis mikvl eva. erTi ram dabej iTebi T SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom azerbaij anel eb-
is da Crdil o kavkasi el ebis warmomadgenl ebi aqti urad muSaobdnen saqarTve-

I os mTavrobis winaaRmdeg. amis Sesaxeb S.beriSvil is zemoaRniSnul wer-
 il Si vkiTxul obT: `stambol Si yofnisas me musavatel ebis garda vinaxul e
 eqimi sul tanovi azerbaijanel ebis opoziciidan, radganac mindoda gamego
 maTi azri sxvadasxva sakiTxebze. maTTan Cems saubar s daeswro k.masxaraSvil i.
 orivem daadastura, rom isini ewevian Cvens sawinaaRmdego muSaobas, radga-
 nac maT Cven araviTar angariSsar vuvevT. sul tanovi gansakuTrebiT nawy-
 enia musavatel ebiT. manve manaxa igive memorandumi TargmaniT da miTxra,
 rom aseT rames ar unda veweodeT Torem osmal ebs vabrazebTo. musal aevma
 daadastura faqti Cvens winaaRmdeg maTi muSaobis da imave memorandumze
 miTxra, rom is mas icnobs da savsebiT iziarebs iq gamoTqmul azrebs. manve
 dasZina, rom kavkasiis nacional ur centr... hyavs Tavisi warmomadgenel i
 angoris mTavrobastan da is eweva maTi saxel iT Cvens winaaRmdeg muSaobas.-
 am vr cel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom **`kavkasiis nacional ur centrSi-**
qarTvel `opozicionerebtan- erTad, azerbaijanel i da Crdil o kavkasiis
 opozicionerebi iyvnen gaerTianebul ni, roml ebic erTobl ivad saqarTve-
 l os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi mtrul saqmianobas eweodnen. aseTi
 masStaburi gal aSqreba im urTul es pol itikur situacias daamTxvies, roca
 sabWoTa ruseTis Sesabamisma uweyebema, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavro-
 bis ara mar to diskreditacia, aramed misi pol itikuri asparezidan gaqroba
 dai saxa mi znad. amisTvis sabWoTa agentebi evropis mTel rig saxel mwifoe-
 bSi iqna Segzavnili. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, **`kavkasiis 4 respublikis**
warmomadgenel Ta moRvaweobis Sesaxeb ucxoeTSi- daweril naSromSi
 ak.Cxenkel i werda: `moskovis agentebi mravl ad moedvnen evropas axal i
 megobrebis gasacnad da amisTvis xarj avdnen did ful s.- xolo momdevno
 gverdze werda, rom Tavisi `revol uciuri- miznebis gansaxorciel ebl ad,
 moskovi maqsimal urad sargebl obda evropaSi Seqmnil i pol itikuri situ-
 aciiT. am periodidan `iwyeba swored moskovis usaxel o agentebis TareSi
 msofil os kidiT- kidemde. komunisturi partieb is `gamocekva- yvel gan da
 maTi `uangaro- muSaoba kominternis usual o direqtivebis qveS. mraval i
 mosyiduli, an kidev gul ubryvil o mwerlebi da Jurnal istebi ucxoeTidan
 moskovSi mi iCqarian da dabrunebisascal ke gamocemebSi da Jurnal - gazeTebSi
 qeba- didebiT arweren maT mier naxul da gagonil `saswaul ebs.- qarTul i
 emigraciis zogierTi nawilis pol itikuri tragedia imaSi mdgomareobda,
 rom evropis sainformacio saSual ebebSi gafetiSebul i sabWouri `saswaul eb-
 is- fonze axdendnen saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis diskreditacias da
 dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad, qarTvel Ta kuTvnil i teritoriis mimitacebel s
 da istoriul mtrs umegobrdebodnen.

saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da qarTul i social - demokratiis
 winaaRmdeg opoziciuri daj gufebebis brZola gansakuTrebiT mas Sem-
 deg gaZlierda, roca isini faSistur mimdinareobebTan kavSirSi aRmoCn-
 da. evropis qveynebsi faSistebis xelisuflebis saTaveSi mosvla (germa-
 nia, italia, portugal ia, espaneti), qarTvel i emigrantebis memarj vene opoz-
 iciurma Zal ebma, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da social -
 demokratiul i partiis pol itikurad dasamarebis safexuris mosamzade-
 bl ad gamoyenebas Seecada. am mizniT, faSizmTan damis liderebtan
 pol itikuri lacici, axal safexurze aiyanes. amis SesaniSnaw dadas-
 turebas, ereTeoz ramiSvil is mier berl inidan parizis sazRvargareTul i

biurosadmi gagzavnil i weril i war moadgens. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i: `memarj veneebi s.d. wi naaRmdeg gamod i an da faSistebTan erTad ewevi an brZol as. gmoben Cvens pozicias, saerTo fronts, erovnul mTavrobas, mis Tavmj domares. aRmerTeben da gundruks ukmeven mowinaaRmdegeebs. ar eri debi an gamoTqmebSi aravi Tar Seuracyofas, rogorc mTI i anad organizaciis, ise misi cal ke wevrebi s mimarT, vinc maTi saqmi anobis mxil ebas gabedavs. ar arsebobs iseTi xasiaTis xriki da intriga, romelic Cvens dasamarcxebl ad da memarj veneTa sasargebl od ar exmaraT. mTel i Cveni energia maTi ierisebis mogeriebiskeniyo mudam da aris dResac mimarTul i. sxva ram fiqrisa Tu brZol is sagani maTTvis ar arsebobs, gamoricxul ia.~ memarj veneTa aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, er. rami Svil i principul ad svamda sakiTxs, aRni Snul i dapi rispirebis droul ad aRmofxvris da germaniaSi arsebul i qarTul i kol oniis organizaciis arsebobs SenarCunebis Sesaxeb. samwuxarod, misi es survil i Seusrul ebel i darCa, radgan qarTvel emigrant memarj veneTaj gufi im etapze profaSistur mimdinareobad Camoyal ibda da saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebis momaval s, faSisturi pol itikuri mimdinareobis TanadgomaSi xedavda. saarqivo masal ebiT da samecniero literaturiTac dadasturebul ia, rom 1934 wels, Sal va qarumiZis xel mZRvanel obiT emigrant qarTvel nacional istTa profaSisturi organizacia oficial urad gaformda, xolo organizacia `TeTri giorgis- bazaze, Sal va maRI akel iZis xel mZRvanel obiT 1937 wl is 30 ianvars `saqarTvel os faSisturi darazmul obis- organizacia Seiqmna, romlis oficial ur organos Jurnal i `qarTl osi- (1937- 1939 ww) war moadgenda.⁶ misi programa 1937 wels dai beWda parizSi saTauriT: `saqarTvel os faSisturi darazmul oba. debul ebani moRvawebisa da brZol isaTvis.~ am dokuments xel s S.maRI akel iZe awerda.

xazgasmiT unda aRni Snos, rom saqarTvel os social - demokrati asa da saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobas am faSisturi organizaciis mxardamxar, komunistebic TavgamodebiT ebrZoda. maTTvis erTic da meorec miuRebel i iyo Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom qarTul i social - demokratia da saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba, jer ki dev im etapze saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis samarTI ebrivad kanonier mmarTvel pol itikur Zal ad da mTavrobad moiazreboda. maTi pol itikuri dasamareba, an srul i likvidacia, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwebebis moqmedebis gegmaSi Sedi oda. exeboda ra aRni Snul sakiTxs, 1933 wl is Tebervl iT daTariRebul weril Si k.gvarjal aZe xazgasmiT werda: `mTel i am xnis ganmavl obaSi komunistebi ebrZodnen ara mxol od social istebs, aramed,... Segnebul ad da winaswari ganzraxviT, social istebs wi naaRmdeg mudam faSist- memarj veneebs uWerdnen mxars da amagrebden. komunisturma taqtikam ukve mogvca samwuxaro da saSisi Sedegebi germaniaSi. da Tu iq faSisturi diqtatura ganmtkicda,... uTuod ara erTi da ori saSinao da sagareo qarTul eba moyveba. am udidesi danaSaul isaTvis istoriis da saerTaSoriso muSaTa kl asis wi naSe pasuxi bol Sevikebma unda agon.~⁷

am amonaweris mi xedviT, komunistebis mxridan pol itikuri mosazrebiT faSistebisadmi mxardaWera, k.gvarjal aZes danaSaul ebriv faqtad mi aCnda. anal ogiuri Sefaseba unda mieces qarTvel emigrantTa im pol itikur daj gufebebs, roml ebmac faSisturi ideebi `gai ziara- da maT mxa-

rdamxar brZol is gagrZel eba gani zraxa. am faqtTan dakavSi rebiT, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis 1933 wl is 16 oqtombris mowodebaSi vkiTxul obT: `samwuxarod es yvel as ar esmis. germaniaSi momxdarma rasistul ma gadatrial ebam da rasistul i moZraobis zogierTi xel mZRvanel i pirebis avanturistul - demagogiurma gancxadebebma, mxurval e gamoZaxil i hpoves qarTul i emigraciis zogierT wreebSi. amoZravdnen yvel a bnel i Zal ebi. gansakuTrebiT aqtivobas iCens qarTul i fasisturi j gufi romel ic `TeTri giorgis j gufis- saxel iT moRvaweobs. mas gverdSi udgas nacional - demokratebis da zogierTi gzaabneul i yofil i social - demokrati. `TeTr giorgel Ta j gufi- arsebobs rogorc safrangeTSi, ise germaniaSi. am j gufis sul iskveTeba wmi nda rasistul - fasisturia. ami tom gasakviri ar aris, rom germaniaSi momxdarma gadatrial ebam didi aRfrTovaneba gamoiwvia maT wreSi. pirvel rigSi amuSavda berl inul i j gufi. mis misaSvel ebl ad berl inisken gaeSura mi xako wereTel i da Sveicariidan Sal va qarumiZe. am ukanasknel Ta ankesze wamoego Cveni yofil i el Ci germaniaSi vl .axmetel i.-

Cems mier motani l i am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom evropasi momxdari pol itikuri cvl il ebedidan da germaniis xel isufl ebaSi faSistebis mosvl idan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis erT nawil Si, msofil mxedvel obrivi da ideol ogiuri cvl il ebebi moxda. aseTi moul odnel i gardatexa SemTxveviTobas ar SeiZl eba miweros. ramdenadac maT-Tvis, qarTvel i social - demokratebis pol itikuri naazrevi miuRebel i iyo da maTdami odiozur damoki debul ebas iCendnen, samagierod, misaRebi aRmoCnda germaniis faSisturi nacional - social isturi partiis Sexedul ebebi da ideol ogiuri mrwamsi. amis utyuar dadasturebas, faSistebTan maTi axl o TanamSroml oba warmoadgens. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom qarTveli emigrantebis erTi nawil isgan profaSisturi organizacia _qarTvel nacional istTa saxel wodebiT, Sal va qarumiZis xel mZRvanel obiT 1933 wel s Seiqmna, xol o oficial urad igi germaniaSi 1934 wel s gaformda.⁸ dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom faSizmis mimdevari qarTvel ebis am j gufma, gazeT `TeTri giorgis- furcl ebze gamoqveynebul mowodebaSi, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba da saerTo frontSi gaerTianebul i pol itikuri Zal ebi_ qarTvel i xal xis mtrebad gamoacxada. am fonze, igive dokumenti principul ad ayenebda sakiTxs- emigrantebis bazaze konferenciis mowvevisa da axal i mTavrobis arCevis Sesaxeb. am moTxovnas imiT `asabuTebdnen,- rom axl ad arCeul i mTavroba, maTi azrit qarTveli eris samomavl o bed- iRbal s ukeT gansazRvravda da saqmeebsac warmatebul ad gauZRveboda. rogorc Cans, am Canafiqris aRsrul ebistvis Sesabamisi daxmarebis imeds, fasisturi germaniis xel isufl ebaSi xedavdnen. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom faSizmis mimarTul ebis mxardanWerTa Segrovebas, aRniSnul i organizaciis xel mZRvanel obam safrangeTSi ac Seecada. am mi zniT, germaniidan da Sveicariidan TavianTi warmomadgenl ebi daniSnul ebisamebr safrangeTSi miavl ines. am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, social - demokratiul i partiis cekas 1933 wl is oqtombris mowodebaSi vkiTxul obT: safrangeTSi `maT momzadebul i niadagi daxvdaT aqauri `TeTri giorgis- da sp.kedias j gufebSi. am ukanasknel ebma yovel gvari daxmareba aRuTqves berl inis emisrebs. magram saj ar od gamosvl a ver

gabedes,... safrangeTSi rasistul i sul iskveTebis gamomJRavneba da hitl - eris orientaciis miReba, maT kargs arafers uqadda, ami tom airCies farul i TanamSroml obiT dakmayofil eba.- igive dokumenti ar gamoricxavda, berl inSi mokal aTebul qarTvel faSistebis, saqarTvel os sakiTxis gadaWyveta faSisturi germaniisaTvis rom miendo. aseTi qmedeba qarTvel social - demokratebs danaSaul ebriv aqtad mi aCnda. `Cven gvaqvs sabuTi-vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- rom berl inis emisrebi arc saqarTvel os datoveben uyuradRebod. maTi ganzraxva... Seecadon saqarTvel os momavl is bediRbal i hitl eris germanias gadaaWrevinon, Cven eWvi ar gvepareba amaSi. gamWriaxi pol itikuri gonebis mqone qarTvel i xal xi advil ad gaerkveva dRevandel viTarebaSi da hitl eris emisrebi ankesze ar wamoegeba, magram saWi roa man Tavis droze icodes Tu vin risken an visken mouwodebs mas... darwmunebul i varT, rom Cveni partia da misi ceka saami so muSaobas Caatareben Cveul ebrivis energiit.-⁹ am SemTxvevaSi, social - demokretiis liderebi ar tyuodnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) sazRvargareTul i qarTul i centrissaxal gazrdebis faSisturi ideologiis tyebaSi moqceva da saqarTvel osi Sesabamisi ideologiuri muSaobis gansaxorciel ebl ad maTi gamoyenebis mcdel oba. amis Sesaxeb imave mowodebaSi vkiTxul obT: faSistebTan dakavSirebul i qarTvel i axal gazrdebis `warmomadgenl ebi: eduard papava da mixeil nikolaisvil i ukve wamovidnen sparseTSi, rom iqedan kavSiri gaaban saqarTvel osTan. Tqma ar unda, isini Seecdebian daukavSirdnen social - demokretiul wreebis da arevdareva Seitanon Cveni partiis rigebSi. Cven darwmunebul i varT, rom am garemoebasac gauwevT saTanado angariSs da Sesafer zomebsac mi iRebT... Cven araferi viciT maTi ful ebi wyaros Sesaxeb da verc vi tyvit dana mdvil ebit Tu ra gziT iSoves aseTi didi Tanxa, romelic saWi roa aqedan sparseTamde ori kviris samgzavrod da saqarTvel osTan kavSiris gasabmel ad.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans: 1) `qarTvel faSistTa organizacias,- garkveul i Zal ebi afinansebda da mas Sesabamisi miznebis aRsrul ebisaTvis iyenebda; 2) dokumenturi masalit dadasturebul ia, rom Salva maRl akel izis xel mZRvanel obiT 1937 wels qarTvel Ta bazaze iqmneba axal i faSisturi organizacia. amis Sesaxeb Jurnal `qarTI osSi- (1937 wl is # 1) S.maRl akel izis xel moweriT (30 ianvari) dabeWdil debul ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1. polititur- sazogadoebriv da teqnukur mosazrebaTa gamo, 1937 wl is pirveli Tebervl idan saxel wodebas `erovnul i erTobis darazmul oba TeTri giorgi- vcvl i axliT: `saqarTvel os faSisturi darazmul oba;- 2. 1936 w. oqtombris 18- s `TeTri giorgis- meoTxe yril obis mier mi-Rebul i dadasturebul i `dadgenil ebani- rCebian programad brZol isa da moRvawebisaTvis `saqarTvel os faSisturi darazmul obisa;- 3. `TeTri giorgis- mesame yril obis mier darazmul obis organoebad aRiarebul i krebul i `ornati- da gazeTi `TeTri giorgi- 1937 w. 1 Tebervl idan daxurul ia; 4. 1937 w. Tebervl idan saqarTvel os faSisturi darazmul obis organoa `qarTI osi.- saqarTvel os faSisturi darazmul obis meTauri Salva maRl akel iZe. 1937 w. ianvris 30. parizi.-

marTalia, am organizaciis samoqmedo programa qarTul i saxel mwifos aRdgenas iTval iswinebda da erovnul i sul iskveTebiT iyo datvirTul i, magram misi avtorebi, dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebas faSisturi germani-

is meSveobiT fiqrobdnen. istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom adol f
hi tI eris xel isufI ebas, sabWoTa ruseTis `mokavSi re respubl ikebi saTvis-
damouki debl obis micema miznad ar hqonda dasaxul i. amis Sesaxeb dawvri-
l ebiT, momdevno paragrafSi meqneba saubari. rac Seexeba `saqarTvel os
faSisturi darazmul obis organizacias,~ misi saqmi anoba da faSisturi ge-
rmani is maRal CinosnebTan urTierToba, cal ke Seswavl isa da kvI evis saga-
ns warmoadgens.

saarqivo dokumentebiT dasturdeba, rom qarTvel Ta faSistur mimdinareo-
basTan axl o urTierToba, saqarTvel os yofil el Cs germaniaSi vl .axmetel
I sac hqonda. misi maqsimal uri xel SewyobiT xdeboda qarTvel ebis dakavSi-
reba hi tI eris nacional - social istebis faSistur partiasTan. amasTan
dakavSirebiT, er.rmi Svil is mier k.gvarj al aZisadmi gagzavnil weril Si xazga-
smiTaa miTiTebul i. `noem (Jordani am S.v.) Tavis weril ebSi- vkiTxul obT
dokumentSi- sworad ixmara keresel iZisa da kampaniis mimarT faSistebis
saxel wodeba. rac I ados ase etoSa. noesadmi notaciebis kiTxvasac ar mo-
erida... yvel a qveynis faSistebi Taviant moZraobas nacional uri Sarava-
ndediT mosavs da am ucxo, ital iur saxel wodebas gaurbis... amasve sCadian
Cveni TeTri giorgel ebic. aseT formal ur abrundzea aSenebul i I ados
gaocebac. keresel iZe ki aris aSkara TeTr- giorgel i, iziarebs da iwonebs
maT `moRvaweobas,~ TanamSroml obs maT parizul organoSi. am organos fi-
l ial i daarsa Tavisi vaJebis firmiT, saTanado xarj ebis gaRebiT (gavi xse-
neb yovel nomerSi dastambul madl obebs mis mimarT nivTier i daxmarebi sa-
Tvis).~ aq motanil i faqtebis si swore, Cems mier gadamowmebul i iqna da Se-
sabamisi saarqivo dokumentebiT dadasturda. metic, vl .axmetel is mier daarse-
bul `kul turul sazogadoebaSi~ mxol od is qarTvel i emigrantebi iqnen
gaerTianebul ni, roml ebic faSizmis ideol ogias iziarebdnen da faSistu-
ri germani is samsaxurSi Cadgomaze mzadyofnas acxadebdnen. xazgasmiT mi-
nda aRvni Sno, rom imave vl .axmetel is rekomendaci iT, `kul turul i sazoga-
doebis- Tavmj domared margvel aSvil i iqna daniSnul i. es is pirovnebaa,
romel mac berl inis kol oni is gasaerTianebl ad arCeul i komisi is sxdomaze
oficial urad ganaxxada: `noe Jordani a qarTvel i eris mteri da moRal atea,
misi winaaRmdeg saWi roa Seurigebel i brZol a da yvel a isini vinc am brZol
I isTvis ar gamodgeba- mi uRebel ia.~

Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mi kvI eul i dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba,
rom faSizmis momxre qarTvel i emigrantebisTvis n.Jordani a imi tom iyo
mi uRebel i `qarTvel i eris mteri da moRal ate,~ rom man faSizmis ide-
bi ar gaizara da rac mTavaria, faSizmis momxreeba da misi mdevrebs
Seurigebel i brZol a gamoucxada. am fonze, igi faSistebis gan saqarTve-
l os ganTavisufI ebas da misi damouki debl obis aRdgenas il uziad mi-
iCnevda. anal ogi uri pozicia eWi ra k.gvarj al aZesac. amasTan dakavSirebiT
gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevs saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i
muSaTa parti is sazRvargareTul i organizaciebis del egatTa konferenci-
is (1934 wl is 21- 22 april i) stenografi ul i angari Si. saerTaSoriso mdgo-
mareoba da saqarTvel os sakiTxis Sesaxeb egegeWkoris mier gakeTebul i
moxsenebis gar Semo mimdinare di skusi is dros, k.gvarj al aZem oficial urad
ganaxxada: `Tu faSizmi gai marj vebs evropaSi, ruseTsi da sxvagan, rasakvirvel -
ia, saqarTvel o Tavs ver gainTavisufI ebs da is mudam dapyrobi l i iqneba.~¹⁰

am amonaweris mi xedviT, saqarTvel os momaval s k.gvarj al aZe faSi zmSi ver xedavda. piriqiT, evropasa da ruseTSi faSi zmi s gamarj veba, saqarTvel os samudamod monobaSi yofnad miaCnda. am fonze, metnaki ebad gansxvavebul i pozicia eWira social - demokratiul i partiis erT- erT warmomadgenel s vaso aTabegiSvil s. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mis mier zemoaRniSnul i konferenciisadmi wardgenil i moxseneba. am dokumentis gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom igi mimdinare saerTaSoriso pol itikuri procesebis saqarTvel os sasargebl od maqsimal urad gamoyenebis Sesaxeb amaxvil ebda yuradRebas. imavdroul ad, konferenciis monawil eebis mouwodebda, rom pol itikuri dapirispirebis sanacvl od, pragmatul i saxis gadawyvetil ebebis SemuSavebaze efiqraT. am weril is wakiTxvis dros- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- SeiZl eba zogierTma damswreTaganma iyviros, faSisti yofil a is viRacaris. magat sapasuxod vacxadeb, rom pirvel yovl isa me qarTvel i var da Tu faSistebi gauweven daxmarebas qarTvel xal xs ganTavisufli des monobidan, ratom ar SeiZl eba gamovi yenoT es daxmareba? piriqiT me, faSisti ki ara eSmakistic gavxdebi manamdis sanam saqarTvel o ucxo Zal as upyria. Cveni aq ucxoetsi rogorc emigrantebs aravin ar gvkiTxavs `bari aT SauraTao,~ Cveni arc social istoba ainteresebT da arc faSistoba, radganac Cveni rogorc ucxo el ementebi iuridiul ufl eebis mokl ebul ni varT. ra saWiroa tyuil aT meore internacional is viveskis tareba. rac Seexeba Cems social istobas,... social isti viyavi, var da viqnebi mxol od Tu meRirsa da davbrundi saqarTvel oSi, Toem aq emigraciaSi ra mesocial - isteba? aq vis unda vebrZol o?... Cveni pirvel i da mTavari mteri aris TeTri Tu wiTel i ruseTi da mTel i Cveni SeerTebul i Zal ebi aqeT unda mi vmarToT. qarTvel ers da kavkasiis xal xebs uTanasworo brZol aSi saerTo mtris winaaRmdeg xel i SevuywoT. rodesac ganTavisufli deba saqarTvel o da kavkasia, maSin Cveni Tavisufal qveyanaSi SegviZl ia vil aparakoT, visocial istoT da vi pol itikoT, manamdis sanam daTvi ar aris mokl ul i imis tyavis gayofaze l aparaki naadreva. me vSi Sob, rom Tu Cveni axl ave ar Sevcal eT Cveni taqtika da ar SevufardeT saerTaSoriso Zal Ta ganwyobil eebis, momaval Si qarTvel i eri sastik pasuxs mogvTxovs da wyevl akrul viT mogvi xseniebs momaval i Taoba.-

am vrצל amonawerSi uaRresad angariSgasaweვი sakiTxebia dasmul i da TiToeul i maTganis mizanSewonil ebis Sefaseba aucil ebl obas warmoadgens. aqedan gamomdinare, yuradRebas mxol od ramdenime maTganze SevaCereb: 1)v.aTabegiSvil is mtkiceba, rom im etapze evropasi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis saqarTvel os sasargebl od- Tugind faSi zmi s gamoyeneba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda, dazustebas saWiroebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Semdegi garemoeba: es debul eba emigranti qarTvel ebis atvis mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda misaRebi, germaniis faSistur xel isufli ebas, sabWoTa ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi Semaval i `mokavSire respublikebi saTvis- damouki debel i saxel mwifos Seqmna_ Senarcuneba rom daesaxa miznad. ramdenadac aseTi ram maT samomavl o gegmebSi ar iyo Setanil i faSistebTan al iansSi arSesvl a, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da social - demokratebis swor poziciad unda CaiTval os; 2)im etapze pol itikuri mimarTul ebis motiviT da ideuri mrwamsis win wamoweviT, sxva pol itikuri Zal ebisadmi dapirispirebis faqtis v.aTabegiSvil is mier

Secdomad gamocxadeba, swor Sefasebas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, mi sive sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, `cocxal i daTvis tyavis winaswar ganawil ebi- sTvis- diskusia, udi des pol itikur sibriyves warmoadgenda; 3) is faqti, rom qarTvel emigrantebS, rogorc vaTabegiSvil i wers, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa l iderebi samarTI ebriv sivrcidan gasul ad Tvl idnen da maTdami nakl eb yuradRebasac iCendnen_ simarTI es Seesabameboda. am Sexedul ebas, safrangeTis xel isufl ebis mier saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis l egaciis gauqmebis Sesaxeb miRebul i gadawyvetil eba edo safuZvl ad.

arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom es mosal odnel i safrTxex, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis meseurTa mxridan droul ad iqna SemCneul i. imave masal ebiT isic irkveva, rom am mimarTul ebiT gansakuTrebul nayofier muSaobas sabWoTa ruseTis Sesabamisi uwyebebic eweoda. evropasi Seqmnil i pol itikuri cvl il ebedidan da ruseT- safrangeTs Soris 1932 wl is 29 noembers parizSi xel moweril i Tavdausxmeli obis paqtidan gamodinare,¹¹ sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebas garkveul i safuZvel i mieca imisTvis, rom saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis l egaciis gauqmeba, safrangeTis mTavrobis saTvis kategoriul i formiT moeTxova. samwuxarod, am mavnebl uri ideis mxardamWeris rol Si `TeTri giorgis- wevrebi da m.kedias j gufi gamodioda. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis 1933 wl is 14 martis sxdomaze n.Jordania xazgasmit ambobda: `moskovTan daaxl oebis mi zniT, safrangeTis mTavroba api rebs Cveni nacional uri mTavrobis l egaciis waSl as... Cven viyaviT cnobil i oficial urad momuSave mTavroba saqarTvel os erisa. raki es orive Tvi seba wagverTva, vrCebi T orSi erTi; an ise v am mTavrobaT mosil i Cveni xal xis da partiaTandobit, anda is iSl eba da aq emigrantebi sgan dgeba fantastikuri `mTavroba,- an saxel daxel o komiteti Tu komitetebi, romel Ta muSaobas arc aq da arc iq eqneba raime gavlena. am ukanasknel i tendenciis aris Cveni gamdgari... `TeTri giorgi,- kedias j gufi da Seizl eba ki dev sxvebic aRmoCndnen... opoziciuri wrebedan... Cveni mTavroba aris qarTvel i xal xis mTavroba da... is rCeba amnairadve. is ar aris safrangeTis mier dayenebul i, rom man gadaayenos, arc emigraciis arCeulia, rom Tavis bedi mis beds SeukavSiros. maSasadame, mTavroba ganagrZobs muSaobas im saxiT da masStabit, roml iTac axl aa da aravitari cvl il eba am mxrit ar moxdeba.-

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans n.Jordani as pozicia mTavrobis pirvandel i saxiT SenarCunebasTan mimarTebaSi. meore mxriv, SeTanxmebisa da Zal Ta konsolidaciis mcdel obis miuxedavad, qarTul i emigraciul i pol itikuri speqtri daqsasul ad moqmedebda, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis ignorebis bazaze, xSirad saelWvo pol itikuri mimarTul ebis Zal ebTan_ faSistebTan TanamSroml obas amj obinebda. am SemTxvevaSi, arcerT maTgans principul ad ar dausvams sakiTxi: gancal kevebul ad mdgomi pol itikuri Zal ebi saerTasoris arenaze visi saxel iT imoqmedebdnen. maT mier gada- dgmul i nebismieri nabiji, dafuZnebul i iqneboda Tu ara samarTI ebrivad qarTvel i xal xis l egitimaciaze. Cems mier Seswavl il saarqivo masal ebSi es sakiTxi, opoziciuri partiebS mier Seqmnil dokumentebSi arsad ar fi-

guri rebs. arada, nebi smier saerTaSoriso Roni sZie baze, aseT pol itikur Zal ebs ara qarTvel i xal xis saxel iT, aramed cal keul i pol itikuri parti is viwro CarCoTi Semofargvl is ufl eba gaaCnda. mi Tumetes, Tuki safrangeTis xel is ufl eba, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis l egacias gaauqme bda, mas safrangeTSi saqarTvel os mTavrobis saxel iT saj arod gamosvl is ufl eba waerTmeoda. es qarTul i emigraciisa da erovnul - ganmaTavisu fl ebel i moZraobisadmi udidesi dartyma iqneboda. qarTul emigracias oficial ur forumbze, qarTvel i xal xis saxel iT gamosvl a waerTmeoda.

cnobil i faqtia, rom sabWoTa ruseTsa da safrangeTs Soris gaformebul i zemoaRni Snul i paqtis (1932 wl is 29 noemberi) safuZvel ze, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis l egacia 1933 wl is ivl is Si oficial urad iqna gauqmebul i. momxdari faqti, sabwoTa ruseTis dipl omatiuri korpusis saqmianobis warmatebad unda caiTval os. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os emigracias, igi umZimes mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia gamosaval i gzebis Ziebas da im meqani zms SemuSavebis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda, romel ic garegnul ad- oficial urad mTavrobis `magivrobis- funqciis datvirTviT isargebl ebda, pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidaciisa da saqarTvel osTvis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xel Semwyobi safexuris SenarCunebisTvisac izrunebda. es sakiTxi sagangebod iqna ganxil ul i saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis da partiaTa warmomadgenl ebis 1935 wl is 2 oqtombris SeerTebul sxdomaze. saoqmo Canawerebidan irkveva, rom sakiTxi exeboda qarTul i emigraciis saofiso sabWos Seqmnas. imave dokumentis mi xedviT, sabWos daarsebis mi zniT Sesabamisi wesdebis SesamuSavebl ad sagangebo komisia iqna Seqmnil i, roml is Semadgenl obaSi Sevidnen: k.kandel aki, s.mdivani, a.asaTiani da r.gabaSvil i. social ist- revol ucionerebma imave sxdomaze erovnul sabWoSi da partiaTa kol egiaSi Tavis warmomadgenl ad il ia nucubiZe daasaxel a.

saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da partiaTa warmomadgenl ebis mier saofiso sabWos Seqmna, safrangeTis mTavrobisTvis mi uRebel i aRmoCnda. es sakiTxi erovnul i mTavrobisa da partiaTa warmomadgenl ebis 5- dan 14 oqtombris SeerTebul sxdomebze sagangebod iqna ganxil ul i. qarTul i kol oniis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb e.gegeWkoris mier sxdomaze gakeTebul i informaciidan gairkva, rom safrangeTis xel is ufl eba, sabWos ofisis funqcionirebas afasebda rogorc mTavrobis l egaciis gagrZel ebas. aqedan gamomdinare, `ofisis direktors kategoriul ad ganucxades, rom ofiss aqvs miniWebul i sakonsul os ufl ebebi da igi Seadgens administraciul organos, romel ic eqvemdebareba adgil obriv xel is ufl ebas. igi qarTul i emigraciis Sinauri saqmea da veraviTar gavlenas ver iqonebs ofisis mdgomareobaze. aseTive gancxadeba gaukeTebia samini stros pasuxismgebel moxel es b.n. amil axvarisaTvis.- imave dokumentidan irkveva, rom aRni Snul sakiTxi sxdomas erTxmad miuRia partiaTa kol egiiis mier wardgenil i winadadeba, rom kol egiiis gameobas TavadaeRo xel Si sabWos sakiTxis mogvareba. qarTul i emigraciul i mTavrobisa da partiaTa warmomadgenl obis umravl esobas kargad esmoda, rom Seqmnil i siZnel eebis miuxedavad, muSao bis gagrZel eba gaZl ierebul i formiT unda momxdariyo ara mar to safrangeTSi, aramed yvel a im qveynebsi sadac qarTvel i emigrantebi imyofeboda.

es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi erovnul i mTavrobisa da partiaTa warmomadgenl eobis 1935 wl is 7 dekembris sxdomas, romel mac, saofiso sabWos zemoaRniSnul i komisiis angariSi moismi na. miRebul i gadawyvetil ebiT, saofiso sabWos Semadgenl oba sami kaciT ganisazRvra_ kol oniis Tavmj domare, yofil i el Ci- ak.Cxenkel i da erTi special isti- zaval iSvil i. maTi oficial uri damtkiceba, kol oniis saj aro krebas unda ganexorciel ebina.

saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis l egaciis Sewyvetidan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis udidesi pol itikuri krizisis winaSe dayenebis fonze, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas, v.aTabegiSvil is mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i konferenciisadmi wardgenil zemoaRniSnul moxsenebaSi, qarTul i emigraciis kategoriis sakiTxis dasma da miseul i pasuxi iqcevs. `18 wel iwadi xdeba- vkiTxu- l obT dokumentSi- varT emigraciaSi. kiTxva dgeba, emigrantebis romel kategorias vekutvniT Cven qarTvel ebi? rusebiviT pol itikurs? Cemis azrit ara, da ai ratom: CvenSi Sinauri gadatrial eba ar momxdara. Cven gamoveqeciT ucxo Zal as da ara Sinauri gadatrial ebis safuZvel ze Seqmnil sxva rejims. Tu es marTal i da misaRebia, maSin Cven varT erovnu- l i emigrantebi da araviTar SemTxvevaSi pol itikuri. gamovdivar ra am debul ebidan, Cvenma partiam Tavisi sadReiso taqtika unda gadaitanos mTel i asi procentiT erovnul - nacional ur niadagze.-

sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasma garkveul l ogikas eqvemdebareboda da amgariSgasawevia imdenad, ramdenadac saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavroba ucxo qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis mier iyo gamodevnil i.

* * *

devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis kanonieri mTavro- bis sqmianoba, evropasi mimdinare umzimes pol itikur procesebs daemTxva. mdgomareobas kidev ufro arTul ebda qarTvel ebisadmi damaxasiaTebel i Sida pol itikuri dapiRispireba, gaTiTokacebul i formiT pirvel obisaTvis brZol a. marTalia, yovel i maTgani eris dakargul i Tavisufl ebis aRdge- naze da saqarTvel os sabWouri uRl isgan ganTavisufl ebaze ocnebobda, ma- gram, `aviwydebodaT-, rom dasaxul i miznis miRweva Rmad gaazrebul i erTi- ani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebit da misi amoqmedebiT iyo SesaZl ebel i. mi- uxedavad amisa, xSirad angariSs ar uwevdnen j er kidev oficial urad mo- qmed saqarTvel os kanonier mTavrobas. erTxel ki dev xzgasmit unda iTqvas, rom noeramiSvil is mkvl el obiT, qarTul i emigraciasa da mis xel mZRvanel l egitimur mTavrobas, udidesi pol itikuri, ideol ogiuri da moral uri dartya miayenes. qarTul i emigraciaSi arsebul i araj ansaRi mdgomareoba, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad im etapze moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis centristvis miuRebel i iyo. amis dadasturebas, imave partiis cen- tral uri komitetis 1931 wl is 19 agvistos aral egal ur sxdomaze `amira- nis- moxsenebis safuZvel ze miRebul i rezol ucia warmoadgens. am dokume- ntSi, mTel i rigi mniSvnel ovani sakiTxebis paral el urad, qarTul i emi- graciis mesveurebisadmi kategoriul i formis mivarTva gakeTebul i: `qarTve- l i eri dayenebul i katastrofis winaSe, moiTxovs Tavisi meTaurebisgan gamosavl is gamonaxvas, mouwodebs TiToeul Tavis Svil s dai viyos yve-

l aferi: piradi cxovreba, azrTa sxvadasxvaoba da dadges erTi droSiS qveS, romel sac aweria saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba.⁻¹²

Cems mier motanil i dokumentis gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom man, emigraciaSi myofi pol itikuri partieb is `gamofxiZl eba- ze- da parizis qarTul erovnul centrTan urTierTobis ganaxl ebis gada- wyvetil ebis miRebaze garkveul i rol i Seasrul a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciis 1932 wl is 12 martis krebaze miRebul i dadgenil eba. igi saqarTvel os gasanTavisufl ebl ad pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTiane bis paTosiTaa datvirTul i. `varSavaSi arsebul i nacional - demokratiul i partiis organizacia- vkiTx- ul obT dokumentSi- mogesal meba Tqven, rogorc organos... gaerTiane bisas... yovel i patiosani qarTvel is moval eobaa, riTac SeuZl iaibrZol os mtris winaaRmd eg. Cveni organizacia, rogorc erTi kaci, mzad iqneba Tavi Seswiros saqarTvel os saqmes... pirvel ive Tqveni daZaxebisTanave. Cven... yovel Tvis viqnebiT barikadebis pirvel rigSi da vibrZol ebT ukanasknel sisxl is wveTamde Cveni Zvirfasi samSobl os gasanTavisufl ebl ad. Cveni l ozungia gaerTiane bul i Seudrekel i... brZol a yovel i sj ul is mtrebis winaaRmd eg, rogorc emigraciaSi, ise iq saqarTvel oSi. maS gaumarj os gaerTiane bul brZol as gamarj vebamde.⁻¹³ dokumentis krebis Tavmj domare nikol oz kupraS- vil i da mdivani asl an cicqil aZe awerda xel s igi erovnul - demokratiu- l i partiis varSavis organizaciis beWdiT iyo dadasturebul i.

parizis qarTul i erovnul i centrisadmi oficial uri formiT mxardaW- era, misi xel mZRvanel obiT saqarTvel os gasanTavisufl ebl ad mzadyof- nis gamoTqma, im mZime pol itikuri situaciis fonze gansakuTrebul i de- ol ogiur da moral ur- zneobrivi datvirTvas izenda. am faqtiT, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciis mesveurebma, sxva pol iti- kuri partieb is l iderebs pirdapir miანი Sn es; roca samSobl o mtrisga- naa okupirebul i da qarTvel oba monobis uRel qveS gminavs, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikur el itas urTierTSoris kinkl aobis ufl eba ar hqonda. surda Tu ara, erTmaneTTan saerTo ena gamoeZebna da erTobl ivi Zal ebiT qveynis xsnaze ezruna. aRni Snul i xazidan gadaxveva, nebi smeri pol itikuri Zal is mxridan, borkil ebiT damZimebul i saqarTvel osadmi Ral atis tol fas qmedebas warmoadgenda. arsebul i pol itikuri situa- cia, parizis qarTvel Ta erovnul i centris Semadgenl obasa da emigraci u- l i mTavrobis mesveurT, erovnul - demokratebis gan (r.gabaSvil is j gufisa- gan) 1929 wel s erovnul i centris TviTneburad datovebis faqtis `mivi wye- bas- da garkveul kompromisze wasvl as aval debul ebda. miTumetes, imave varSavi dan, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi miwodebul i informaciis mi xedvi T, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciaSi S.ami rej ibi sa da al .asaTian- r.gabaSvil is daj gufebas Soris umZimes dapirispirebas hqonda adgil i. amis Sesaxeb sayuradRebo informaci as Sei cavs saqarTvel os mTavro- bis, damfuZnebul i krebis prezidiumis da demokratiul i kavSiris (d.k.) del - egaciebis gaerTiane bul i sxdomis (1931 wl is 28 Teberval i) stenografiul i angariSi. rogorc dokumentidan irkveva, zemoaRni Snul i dapirispirebis Sesaxeb, sxdomis monawil eeb s n.Jordani am dawvril ebiT moaxsena da iqve dasZina: `CemTan iyvnen vaCnaZe- gabaSvil i da gadaveci varSavi dan miRebul i cnoba. maT daiwyes l aparaki SeTanxmebaze da me vuTxari, rom moel apar-

keT gvazavas j gufs. isini ayenebdnen sakiTxs, rom iyos paral el uri muSao-
 ba. amaze me vuTxari, rom es formis sakiTxia da movifiqrebT meTqi.- am
 SemTxvevaSi mxedvel obaSi iyo misaRebi asaTian- gabaSvil is j gufis waj eq-
 ukuj eqis warsul i qmedebebi dan gamomdinare gamocdil eba, ris gamoc, mi sad-
 mi gansakuTrebil i ndobis gamocxadeba da g.gvazavas j gufis ganawyeneba
 dauSvebel i iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, sakiTxi oficial uri msj el obis don-
 eze unda dasmul iyo da gadawyvetil ebis mi Reba paritetis prinsips dafuZne-
 boda. am garemoebis gaTval iswinebiT, al .asaTian- r.gabaSvil is j gufTan
 mol aparakebis sakiTxi, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis
 prezidiumis wevrebis da politikiuri partiebhis del egaciis 1931 wl is 13
 ivnisis gaerTianebul i sxdomis ganxil vis saganigaxda. warsul is ga-
 mocdil ebidan gamomdinare, al .asaTian- r.gabaSvil is j gufisadmi dayrd-
 noba, TaTbiris monawil eebma dauSvebl ad miicnia. s.fircxal ava da e.ge-
 geWkori, al .asaTianis gul wrfel obas kiTxvis qveS ayenebdnen da sak-
 iTxis gul dasmit Seswavl as principul ad moitxovdnen. meore mxriv,
 g.gvazavas j gufTan SeTanxmehis gareSe, asaTian- gabaSvil is j gufis Sesaxeb
 raime gadawyvetil ebis miRebas dauSvebl ad Tvl idnen. rac Seexeba
 iv.zurabiSvil s, man principul i formiT ganacxada, rom erovnul front-
 tSi gaerTianebul i erovnul - demokratiul i partiis g.gvazavas j gufTan
 winaswari SeTanxmehis gareSe, al .asaTian- r.gabaSvil is j gufTan raime
 saxis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi mol aparakebis gamarTva mi zanSuwonel i iyo.
 winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, rogorc TviTon aRniSnavda, `erT mSvenier dRes,
 gvazavas j gufi izul ebidan gamomdinare SeiZl eba fronti dan gavides, xol o
 asaTianis j gufi ki ar aris sando kontingenti, romel zedac SeiZl ebodes
 Tqma, rom bol omde SerCeba fronts da Tu isic gavida maSin, kvl av dadgeba
 is krizisi, romel ic winaT iyo, roca am j gufma centridan Tavisi xal xi ga-
 moi yvana.-

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imaze metyvel ebs, rom zemoaRniSnul i sxdomis
 monawil eebi, al .asaTian- r.gabaSvil is j gufisadmi ndobas dauSvebl ad mi-
 icnevden. miuxedavad amis, politikiuri koniunqturis da erovnul i intere-
 sebi dan gamomdinare, maTTan SeTanxmehis sakiTxze mol aparakebas agrZel ebdnen.
 am prinsips daefuZna imave sxdomis mier miRebul i winadadebebi: 1) naci ona-
 l uri centri momxrea SeTanxmeha moxdes asaTian- gabaSvil is j gufTan;
 2) es gadawyvetil eba ecnoba nacional ur centrSi Semaval nacional - demo-
 kratebis warmomadgenl ebs, raTa maT daamTavron mol aparakeba Tavisi moZme
 j gufTan; 3) mol aparakebis sakiTxi gadaeces partiaTa del egacias Tavisi
 azris warmosadgenaT centrSi.-

am dokumentidan kargad Cans, rom erovnul centrSi gaerTianebul i pol i-
 tikuri partiebi, asaTian- gabaSvil is j gufis miRebaze Tanaxmani iyvnen, ma-
 gram, sakiTxis sabol ood gadawyveta, yvel aze sando da saerTo saqmeSi da-
 sayrden erovnul - demokratiul i partiis g.gvazavas j gufs miandves. es iyo
 politikiurad swori gadawyvetil eba. am SemTxvevaSi, mTel i pasuxismgebl o-
 ba asaTian- gabaSvil is j gufis momdevno saqmi anobasTan mimarTebaSi erovnul -
 demokratiul i partiis g.gvazavas j gufs daekisreboda, radgan gadawyveti
 si tyva maT unda eTqva da saeWvo politikiuri reputaciis al .asaTian- r.gaba-
 Svil is j gufisadmi rekomendacia gaewia.

al .asaTian- r.gabaSvil is j gufis erovnul centrSi miRebis sabol oo gada-

wyvetil ebis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i kre-
 bis prezidiumis weverebis da demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciebis 1932
 wl is 5 noembris gaerTianebul ma sxdomam sagangebod imsj el a. stenografi-
 ul i angariSidan irkveva, rom aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, imave sxdom-
 mas Semdegi saxis dadgenil eba miuRia: `saqarTvel os erovnul i centri-
 vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- dgas mis mier araerTxel gamoTqmul azrze, rom
 gafarToebul i iqnas saerTo fronti yvel a qarTul i antibol Sevikuri Za-
 l ebiT, romel nic momxre iqnebian erovnul centrTan TanamSroml obis. sax-
 eSi i Rebs mTavrobis im gancxadebas, rom erovnul - demokratiul i partiis
 im mimdinareobam, romel mac am sami wl is winaT erovnul i centri datova.
 Semdeg Tavisi saj aro gamosvl ebiT Tu mTavrobasTan mol aparakebiT cxa-
 dyo survil i saerTo frontSi Semosvl is da erovnul centrTan TanamSro-
 ml obis. rom aseTi TanamSroml oba ar iqneba nayofieri Tu maT warmomadgen-
 el ebs mWidro kavSiri ar eqnebaT centrTan da amitomac adgens: Semovides
 erovnul centrSi erTi maTi warmomadgenel i sxva partieb is warmomadgen-
 el ebTan Tanaswori ufl ebiT (erTi xma) da erTi warmomadgenel ic saTaT-
 biro xmiT.-

am dokumentis im etapze gansakuTrebul i pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri
 datvirTva gaaCnda im Tval sazrisiT, rom erovnul - demokratiul i partiis
 warmomadgenel ebis mxridan, mraval gzis waj eq- ukuj eqis qmedebebidan
 gamomdinare, erovnul i centris warmomadgenel ebi, qarTul i emigraciis
 Zal Ta konsolidaciis mizniT, oficial urad erTxel ki dev kompromi sze
 wasvl is survil s acxadebdnen. am faqtiT, emigraciis yvel a qarTul i po-
 l itikuri mimdinareobis da j gufebis warmomadgenel ebs Seaxsenes maT
 winaSe mdgomi amocanebi da is pasuxismgebl oba, romel ic ucxoetsi gada-
 xvewil saqarTvel os kanonier xel is ufl ebas da damfuZnebel i krebis
 wevrebs gaaCnda qarTvel i eris winaSe. Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mopove-
 bul i dokumenturi masal iT aSkarad ikveTeba, rom parizis saqarTvel os
 erovnul centrSi gaerTianebul i emigraciis qarTul i pol itikuri speq-
 tris warmomadgenel ebi, zemoaRni Snul i principiT ganxil avdnen pol i-
 tikur partiebTan damokidebul ebis da okupirebul saqarTvel osTan
 mimarTebaSi arsebul yvel a mniSvnel ovan sakiTxs.

momxdar faqts, k.qavTaraZem da s.menaRariSvil ma 1933 wl is 10 martiT daTa-
 riRebul moxsenebaSi Semdegi Sefaseba misca: `centris mizani iyo... gabaS-
 vil - asaTianis j gufi daexl oebia da saerTo muSaobaSi Caeba. amis ganx-
 orciel ebas is sul ieri gardatexac uwyobda xel s, romel ic... am j gufSi
 daiwyo da erovnul i brZol is gaerTianebis xaziT mimdinareobda. centric
 da mTavrobac am garemoebas al Ros uRebs da dRes... asaTian- gabaSvil is
 j gufi centrSi Semovida. maT miecaT erTi gadamWrel i xma.-

rac Seexeba `erovnul i centris- Semadgenel obas da mis ufl ebebs, es sa-
 kiTxi saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis 1933 wl is 17 noembris sxdomam
 sagangebod ganxil a da Sesabamisi dadgenil ebac miiRo. `damfuZnebel i
 krebis mier arCeul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis
 da saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebisTvis mebrZol i partieb is warmomadgen-
 el ebis SeerTebul i sxdoma- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- warmoadgens saqarTve-
 l os `erovnul centrs,- romel ic aerTianebs saqarTvel os ganTavisu-
 fl ebel i moZraobisaTvis aRni Snul partiebs arsebul SeTanxmebaTani adagze..

erovnul i centri imuSavebs saerTo pol itikur xazs, iRebs samoqmedo gegmas da dadgenil ebebs da pirdapir monawil eobas Rebul obs maT Ses-
rul ebaSi mTavrobasTan erTad Tavisi komisi ebi s saSual ebi T.-

am amonaweris mixedviT kargad Cans, `erovnul i centris- mdgomareoba da
misi ufl ebebi. am fonze, mi zanSewoni l ad mi maCnia, naCvenebi iqnas `erovnul
centrSi- gaerTianebul Zal Ta (mTavroba, partiaTa warmomadgenl oba, dam-
fuZnebel i krebis prezidiumi) srul i saxe. dokumenturi masal iT dadastu-
rebul ia, rom im etapze (1933 wel i) saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobaSi 4
social - demokrati (n.Jordania- Tavmj domare, ak.Cxenkel i, k.kandel aki, e.ge-
geWkori) da erTi erovnul - demokrati_ i.zurabiSvil i Sedioda. rac Seex-
eba partiaTa warmomadgenl obas, anu kol egias, masSi pol itikuri partiebi-
dan 7 kaci iyo gaerTianebul i: social - demokratebi- 2, erovnul - demokrate-
bi- 3, social ist- federal istebi- 1. k.CxeiZis gardacval ebi Semdeg, dam-
fuZnebel i krebis prezidiumSi erTi erovnul - demokrati da erTi social -
ist- federal isti darCa, roml ebi c erovnul centrSi TiTo xmis ufl ebi T
sargebl obden.

**zemoaRni Snul i am sami organizaciis (erovnul i mTavroba, damfuZnebe-
l i krebis prezidiumi, partiaTa warmomadgenl obiTi kol egia) bazaze
Seiqmna parizis qarTul i erovnul i centri. misi Semadgenl oba warmo-
madgenl obiTi Tval sazrisiT im etapze Semdegnairad gamoiyureboda:
social - demokratebi- 6, erovnul - demokratebi- 4, social ist- feder-
al istebi- 1, social ist- revol ucionerebi- 1.**

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul is fonze, Tuki im periodis qarTul i emigraciis
Sesaxebarsebul dokumentur masal ebSi safuZvl ianad CavRrmavdebi T, erovnu-
l i centrisadmi dapirispirebul mdgomareobaSi, l .keresel iZisa da vl .axmete-
l is xel mZRvanel obi T moqmedi berl inis daj gufeba warmocndeba. amis Sesaxe-
dawvril ebiTaa saubari social - demokratiul i partiis berl inis organi-
zaciis Tavmj domaris m.wul ukiZis mier n.Jordaniasadmi gagzavnil weril -
Si. masSi xazgasmiTaa aRni Snul i, rom l .keresel iZes ar swamda qarTvel Ta
erTianoba. aqedan gamomdinare, igi ebrZoda saerTo fronts da erovnul
mTavrobas. anal ogiuri pozicia eWira saqarTvel os pirvel i republ ikis
yofil srul ufl ebian el Cs germaniaSi vl .axmetel sac. l .keresel iZisgan
gansxvavebi T, igi n.Jordani as ucxadebda brZol as da qarTul i pol itikuri
emigraciis j gufepad danakuwebas mas abral ebda. amis dadasturebas, mis
mier d.SaraSiZisadmi 1932 wl is 15 mais gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens.
`SorsmWvretel xel mZRvanel obas mokl ebul i qarTul i emigrantoba- vkiTxu-
l obT dokumentSi- daiyo j guf- j gufepad, wiandel i partiobis mTI iano-
ba daiSal a. sazogadoebrivi azri aRar arsebobs, gaCnda mar to j gufobrivi
organoebi da Tavisufl ad moazrovne qarTvel s ar SeuZl ia mi awodos Tavisi
xma uSual od mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. n.Jordani as ki unda eTamaSa sxva ro-
l i, rogorc mTavrobis saTaveSi myofs. iuridiul ufl ebadakargul s mas
unda gaeZl ierebia zneobrivi, eTiuri, samarTI ianobis savse gavl ena, rac
srul iad mospobda j gufobrivas da uazro Sexl a- Semoxl as. ami T damt-
kicdeboda, rom is marTI ac eris namdvil i meTauri da xel mZRvanel ia.
axl a is, ara Tu eris, arc partiis warmomadgenel ia. mas hyavs Tavisi mcire
j gufi, ase vTqvaT Tavisi mrevl i. am Cemi Sexedul ebi azrs- sindisiers da
marTal s ar vmal avdi da ar vmal av, radgan WeSmaritebi saTvis me mxol od

erTi qisa maqvs da ara ramdenime, rogorc dauviwyar il ias `oTaranT qvrivs.- am amonaweris mixedviT, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis j gufebad danakuwebis mizezad, n.Jordaniaa dasaxel ebul i. anal ogiuri pozicia eWira vl .axmetel sac. misi `mtkicebiT,- iuridiul ad ufl ebadakargul mTavrobis Tavmj domares, emigraciaSi myofi pol itikuri partiis l iderebze zneobrivi, eTiuri da samarTl ianobis gavl ena unda gaeZl ierebina. misi es gancxadeba, ritoriukul el fers atarebda radgan, mTavrobis Tavmj domarisadmi daumorCil ebl obis pirvel i nabij i Tavad vl .axmetel ma gadadga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs misi el Cobidan gadayenebis Sesaxeb, n.Jordani as brZanebisadmi ardamorCil eba im motiviT, rom igi saqarTvel os parl amentis mier iyo damtkicebul i da mTavrobis Tavmj domares, misi gadayeneba- argadayenebis sakiTxis gadawyvetis ufl eba ar hqonda. social - demokratiul i partiis warmomadgenel is mxridan saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis Tavmj domaris arafrad Cagdebis faqti, opoziciurad ganwyobil i partiebisa da j gufebi- sTvis, samoqmedo xazis Tval sazrisiT, garkveul mini Snebas warmoadgenda. saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT, im etapze qarTul i emigraciis did nawil Si, pol itikuri partiebisa SigniT ambiciurobam da pirvel obisaTvis brZol am iCina Tavi. emigraciis pirvel wl ebSi, es rRveviTi procesi, erovnul - demokratiul partiaSi daiwyo, ris Sedegadac qarTul ma emigraci am pol itikuri partiisgan rmdenime j gufuri mimdinareoba mi iRo. mogvianebiT (XX saukunis 30- iani wl ebi) anal ogiuri procedura social - demokratiul i partiis SigniTac ganxorciel da. pol itikur j gufobriobaze dafuznebul i gaTiTokacebul i qmedeba, evropasi mimdinare umZimesi pol itikuri situaciis fonze, erTiani frontis Seqmnisa da saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebisaTvis brZol is sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi xel SemSl el factors warmoadgenda. yovelive aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i orgnizaciebis del egatTa konferenciaze (1934 wl is 22 april i) vaso wul aZe, qarTvel i eris ganTavisufl ebisaTvis ori mimarTul ebiT muSaobis sakiTxs ayenebda: 1)meore internacional is daxmarebis SesaZl ebl obis gamoyeneba da 2)evropis saxel mwi foebisgan daxmarebis real uri miReba. aqedan gamomdinare, igi erovnul i centrisa da mTavrobis erTobl iv muSaobas, or frontze_ internacional Si da evropis saxel mwi foebTan aucil ebl obad Tvl ida. paral el urad, saomari moqmedebebis saqarTvel os sasargebl od gamoyenebasac ar gamoricxavda da xazgasmit miuTitebda: `me imis momxre var, rom omi Tu moxda, is Cvenda sasargebl oT movixmaroT.-¹⁴ dasaxul i amocanis Sesaxel ebl ad, maRal profesiul doneze SemuSavebul i samoqmedo gegma aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. igi yvel a pol itikuri partiebisa warmomadgenel - Ta monawil eobiT unda Seqmnil iyo. sworeT amisTvis iyo saWiro qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri Zal ebis erT saerTo centrSi_ frontSi gaerTianeba. mis gareT yofna im etapze erovnul i saqmisadmi zurgSeqcevis tol fas qmedebas warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, erovnul i centris mier dasaxul i miznebi da amocanebia gasaTval iswinebel i, roml is xorcSesxma qarTul i emigraciis pol itikur Zal Ta urTierTTanamSroml obiT unda ganxorciel ebul iyo. imis sail ustraci od, Tu ra ZiriTadi sakiTxebis gadawyvetas isaxavda miznad erovnul i centri, amis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari k.qavTaraZisa da smenaRariSvil is mier saqarTvel os social - demokra-

tiul i muSaTa partiis central uri komitetisadmi 1933 wl is 10 marts gagzavnil moxsenebaSi. am dokumentis ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegnair-ad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)erovnul i centris mier gaweul i saqmi anoba, saqarTvel os damoukidebel i respubl ikis aRdgeni saTvis Sesabamisi safrxuris mosamzadebl ad unda iyos mimarTul i; 2)saerTaSoriso masStabiT, erovnul i centris saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmi anoba, qarTvel - Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi erTa ligis, adami anTa ufl ebebis damcvel i sazogadoebis da pol itikuri wreebis mxardaWeris mopovebaze unda yofil iyo agebul i; 3)sabWoTa ruseTis mier material uri resursebis didi raodenobiT daxarj visa da saqarTvel os sakiTxis, rogorc saerTaSoriso xasiaTis movl enis pol itikuri sivrcidan moxsnis mcdel obis ardaSveba, saqarTvel os erovnul i centris muSao-biT unda ganxorciel ebul iyo; 4)qarTvel i xal xis Seudrekel i nebisyo-fis da Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad permanentul i brZol is SenarCune-ba, erovnul i centris principul poziciaze dgomiT momxdariyo. imave moxsenebis Semaj amebel nawil Si vkiTxul obT: `erovnul i centri, rogorc srul i gamoxatul eba saqarTvel os yvel a anti sabWoTa mi mdinareobis, savse-biT dgas erovnul i mTavrobis, saqarTvel os am mebrZol i Stabis pol iti-kuri da praqtikul i muSaobis xazze... Cven arasodes davuSvebT, raTa ero-vnul i Zal ebis daqsasva mterma SeZl os. amave dros Cveni mizania am j oj o-xeTur pirobebSi saSual eba mivceT, xel i SevuyyoT erovnul mTavrobas im miznebis ganxorciel ebaSi, romel ic mas erma da istoriam daakisra. Cven imedi gvaqvs, erovnul i centri am brZol aSi mis mSobel erTan iqneba da Se-ecdeba mas megobrebi, TanamebrZol ni moupovon da miT qarTvel ers Tavisu-fl ebis mopoveba gauadvil os.-

Cems mier motanil i masal ebidan kargad Cans, erovnul i centris is sapa-su-xismgebl o misia, romel ic qarTvel i eris xval indel dResTan, misi Tavisu-fl ebis mopovebasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. masSi gamokveTil i formiT wina pl anzea wamoweul i erTiani Zal ebiT ideol ogiur frontze sabWoTa impe-riis sainformacio saSual ebebi sadmi dapi rispirebis aucil ebl oba da erSi momavl isadmi rwmenis SenarCuneba. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom parizis saqarTvel os erovnul i centri, qarTul i emigraciisa da am-ierkavkasiis erebis emigraciul i mTavrobebis anti sabWouri saqmi anobis sayrden safexurs warmoadgenda. sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurebi, mis dasaSl el ad da centris Semadgenl obaSi Semaval i pol itikuri partie-bis wevrTa urTierTdasapi rispirebl ad yovel gvare saxis saSual ebebs-maT Soris mosyidvis formasac mimarTavda. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebis mxridan parizis qarTvel Ta erovnul i centris winaaRmdeg brZol a, danaSaul ebriv qmedebad unda Sefasdes, radgan nebsiT Tu unebl ied, isini sabWoTa specsamsaxurebis xel Semwyob saqmes akeTebden. es faqti qarTul i emigraciis zogierTi j gufebis warmoma-dgenl ebs si Rrmi seul ad ar hqonda gacnobierebul i da pol itikuri ambi-ciebidan gamomdinare, erovnul centrSi ganxeTqil ebis Sesatanad `xmal am-owvdil i-ibrZodnen.

am mimarTul ebiT, maTi mxridan gaweul i saqmi anobisaTvis danaSaul is sa-marTl ebri vi formis micemas, ki dev ufro damaj erebel s xdis saqarTvel os erovnul i centris mier 1933 wl is 15 ivl is Seqmnil i komisiis daskvnebi.

masSi garkvevi Taa miTiTebul i: `1)erovnul i centri aris saqarTvel os ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZol is umaRI esi organio ucxoeTSi; 2)miSi Semadgenl oba agebul i aris safuZvel ze: damfuZnebel i krebis mier arCeul i mTavroba da saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebisaTvis mebrZol i partieb is warmomadgenl oba, eris saTaveSi myofi safuZvel s uyris Cveni brZol is ufl ebrivsa da real uri moqmedebis faqtorebs; 3)erovnul i centri muSavebs saerTo xazs da samoqmedo gegmas, arCevs da wyvets saqmeebs da pirdapir monawil eobas Rebul obs maT Sesrul ebaSi mTavrobaTan erTad Tavisi komisiebis saSual ebiT; 4)erovnul i centri aarsebs Semdeg komisiebs: 1)safinansos, 2)saiduml o saqmeebis, 3)saemi gracios, 4)politikurs; 5)arcerTi es organizaciebi ar SeiZl eba Sedges mxol od erTi romel ime partiis warmomadgenl isgan; 6)safinanso komisia zrunavs qonebrivi saxsrebisaTvis, ganxil avs mTavrobis mier SemuSavebul xarj TaRricxvas centrSi wardginebamde da daurTavs mas Tavisi mosazrebebs: 1)adevnebs Tval yurs xarjebis wesier gawevas da wl is bol os axdens revizias (fircxal avas formul a); 2)politikuri komisia_ politmuSaoba ucxoeTSi (iv.zurabiSvil is formul a); 3)saiduml o saqmis komisia_ kavSiri saqarTvel osTan da saiduml o saqmeebi; 4)saemi gracio komisia_ ganmtkiceba erovnul i frontis ideis da mis garSemo Semokreba emigraciis, rogorc safrangeTSi ise sxvagan.-¹⁵

aseTi saxis dokumentis miRebis miuxedavad, evropasi Seqmnil ma umZimesma politikurma situaciam da sabWota imperiis mxridan saqarTvel oSi mdgomareobis gauaresebam,erovnul i centris winaSe principul ad daayena sakiTxi_ praqtikul i saqmi anobis politikuri procesebis Sesatyvis formebsi warmarTvis Sesaxeb. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, 1921 wl idin 1933 wl is monakveTSi ganvl il i muSaobis gamocdil ebis Sedegebi. misi anal izidan gamomdinare, qarTul i politikuri emigraciis samTavrobo el itarul i warmomadgenl oba darwmunda, rom yvel a mniSvnel ovan probl emasTan mimarTebaSi, erovnul i centris mier miRebul i gadawyvetil ebi gasaiduml oebas saWi roebda. am mimarTul ebiT, qmediTi RonisZiebis gasatarebl ad, erovnul i centris 1933 wl is 27 ivl isis sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, erovnul i centris zemoaRniSnul i strukturis muSaobis garkveul i formiT koreqtireba iqna dasaxul i. axl adSeqmnil i dokumentis mixedviT, centris Tavmj domaresTan gansakuTrebul i viwro politikuri komisia unda Seqmnil iyo, romel ic Tavmj domaris xel mZrvanel obiT centris politikuri kontrol is qveS ganaxorcicel ebda muSaobas. gansakuTrebul i politikuri komisiis ZiriTadi sqmi anoba Semdegi ufl ebebiT Semoifargl eboda: 1)zedamxedvel obas uwevda erovnul i centris daqvemdebarebaSi myofi yvel a komisiebis muSaobas; 2)kavSirs amyarebda saqarTvel osTan da awarmoebda konspiraciul saqmi anobas; 3)gansakuTrebul i politikuri komisia val debul i iyo scodnoda yvel a saxeobis saiduml oeba. gansakuTrebul i politikuri komisiis wevrTa Semadgenl obis SerCeva Tavmj domaris rekomendaciiT xdeboda. misive ufl ebebSi Sedi oda imave komisiis saqmeTa gangis dantkicebac.

erovnul i centris daqvemdebarebaSi myof `gansakuTrebul politikur komisiis,~ marTalia, mniSvnel ovani samuSaoebis Catareba hqonda dakisrebul i, magram, misi arseboba da saqmi anoba emigraciul i mTavrobis gauqmebas an diskreditacias srul ebiTac ar niSnavda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, zemoaRniS-

nul i dokumentis pirvel da meore Seni SvnaSi vki Txul obT: `gansakuTreb-
l i pol itikuri komisia... Cvens SemTxvevaSi ar gul isxmobs mTavrobis gauqme-
bas pol itikurad rogorc qveynisTvis ise emigraciisaTvis. mas mxol od iu-
ridiul ad mouxdeba oficial uri nabij ebis gakeTeba ucxoeTSi... gansakuTre-
bul i pol itikuri komisia erovnul i centris, e.i. mTavrobisa da partiaTa
del egaciis organoa da pasuxismgebel ia mis winaSe. centri mTli anad... Ca-
bmul ia saqveyno muSaobaSi. xol o muSaobis gegmas gansakuTrebul i komisia
udgens dasamtkicebl ad.~ am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom gansakuTrebul i
pol itikuri komisia, misi maRal i ufl ebebis miuxedavad, mTavrobisa da pa-
rtiebis del egaciaTa organos warmoadgenda da rac mTavaria, gaweul i sa-
qmi anobis Sedegebi dan gamomdinare, mis winaSe iyo pasuxismgebel i.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom zemoaRni Snul i `erovnul i
centrisa- da masTan arsebul i `gansakuTrebul i pol itikuri komisiis- we-
vrebs kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i_ sabWoTa ruseTis imperiul i saxe-
l mwifos dasarRvevad da Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad brZola, uSedego
aRmoCndeboda, Tuki mxol od qarTvel Ta SesaZl ebl obebis imedad darCebo-
da. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebi im
xel Semwyobi safexuris Semzadebas cdil obdnen, romel ic dapyrobl i ere-
bis Zal Ta konsolidacias Seuwyobda xel s. pirvel i rigis amocnad, qarTu-
l i emigraciis mesveurebma, sabWoTa ruseTis mier dapyrobl i erebis emi-
graciis warmomadgenl ebTan mWidro urTierToba, erTiani samoqmedo gegmis
SemuSaveba da pol itikuri situaciis SeqmnisTanave misi amoqmedeba dai sax-
es miznad. am mimarTul ebiT muSaobis gaRrmavebas iTval iswinebda ruse-
Tis Cagrul erebTan kavSiris dasamyarebl ad Seqmnil i sagangebo komi-
sia, roml is wevrTa Semadgenl oba (e.gegeWkori- mTavrobis warmomadgene-
l i, g.gvazava, s.fircxalava, iv.zurabiSvil i, al .asaTiani, s.menaRariSvil i)
erovnul i centris 1934 wl is 20 ivnisis sxdomam daamtkica. imave dadge-
nil ebiT, komisiis miznebi da amocanebic iqna gansazRvrul i. `komisia-
vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- iRebs zomebs ruseTis fargl ebSi moqceul i Cagrul
erebTan dasaxl oeb ad. awyobs maT warmomadgenl ebTan ucxoeTSi Sexve-
drebs, saubrebs, krebebs, arkvevs moqmedebis pirobebs da imuSavebs gegmebs
saerTo gamosvl ebisaTvis.~ es dadgenl eba, evropasi im etapze mimdinare
pol itikur procesebs Seesatyiseboda da sabWoTa imperiisadmi dasapiri-
spirebl ad, ruseTis Cagrul i erebis emigraciul mTavrobebTan saerTo enis
gamoZebnaze iyo gaTvl il i.

qarTul i emigraciis erTi nawil i (erovnul centrSi Semaval i pol itikuri
partiebis warmomadgenl ebi) Tuki erovnul i mTavrobis da erTiani samoqme-
do gegmis mxardamWerad gamodi oda, maTi kompromisul i nabij is miuxedavad,
pol itikuri partiebis meore frTa, gancal kevebiT yofnas da damouki debe-
l i j gufabis wamosasxamiT moqmedebas amj obinebda. aseTi pol itikuri saqmi-
anoba im etapze evropasi mimdinare rTul i procesebi dan gamomdinare, qarTul
emigracias sasiketos arafers uqadda. wvril - wvril i j gufabis usiste-
mod moqmedeba da maTi l iderebis ambiuroba, saerTo saqmisadmi zianis
momtani iyo. miTumetes, gaTiTokacebul da ocnebis `pol itikur mwverval -
ze asul ~ ama Tu im j gufis l iders, evropis saxel mwifoTa warmomadgen-
l ebis yvel aze dabal i Cinovnikic ar scnobda. es faqtori, qarTul i emi-
graciis umetesi nawil is mxridan sworad iqna gacnobierebul i, ramac erovnul

centrSi dabrunebis da masTan TanamSroml obis nabij i gadaadgmevina.

asTi faqtebi imis dadasturebaa, rom saerTo saqmis sakeTebI ad, erovnul i centri da saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba, emigraciaSi myofi yvel a pol itikuri Zal is da daj gufebebis gaerTianebas da maTTan saerTo enis gamoZebnas cdil obda. aseTi nabij is gadadgmas, im etapze mimdinare pol itikuri procesebisadmi al Ros sworad aRebis da evropis masStabiT saqarTvel os emigraciis avtoritetis SenarCunebis aucil ebl oba moiTxovda. qarTul emigracias, evropis saxel mwifoTa l iderebisTvis, sul mcire, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos aRsadgenad erTobl ivi brZol is garegnul i forma unda SeenarCunebina. am faqtors gansakuTrebul i datvirTva eZl eoda im Tval sazrisiT, rom evropis l iderebis Tval Si, Tu rogor aRiqmeboda qarTul i emigraciis urTierTdamoki debul eba da rac mTavaria, maTi mxridan am mimarTul ebiT gakeTebul daskvnebs, ganmsazRvrel i rol i unda Seesrul ebina qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciisadmi daxmareba- ar daxmarebis sakiTxis gadawyvetasTan mimarTebaSi. am garemoebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare iyo nakarnaxevierTiani erovnul i centrSi Seqmnis ideac. am centrSi gaerTianebul i pol itikuri Zal ebis saqmi anoba, ara urTierT dasustebis, aramed, erTmneTisadmi Tanadgomis, saerTo saqmis keTebisken unda yofil iyo mimarTul i. es el e-mentrul i aucil ebl oba xSirad irRveoda, rac pol itikuri l iderobisadmi swrafvis sindromiT iyo ganpirobebul i. maTi yovel i qmedeba, social - demokratiul i partiis sawinaaRmdego RonisZiebebSi vl indeboda. es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi k.qavTaraZes, roca saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis sazRvargareTul i organizaciebis del egatTa 1934 wl is 21 april is konferenciaze acxadebda: centrSi gaerTianebul i opoziciuri partieb is `mizani, maTi taqtika aris erTi: social - demokratiul i partiis diskreditacia. saWiroa es sakiTxi seriozul ad gavarCioT. raskvirvel ia Cven erTiani frontis momxreni varT, magram Tu es SeuZl ebel ia, Cven sawinaaRmdego araferi gvaqvs, isini wavidnen da Tavistvis awarmoon paral el uri muSaoba saqarTvel os ganTavisufI ebisatvis.-¹⁶

aseTi poziciis oficial urad dafiqsirebis miuxedavad, social - demokratiul i partiis mesveurni, erovnul i centrSi mTlianobis SenarCunebas maqsimal urad cdil obdnen. yvel a saxeobis pretenzias komisi ebs gadascemdnen gansaxil vel ad da amis Semdeg Rebul obdnen Sesatyvis dadgenil ebasac. aseTi damokidebul eba gamoavl ines r.gabaSvil is mier wardgenil i gancxadebis mimarTac. rogorc dokumentidan irkveva, 1937 wel s r.gabaSvil ma Tavisi organizacia daSl il ad gamoacxada da erovnul centrSi SekiTxviT mimarTa: momxdar faqtTan dakavSirebiT Tavisi azri gamoeTqva_ surda Tu ara piradad misi darCena centrSi samuSaod. r.gabaSvil is mier viTomda daSl il ad gamocxadebul i organizaciis xel mZrvanel obidan, imave erovnul centrSi mis sawinaaRmdegod vrcel i ganmarTEbiTi weril i iqna Setanil i. am dokumentSi, erovnul i centridan r.gabaSvil is gawvevis moTxovna kategoriul i formiT iyo dasmul i. aseT rTul vitarebaSi (erovnul - demokratiul i partiis aRniSnul daj gufebaSi urTierTdapirispireba), erovnul ma centrma swori dadgenil eba miRo. `erovnul i centri- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- sdgas Tavisi statutis niadagze, TanamSroml obs da koaliciaSia mxol od pol itikur partiebTan da maT warmomadgenl ebTan, amitom bn. gabaSvil is mier warmodgenil i

forma misi TanamSroml obisa centristvis miuRebel ia. imavdroul ad centri aval ebs part. kol egiis Tavmj domares kal .qavTaraZes gamoarkvi os nac. demok. partiis aRniSnul i daj gufebis organizaciul i mdgomareoba da Tavisi daskvnebi moaxsenos centris morig sxdomas.-

warsul Si r.gabaSvil iseul i waj eq- ukuj eqis pol itikuri qmedebebi, erovnu- l i centrisadmi siaxl es ar warmoadgenda, mi Tumetes, igi qarTul i emigraciis Zal Ta daqsaqsvas da pol itikurad gakotrebas isaxavda mi znad. aseTi gancxadebis real ur safuZvel siZi eva: **a)** qarTul i emigraciis gan Seqmnil erovnul centrSi, 1925- 1937 wl ebSi r.gabaSvil is mier Sesvl a- gamosvl is `maraTonul rbenaze- dafuZnebul i procedura; **b)** sabWoTa imperiis winaaRmdeg brZol is sanacvl od, r.gabaSvil is j gufis mxridan erovnul i centrisa da emigraciul i mTavrobis winaaRmdeg xmal SemarTul i brZol is faqtebi.

opoziciuri pol itikuri daj gufebebis mi samarTiT, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis mier 1937 wel s gakeTebul erT- erT daskvnaSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i: `sxva partiebTan Cveni koal icia, agebul ia ara doqtrinis da ideol ogiis, aramed mxol od nacional uri brZol is niadagze... pirvel rigze dayenebul ia gamaerTianebebi i momenti, eris Tavisufl ebis da suverenobis droSa. ra reJimebi iqneba ganTavisufl ebul erSi, es TviT am eris saqmea, roml is winaSe Tavistavad warsdgeba TiToeul i partia Tavisi gegmebi T.¹⁷

aRniSnul i debul rba, im etapze emigraciaSi myofi yvel a pol itikuri partiebisa da daj gufebebis Tavis unda yofil iyo misaRebi, Tuki isini marti acda saqarTvel os deokupaciiT, sabWouri monobis gan qarTvel Ta ganTavisufl ebiT da erovnul i saxel mwifos aRdgeniT iyvnen dainteresebul ni. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikurad saRad moazrovneTa winaSe erTxel ki dev dai sva sakiTxi- evropis saxel mwifoebSi gabneul i qarTul i emigraciis pol itikurad gaerTianebis da qveynis sasikeTod erTiani programiT moqmedebis Sesaxeb. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidumi s wevrebis da partiaTa warmomadgenl ebis 1939 wl is 30 martis sxdoma iqcevs. sa- oqmo Canawerebis mixedvit irkveva, rom sxdomas eswrebodnen: n.Jordania, k.kandel aki, iv.zurabiSvil i, sam.fircxal ava, kal .qavTaraZe, iv.WavWani Ze, al .asaTiani da sar.menaRariSvil i. saTaTbiro xmiT k.gvarjal aZe, ak.Cxenkel i da ias.sal ayai a. sxdomis Tavmj domared k.kandel aki iqna arCeul i, xol o mdi- vnod s.menaRariSvil i.

pol itikur partiaTa Soris SeTanxmebis sakiTxze moxseneba s.menaRariSvil ma gaakeTa da sxdomas mTavrobis mier SemuSavebul i proeqti warudgina. mwvave diskusiis Sedegad, dokumentSi zogierTicvl il ebebi iqna Setanil i. masSi warmodgenil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi saxiT SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: **1)** qarTul ebul i saerTaSoriso mdgomareobi dan gamomdinare, qarTul i pol itikuri emigracia erTi nacional uri mi znit axdenda gaerTianebas saqarTvel os suvereni tetis aRsadgenad. dasaxul i amocanis gansaxorciel ebl ad qmni da erT nacional ur fronts, irazmeboda erovnul i mTavrobis irgvl iv dasaxmarebl ad da erTobl ivad awarmoebda brZol as saerTo mi znis misaRwevad; **2)** nacional uri fronti aerTianebeda: **a)** erovnul niadagze mdgom yvel a pol itikur mi mdinareobas ganurCevl ad misi ideol ogiuri da programul i gansxvavebisa; **b)** frontSi Sedi oda upartioni, personal uri Se-

rCevi T; 3) frontis saerTo organos- sabWos wevrebis arCevas pol itikuri organizaciebi axdenda. misi raodenoba winaswari SeTanxmebi T zustdebo- da; 4) sabWosa da mTavrobis TanamSroml obis wesebis SemuSaveba, erTobl iv sxdomaze xdebo. imavdroul ad, sabWo irCevda prezidi ums.

imave sxdomis dadgenil ebi T, pol itikur daj gufebebTan mol aparakeba, egege- Wkors da k.qavTaraZes daeval a. rac Seexeba zemoaRni Snul sakiTxTan mi ma- rTebaSi miRebul dadgenil ebas, masSi garkvevi T iyo miTi Tebul i: `vinai dan aucil ebl ad migvaCnia qarTul i pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianeba, da viRebT ra mxedvel obaSi, rom am mxriv miRweul ia didi Sedegebi, TaTbiri irCevs komisas, romel ic gaagrZel ebs saWiro muSaobas erTobis dasamyarebl ad da bol omde miyvans did erovnul gaerTianebas.~ am umni Svel ovanesi dokumentis gamoZaxil s warmoadgenda erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciis mxridan, parizSi arsebul i mTl iani erovnul i centrisa da saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi oficial uri mx- ardaWera. amis dadasturebas, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciis mier 1940 wel s miRebul i wesdebis # 6, 7, 8, 9 muxl ebi wa- rmoadgens. Cems mier dasmul sakiTxTan dakavSirebi T dokumentSi vkiTxu- l obT: `6) organizacia agreTve dgas ra mTl iani frontis ni adagze, mxars uWers parizSi arsebul mTl ian erovnul centrs da mTavrobas, ecdeba yvel a misi dadgenil ebani da daval ebani cxovrebaSi gaataros; 7) pariz- Si myofi erovnul i mTavroba aris qarTvel i xal xis mier kanonierad ar- Ceul i da saWiroa Cveni gamTl ianebul i moZraobisaTvis. ami tom, organi- zacia scnobs mas da aRuTqvams yovel gvar daxmarebas Tavis muSaobaSi; 8) organizacia yovel nairad ecdeba ebrZol os yvel a im pirebs Tu da- j gufebebs, vinc zemoT CamoTvl il organoebis xel s SeuSl ian Tavis mu- SaobaSi; 9) amrigad, organizaciis mizania erToba yvel a qarTul i erovnu- l i Zal ebis mtris winaaRmdeg, mxaris daWera yvel a Cveni oficial uri warmomadgenl ebisadmi, ... gaZl iereba- gamagreba partiaTa frontis da brZol a yvel a im aranormal ur mdgomareobasTan, romel ic saxel s gvi- texen ucxoel megobrebs Soris.~¹⁸

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans: a) r.gabaSvil isa da misi j gufisagan gansxvavebi T, Tu ra maRal doneze azrovneba erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciis warmomadgenl ebi; b) es organizacia, ukompr- omiso brZol as ucxadebda yvel a im daj gufebebs (maT Soris r.gabaSvil is j gufsac), vinc parizis erovnul i centris da kanonieri mTavrobis winaaRm- deg i brZoda, mis diskreditacias cdil obda da xel s uSl ida muSaobaSi; g) organizacia qarTul i emigraciul i pol itikuri Zal ebis erTobasa da konsolidaciaSi xedavda mtris winaaRmdeg warmatebul i brZol isa da dasax- ul i miznis miRwevis SesaZl ebl obebs. rac Seexeba emigraciis Signi T mtrul pol itikur dapi rispirebas, aseT qmedebas, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizacia- aranormal urad mi iCnevda.

dabej iTebi T SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciis zemoaRni Snul i pozicia, srul ad Seesabameboda im etapze evropasi mimdinare pol itikur procesebs da qarTul i emigra- ciis erToba- SesamWi droebl ad umni Svel ovanes precedents warmoadge- nda. emigraciaSi myofi aseTi pol itikuri Zal ebis poziciam, gansakuTre- bul i rol i damfuZnebel i krebis 1940 wl is 4 Tebevli s sxdomaze (Tavmj -

domare e.Tayai Svil i) mi Rebul i gadawyvetil ebebis saqmeSi Seasrul a. stenografiul angariSi dan irkveva, rom e.Tayai Svil ma, krebis monawil eebis `am istoriul i gardatexis momentSi gaerTianebsken da saerTo muSaobisken mouwoda. amisTvis- ganacxada man- saWiroa Sei qmnas erTi organo, romel ic Semoikrebs rac SeiZl eba met Segnebul qarTvel obas da mTavrobasTan erTad imuSavebs samSobl os ganTavisufl ebisaTvis.- am SemTxvevaSi, pol itikuri mrwamsis miuxedavad, e.Tayai Svil i, qarTul emigracias erT organoSi gaerTianebas da mTavrobasTan erTad saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebis misaRwevad erTobl ivi RonisZiebebis gatarebisken mouwodebda.

Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciis anal izis fonze, imave TaTbiris sxdomaze k.gvarjal aZem urTierTSoris kinkl aobisadmi Tavis ganebebis da saerTo saqmis sakeTebl ad SeTanxmebul i muSaobis aucil ebl obis sakiTxi principul ad daayena. qveynis ganTavisufl ebisTvis SesamuSavebel RonisZiebebTan mimarTebaSi, Turamdenad misaRebi iyo pol itikur daj gufebaTa Soris erT poziciaze dgoma da konsesusze dafuZnebul i gadawyvetil ebebis miReba im etapze- Znel i saTqmel ia. saqmo Canawerebis mixedviT, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis erT organizaciaSi gaerTianebis miZanSewonil obas, si tyvierad yvel a pol itikuri mimdinareoba iziarebda, magram, gadawyvet momentSi praqtikul ad veraferze Tanxmdebodnen. warsulis am mware gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, imave sxdomaze n.Jordania xazgasmiT ambobda: `daiwyo maT Soris mol aparakeba, magram Sedegi araferi gamovida, mizans ver miVaRwieT. amis Semdeg daisva sakiTxi damfuZnebel i krebis wevrebis mowvevisa. dRespartikul dajgufur davas adgili ar unda hqondes. erTaderTi nacional uri miznebi gvamoqmedebdes... saWiroa muSaoba sxvadasxva wreebSi, raTa SevqmaT pol itikuri organo. masSi unda SemoviivanoT gamosadegi pirebi SerCeviT, praqtikul i saqmianobis da moral uri sifaqizis mixedviT. damfuZnebel i krebis wevrebs unda daematos es SerCeul i pirebi. mudmi vmoqmedi organoebi unda iqnen mTavroba da am organos prezidumi, raTa TanamSroml obis da urTierTobis wesebi winaswar iqnes gamomuSavebul i.-

marTalia, sakiTxi sworadiyo dasmul i, magram misi praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba, isevkiTxvis qveSidga. es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi gr.urataZes, romel mac imave TaTbirze warmoTqmul si tyvaSi yuradReba qarTul i emigraciis gaerTianebis xel SemSiel miZezebze gaamaxvila. am fonze, manwina pl anze opoziciis mier SemoTavazebul i formebi wamoswia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs iseTi organizaciul i gaerTianebis Seqmnis moTxovna, romel ic mTavrobis Secvl as moaxdenda. `amis miReba- ambobda gr.urataZe- CvenTvis yovl ad miuRebel ia, radgan mTavrobis arsebobaSi damis dacvaSi, Cven vxedavT Cvenieris suverenul i ufl ebebis dacvas damisi daxurdaveba emigrantul organizaciebze dauSvebl ad mimaCnia. arasodes Cvens partias ar usargebl ia Tavisi umravl esobit. Tqveni ciT, rom yvel a emigrantul organizaciaSi Cven vkmayofil debiT imdeni adgili T, ramdenic sxva partiebs aqvs. aqac am organizaciaSi ar gvinda imaze meti adgili, ramdenic eqneba sxva romel ime partias. Cven Zal ian Sors waval T daTmobaze dami tom Cveni umravl esoba aravis ar unda afrTxobdes. praqtikul ad amis mogvareba SeuZlia komisi as, mis arCevas me mxars vuWer.-¹⁹

gr.urataZis gamosvl idan motani l amonawerSi, gamokveTil i formi Taa war-

modgenil i social - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa mxridan paritetze dafuZnebul i is kompromisul i pozicia, romel ic safuZvl ad unda dadeboda erT pol itikur organoSi qarTul i emigraciis pol itikur Zal Ta konsolidacias_ mis gaerTianebas. amis aucil ebl oba imiTac iyo nakarnaxevi, rom qarTul i emigraciis daSl a- daqucmacebisa da urTierTdapiri spirebisTvis, rusul i memarj vene Zal ebi, qarTul i emigraciis zogierT pol itikur pirovnebebTan SeTanxmebul ad aqtiurad moqmedebda. aRni Snul sak iTxTan dakavSirebi T, imave TaTbirze egegeWkorma xazgasmi T mi uTi Ta: `Cvens winaaRmdeg dRes gaafTrebi T i brZvis ori Zal a, memarj vene rusebi, romel T- anac arian zogi memarcxenenic da komunistebic. isini yovel Rones xmaroben raTa emigracia daSal on. Cven vSi SobT, rom am saqmi sTvis asaTiani da misi j gufebi gamoiyenon saqarTvel os da misi interesebis winaaRmdeg. me ar vambob, rom asaTiani amas Cai dens Segnebul ad, magram, faqtiurad es ase moxdeba, amaSi darwmunebul i var. visac dRes SesaZl ebl ad miaCnia cal ke daj gufeba da TiTo orol a pirebis saSual ebi T moqmedeba, isini Cven saqmes ki ar akeTeben, aramed mtrisas. dRes saWiroa erTi moqmedi organo. mas araviTari dabrkol eba mTavrobasTan TanamSroml obaSi ar eqneba, Tu is rasakvirvel ia gamowveul i iqneba Cveni qveynis interesebi T. dRes saWiroa saerTo muSaoba da aqeTken movuwodeb me yvel as visac surs monawil eoba mi i Ros Cveni qveynis gadarCenaSi.-

am vr cel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom is adami anebi da daj gufebebi, roml ebic qarTul i emigraciis pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTianebas uSl ida xel s, egegeWkorma mtris samsaxurSi myofebad da maTi saqmis mkeTebl ebad gamoacxada. probl emisadmi aseT principul midgomas da imis oficial urad warmocenas- Tu vin vin iyo! im etapze Seqmnil i umZimesi saer- TaSoriso pol itikuri viTareba moiTxovda. xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom qarTul i emigraciis im daj gufebebis l iderebis mimarT, roml ebic pol itikuri ambiciebidan an 30 ver cxl ad qarTvel Ta dauZinebel mtrebTan aSkarad Tu farul ad TanamSroml obdnen, maT Sesaxeb momaval ma Taobebma unda icodnen. mi Tumetes, ful ze argayidul i da mtrebTan TanamSroml obaze arwamsvl el i qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebi, umZimes ekonomikur pirobebSi imyofebodnen. maTac SeeZl oT zneobisa da Rirsebisadmi zurgSeqceva, qarTvel Ta dauZinebel mtrebTan TanamSroml obis nabij is gadadgma da piradi cxovrebis sa da oj axebis ekonomikurad uzrunvel yofa. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis saqmi anobis kl asifikaciis fonze, erTmaneTisgan unda gaimij nos: 1)mtrebi sgan vermosyidul i, maTTan TanamSroml obaze arwamsvl el i da qarTvel Ta erTgul ebis niadagze darCenil i pol itikuri mimdinareoba da pirovnebebi; 2)saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebri obis aRdgenisa da qarTvel Ta damouki debl obis mowinaaRmdegeebis mxridan mosyidul i, maTTan TanamSroml obaze wamsvl el i, qarTul i emigraciis daSl a- daqucmacebi T dai nteresebul i daj gufebebi da maTi l iderebi. am SemTxvevaSi, nebi smierma mkvl evarma, Seqmnil i stereotipebisgan TavdaRweva unda SeZl os da sazogadoebas dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T obieqturi informacia miawodos ama Tu im pirovnebaTa da pol itikur mimdinareobaTa mimarT, emigraciaSi gaweul i saqmi anobis Sesaxeb. mi Tumetes, 1919 wel s, demokratiul i arCevnebis safuZvel ze qarTvel i erisgan micemul i ndobis mandatis Rirseul ad

tareba, emigraciaSi wasul ma damfuZnebel i krebis zogierTma wevrma ver SeZl o da pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobidan gamomdinare, Sinagani da zneobrivi fericval eba ganicada. maTi aseTi qmedeba, udidesi safrTxis winaSe ayenebda emigraciaSi myofi pol itikuri Zal ebis mxridan erovnul i xaziT muSaobis gagrZel ebis SesaZl ebl obebs. mi Tumetes, XX saukunis 40- ian wl ebSi evropasi pol itikuri situacia ukiduresad daiZaba. arsebul i real obidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os sazRvargareTul i social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel obis winaSe principul ad daisva sakiTxi_ mosal odnel i qarTul ebebis asacil ebl ad Sesatyvisi pol itikuri kursis SemuSavebis Sesaxeb. aRni Snul sakiTxebis, imave partiis biuros (ak.Cxenkel i, e.gegeWkori, k.gvarjal aZe, v.WavWaniZe, p.sarj vel aZe, gr.urataZe, v.inwki rvel i) 1940 wl is 23 maisis sxdoma mieZRvna. stenografiul i angariSi dan irkveva, rom saerTasoris mdgomareobis Sesaxeb moxseneba k.gvarjal aZem gaakeTa. evropasi mimdinare rTul i pol itikuri situaciis mimoxilvis fonze, man principul ad dasva sakiTxi_ Seqmnil vitarebasTan mimarTebaSi rogori unda yofil iyo qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis el itisa da gansakuTrebiT social - demokratiul i partiis damokidebul eba. igi sxdomis monawil eebis Seaxsenebda: `Cveni pol itika unda efuZnebodes saerTasoris pol itikis perspeqtivebs. Cven unda SevinarCunoT ucxoetsi erovnul i muSaobis saSual ebebi. windaxedul eba da moulo odnel obebis acil eba, aseTi unda iyos mTavrobis dRevandel i zrunvis sagani. biurom unda gamosTqvas survil i da sTxovos mTavrobas mi iRos winaswari Tadarigi erovnul i organobis muSaobis gasagrZel ebl ad da mosal odnel i safrTxis Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi mis sal ikvidaci od.~ imave dokumentis mixedvit, si tyvasi gamomsvl el ebma: gr. uartaZem, p.sarj vel aZem, v.WavWaniZem, e.gegeWkorma, ak.Cxenkel ma mxari dauwires momxsenebl is ZiriTad debul ebebs da aucil ebl obad mi iCnies mTavrobis mxridan erovnul i saqmi nobis gagrZel eba. mi urebl ad CaTval es opoziciuri j gufebis gan mTavrobis funqcionirebis Sewyvetis moTxovna. imavdroul ad daayenes sakiTxi, saSiSi zoni dan mTavrobis da sxva organobis gayvanis mizanSewonil ebis Sesaxeb. aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, e.gegeWkoris kategoriul i moTxovnis safuZvel ze, sxdomam Semdegi saxis dadgenil eba mi iRo: `iTval iswinebs ra saerTasoris rTul mdgomareobas, romel sac Seuzl ia- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- Seqmnas erovnul i saqmi nobis xel Semsl el i pirobebi, ucxoetsi sazRvargareTul i biuro mouwodebs saqarTvel os mTavrobas mi iRos winaswari zomebi, mosal odnel SemTxvevaSi Tavisi Semadgenl obis da sxva TanamSromel Ta parizi dan gasayvanad da muSaobis gasagrZel ebl ad, Tanaxmad masze dakisrebul i moval eobisa.²⁰

amrigad, 1)evropasi ganvitarebul i pol itikuri procesebi, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis gan konsesusze dafuZnebul i adeqvaturi samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebas moitxovda. mi Tumetes, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis kanonier mTavrobas, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebel i moZraobis mesaWed da moskovis dauZinebel mtrad aRiqvamda sabWoTa ruseti. am faqtorma ganapiroba safrangeTis xel isufl ebaze moskovis zewol a da qarTul i emigraciul i mTavrobis legaciis oficial urad gauqmeba (1933 wl is ivl isi). momxdari faqti, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciisatvis udidეს dar tymas war moadgenda. am fonze, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis SigniT mimdinare dapi rispireba, danaSaul is el e-

mentebis Sei cavda. social - demokratiul i partiis garegnul ad, Tundac moCvenebiTi erTianoba, evropel Ta Tval Si gansakuTrebul pol itikur da ideol ogiur datvirTvas SeiZenda da oficial urad gauqmebul mTavrobas avtoritets SeunarCunebda. social - demokratiul i partiis parizis 1934 wl is konferenciaze, n.Jordania- ir.wereTel is SeuTanxmebl obis gamo, partiis erTianobis aRdgena SeuZl ebel i gaxda. miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, sabWoTa ruseTTan mol aparakebisa da masTan saerTo enis gamoZebnis wereTI iseul i pozicia konferenciam uaryo.

2)saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidumi sa da demokratiul i kavSiris wevrTa erTobl ivi gadawyvetil ebiT (1932 wl is 1, 20, 25 ivnisi) miRebul i 7 punqtiani dadgenil eba, pol itikuri partiis l iderebs, emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi angariSis gawevas aval debul ebda. anal ogiuri saxis dadgenil eba 1939 wl is 28 april Siac miRes. ganvl il ma periodma daadastura, rom qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mier `SeTanxmebis- dokumentis xangrZl ioba `wuTier samarTI ebriv saxes- atarebda da evropasi mimdinare procesebis paral el urad icvl eboda.

qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis erTi nawil isgan saerTo frontis datoveba, ucxo saxel mwifoebis warmomadgenl ebTan saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis wevrebis dabezReba da evropis masStabiT diskreditacia, sabWoTa uSiSroebis interesebs pasuxobda. aqedan gamomdinare, `kavkasiis aral egarul i komitetis- saqmi anoba da masTan zogierTi qarTveli i emigrantis TanamSroml oba, danaSaul is el ementebis Sei cavda.

3)`saqarTvel os faSisturi darazmul obis- da `TeTri giorgis- j gufis faSistebTan TanamSroml obis gegma, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis emigraciul i mTavrobis dasamarebaze iyo gaTvl il i. emigrantebis bazaze riggareSe konferenciis mowvevisa da axal i mTavrobis arCevis Canafiqri, qarTul i emigraciis rigebsi profaSisturi ideol ogiisadmi mxardamWeri Zal ebis wina pl anze wamowevas isaxavda miznad. saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidumis da social - demokratiul i partiis wevrebi (n.Jordania, e.gegeWkori, k.gvarjal aZe...), saqarTvel os sakiTxis faSisturi germaniisadmi mindobas_ danaSaul admiCnevda. faSizmis evropasa da ruseTSi gamarjvebas, saqarTvel os samudamod damonebas ukavSirebda.

qarTul i emigraciis saxel wodebis dasazustebl ad gamoTqmul i mosazreba, rom oficial ur dokumentebSi igi ara pol itikur, aramed saqarTvel os erovnul emigraciad yofil iyo moxseniebul i, angariSgasawev formul irebas warmoadgenda.

4)saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiisa da erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciis l iderTa mowodebebi, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri mimdinareobebis `erovnul frontSi- gaerTianebas da evropis masStabiT erTiani samoqmedo gegmiT gamosvl as iTval iswinebda. erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidumi sa da partiaTa warmomadgenl obiTi kol egiis wevrTa samoqmedo gegma, evropasi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis sami mamarTul ebiT gamoyenebas isaxavda miznad: a)meore internacional idan ideol ogiur frontze maqsimal uri Tanadgomis mopovebas, b)evropis qveyebidan real uri daxmarebis miRebas da g)saomari moqmedebebis saqarTvel os sasarge-

bl od gamoyenebas.

5)parizis qarTul `erovnul centrTan- Seqmnil i gansakuTrebul i pol itikuri komisiisadmi sazedamxedvel o funqciis miniWebi da saqarTvel osTan konspiraciul i urTierTobis damyareba, Sesabamisi informaciis srul - fasovnad miRebaze da erovnul - ganmaTavisufI ebel i moZraobis gaR- rmavebaze iyo gaTvl il i.

6)al .asaTian- r.gabaSvil is j gufis `erovnul centrSi- gawevrianebi- sadmi saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis mxardaWera, opoziciuri da- j gufebebisadmi kompromisul i damokidebul ebis dadastureba iyo. erovnul - demokratiul i partiis varSavis organizaciis mier 1940 wel s miRebul i wesdebis Sesabamisi muxl ebiT (# 6, 7, 8, 9), saqarTvel os erovnu- l i mTavrobisa da `erovnul i centrisadmi- Tanadgomis gamocxadeba, erovnul i mTavrobis pol itikuri kursisadmi oficial uri mxardaWeris ganacxads warmoadgenda.

7)emigraciul i mTavrobisa da `erovnul i frontis- gauqmebis moTxov- nis fonze, al ternatul i organizaciis Seqmnis sakiTxis dayeneba, qarTu- l i emigraciis daqcumacebaze, rusul i memarj vene da komunisturi Zal ebis interesTa gaTval iswinebaze iyo gaTvl il i. dokumenturi masal is safuZ- vl ianma Seswavl am daadastura: a)emigraciis umravl esobis mxridan, qarTve- l i eris mier 1919 wel s miniWebul i ndobis mandatis Rirseul ad tareba; b)zogierTi pol itikuri mimdinareobebis wevrebi gan, piradi cxovrebi s gasaumj obesebl ad, qarTvel Ta dauZinebel mtrebTan TanamSroml obis gzis arCeva. qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis saqmianobis Sefasebis sas, es faq- torebi pirvel rigSi unda iqnes gaTval iswinebul i.

§. 2. saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis gzebis Zi eba da qarTul i emigracia

devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis kanonieri mTavro-
bisa da qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis gansjis sagans, qarTvel i eris da-
mouki debl obis aRdgenis meqanizmis SemuSaveba war moadgenda. maT kargad
qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom sabWoTa ruseTis imperiisadmi martodmarto
Serki nebiT, eris momaval i, ki Txvis qveS SeiZl eba damdgariyo. aRniSnul is
gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, sabWouri kol oniuri uRI isgan TavdaRwe-
vis real ur SesaZl ebl obebs, qarTul i pol itikuri el ita gareSe faqtorebs
ukavSirebda. xel sayrel i situaciisTvis, qarTvel i eris fsiqol ogiurad
da pol itikurad mosamzadebel i safexuris Seqmnas aucil ebl obad mi iCnev-
da. amis utyuar dadasturebas, ak.Cxenkel is sagazeTo weril i `Cveni perspeq-
tivebi - war moadgens. saqarTvel os damouki debl obis dakargvis Semdeg, evro-
paSi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis ganxil visa da misi Sej amebis
safuzvel ze, ak.Cxenkel i gamafrTxil ebel i formiT dasZenda: `xel sayrel
i garemoebani erTia, xol o subieqturi momenti meore. Tavisufli eba
cidan Camovardnil i manana ar aris, is TviTon unda gamoglij o mters
xel idan. amisTvis unda emzado, ganimswval o uryevi nebiT, ar daerido
msxverpl s... erTi sityviT, unda ibrzol o. eri, romel ic Tavisufli ebi-
sTvis ar ibrzvis, arcaa Rirsi am saxel is tarebis. qarTvel i eri ibrzvis,
mas karnaxi ar swirdeba. imasve vxedavT mTel s kavkasiaSi, ukrainaSi,
sxvagan. maSasadame, isini arian subieqtni maTive bedisa da TviTon gamo-
sweden mas. garemopirobebi iseTia, rom maTi jeric Cqara dadgeba.¹

am amonaweridan kargad scans ak.Cxenkel is pol itikuri mrwamsi da is
optimisturi SemarTeba, romel ic qarTvel i eris xval indel dResTan, mis
erovnul Tavisufli ebasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. ak.Cxenkel is samarTli ani
mtkicebiT, erisTvis Tavisufli ebis mopoveba, dampyrobl is winaarmddeg
brZol asTan iyo dakavSirebul i. es imas ni Snavs, rom yovel ers brZol a-
Si unda gamoeWeda Tavisu momavl is bedi. igi Tavisufli ebisaTvis uRir-
sad mi iCnevda yvel a im erebs, roml ebic upiratesobas dampyrobel Tan
TanamSroml obas amj obinebda. es Tval sazrisi kidev ufro gamokveTil i
formiTaa war modgenil i imave ak.Cxenkel is mier 1932 wel s daweril sagaze-
To publ ikaciaSi - `Cveni perspeqtivebi. ~ am naSromSi, XX saukunis 20-iani
wl ebis mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis mimoxil visa da axal i saxel mwi-
foebis aRmocenebis fonze, ak.Cxenkel ma gansakuTrebul i yuradReba ruse-
Tis imperiis rRvevas da saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos Seqmnas dauTmo. paral e-
l urad, wina pl anze is ZiriTadi mizezebi wamoswia, ramac axl adSeqmnil i
qarTul i saxel mwi fos dacema ganapiroba. `moskovma l axvari Caska kavkasi-
is respubl ikebs. Cveni viciT- wers ak.Cxenkel i - rogor dagvatyda Tavzed es
ubedureba. vi tyviT mxol od, rom amis mTavari mizezi is garemoeba iyo, rom
Cven, Sors davrciT geografiul ad im saerTaSoriso asparezidan, sadac Ta-
visufal i eris bedi da ubedoba wydeboda. Cven bizantiis dacemis Semdeg
erTxel kidev viwnieT evropisgan Zal ad Camoxl eCis sabediswero Sedegi.
Caketil ni Sav zrvaSi, Cven ar mogveca saSual eba saTanado rol i gveTama-
Sna evropis TaTbi rebSi. amas xel s uwyobda, uwinares yovl isa is garemoe-
bac, rom Cvensa da evropas Soris mdebare osmal eTi, TviTonac Cabmul i sa-

mkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol aSi, Cveni mtris mxarezed aRmoCnda.-

saqarTvel os saxel mwifos dacemasTan mimarTebaSi ak.Cxenkel is mier gamoTqmul i es mosazreba, simarTI es Seesabameba. mi uxedavad amisa, igi arasrul yofil ia im Tval sazrisiT, rom yuradRebis miRmaa datovebul i evropis wamyvani saxel mwifoebis I iderTa mxridan, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mmarTvel wreebTan mimarTebaSi tyuil ze dafuZnebul i dapirebebi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ruseTis bunebriv simdidreze daxarbebul i evropis qveynebis I iderebisgan, sabWoTa ruseTTan mimarTebaSi `politikuri arSi yobis kursisadmi - upiratesobis micema da am fonze, kavkasiis respubl ikisadmi Segnebul ad zurgSeqcevis faqti. rac Seexeba dampyrobli sadmi dapyrobil i erebis damokidebul ebas, am sakiTxSi ak.Cxenkel s swori pozicia eWira da erovnul i Tavisufl ebis miRwevas, mxol od dpyrobil i ararusi erebis erTobl iv moqmedebaSi xedavda. `ararus erebs- wers ak.Cxenkel igveTqmis Cveni si tyva. obieqturi xel sayrel i garemoebani erTia, xol o subieqturi momenti meore-.

qarTul i politikuri emigraciis erT- erTi Tval saCino figuris pol itikuri naazrevi, dapyrobil i erebis mxol od individual ur aqtiurobaze da Sesabamisi xel sayrel i pol itikuri situaciis Seqmnis gamoyenebaze iyo agebul i. am SemTxvevaSi, igi yuradRebis miRma tovebda yvel aze mniSvel ovan faqtors_ evropis qveynebis pol itikuri I iderebis sandoobis sakiTxs. da rac mkTavaria, imave evropidan, sabWouri rejimis winaarmddeg mebrZol i erebis finansuri da teqniki saSual ebebiT daxmarebis Sesazl ebl obebs. am sakiTxis wina pl anze wamovevis aucil ebl oba im etapze imiTac iyo ganpirobepul i, rom saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebs, evropis saxel mwifo meTaurebisgan danapirebis arSesrul ebis mware gamocdil eba gaaCnda. mi uxedavad amisa, ak.Cxenkel i Segnebul ad uvl ida gverds evropel Ta tyuil ebiT damZimebul i ganvl il i istoriul i faqtebis sazoga- doebisTvis Sexsenebas. am qmedebiT, igi Tavisufl ebisTvis mebrZol i qarTvel i eris Sinagan cnobierebaSi optimisturi SemarTebis Senarcunebas cdil obda. aseT pozicias im etapze gansakuTrebul i mniSvel oba hqonda im Tval - sazrisiT, rom emigraciis I iderTa uimedobis mcireodeni gamovl ena, monobaSi myofi qarTvel ebisTvis dambl adamcemi funqciis Semsrul ebel i aRmoCndeboda. mi Tumetes, sabWoTa rejimis winaarmddeg aRebul i brZol is xazs, saqrTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis warmomadgenl ebisworad Tvl idnen. amis dadasturebas, imave social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis 1931 wl is 19 agvistos aral egal ur sxdomaxe miRebul i rezol uciis pirvel i punqti warmoadgens. `1. partiis mier aRebul i xazi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- dReidan saqarTvel os dapyrobisa sworia da ar saWi roebs araviTar gadasinj vas.-

saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis I iderTa es debul eba, sabWoTa imperiisadmi Seurigebel damokidebul ebaze iyo dafuZnebul i. meore mxriv, anal ogiur kurss, ideol ogiur frontze, emigraciaSi myofi social - demokratiul i partiis warmomadgenl ebi caxorciel ebda. amis dasadasturebl ad parizis organizaciebis 1932 wl is 14 Tebervl is krebaze, sazRvargareT moqmedi qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri organizaciebis muSaobis ZiriTadi safuZvl ebis Sesaxeb k.gvarj a-

I aZis mier wardgenil i proeqti gamodgeba. am dokumentis pirvel nawil Si, social - demokratiul i partiis ZiriTadi pozicia da miswrafebaa gacxadebul i. am fonze, monobaSi myofi saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba, prioritetul saqmedaa aRiarebul i. `im dRidan, rac Cveni qveyana mterma dai pyro da qarTvel ers Tavisufl eba mostaca, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul partias aqvs garkveul i pol itikuri mosazrebani: mtrebi Tavis qveyნი dan gandeunos, ers Tavisufl eba aRudginos... am mi znis mi saRwevad mas aqvs brZol is Sesafe ri xazi da mra val i taqtikuri sazomebi. brZol is es xazi da taqtika muSavdeba iq, sadac brZol a swarmoebs da xel mZRvanel obs saq. soc. demokratiul i partia, misi yril oba, konferencia Tu central uri komiteti. yvel a misi dadgenil ebis Tu direqtivebis aRsrul eba da maTi xel mZRvanel oba saval debul oa yvel a misi partiul i organizaciebis Tu wevrebi saTvis.-

am amonawerSi dasmul i sakiTxebisadmi pasuxismgebl obi T mi dgomi dan gamomdinare, nebismeri pol itikuri Zal a, romelic saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis ukeTesobi T iyo dainteresebul i, devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobisa da damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums saqmi anobisadmi mxardaWeris rol Si unda gamosul iyo. mi Tumetes, evropis qveynebis garkveul i pol itikuri wreebi, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobisa da social - demokratiul i partiis liderebisadmi mokrZal ebase da pativiscemas jer kidev inarCunebda. aqedan gamomdinare, pol itikuri emigraciis SigniT mTavrobisadmi dapi rispireba da misi diskreditaciis mi zanmarTul i mcdel oba, danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis el ementebs Seicavda. isic angari Sgasawe via, rom qveynis ganTavisufl ebis medrosis funqcia, isev da isev devnil obaSi myof saqarvel os erovnul mTavrobas ekisreboda. aRni Snul is gaTval iswinedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis organizaciebi, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi mxardaWeras oficial urad acxadebda. im uamravi dokumenturi masal idan, romelic aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebi T Cems mier iqna mopovebul i, yuradRebas baTumis social - demokratiul i organizaciis mier 1939 wl is 27 oqtombers parizSi gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. masSi dadasturebul ia emigraciaSi myofi social - demokratiul i partiis warmomadgenl ebis pol itikuri Sexedul ebebisa da erovnul - gamaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xazisadmi mxardaWera.² aseTi poziciis mi uxedavad, qarTul i emigraciis winaSe im etapze principul ad daisva sakiTxi: 1) sabWoTa ruseTTan dapi rispirebis rogori formisadmi miecaT upiratesoba; 2) erovnul i Tavisufl ebis aTvis brZol aSi vin SeiZl eboda qarTvel i eris mokavSire gamxdariyo. am mi marTul ebi T yuradRebis gadatana imiTac iyo ganpirobebul i, rom saqarTvel oSi kol eqtivistaciis daCqarebul i tempi T ganxorciel ebis procesis gamo, pol itikuri situacia uaRresad damZimda. saqarTvel os uaxl es istoriis XX saukunis 30- iani wl ebis Sesaxeb daweril samecniero SromebSi, saarqivo masal ebze dayrdnobi T naCvenebia is damangrevel i Sedegebi, romelic Zal momreobaze dafuZnebul i kol eqtivistaciis kursis daCqarebul temps mohyva.³ isic cnobil ia, rom kol eqtivistaciis sabWouri iZul ebi Ti `eqsperimenti,~ saqarTvel oSi gansakuTrebi T mtkivneul ad warimarTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a) sofl is gamarTul i meurneobis mqone gl exebis `kul akebad- gamocxadeba da `mCagvrel i kl asis- iarli y-

iT misi sal ikvidacio kursis gatareba; b)sofl is saSual o gl exebis oj axebis `kul akobaze mi bma,- gankul akebis daCqareba da l umperprol e-tariatis donemde dayvana.⁴ es procesi eris arsebobaSTan mi marTebaSi imdenad mtkivneul formas atarebda, rom mis srul ad ganxorciel ebaSi, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedma social - demokratiul ma partiam, gansakuTrebul i safrTxe dai naxa. amis dadasturebas, imave partiis central uri komitetis 1931 wl is 19 agvistos aral egal urad Catarebul sx-domaze `amiranis- fsevdonimiT wakiTxul i moxsenebis safuZvel ze mi Rebul i rezol ucia warmoadgens. am dokumentSi is umZimesi Sedegebia dadasturebul i, romelic kol eqtivyizaciis iZul ebiTma kurssma moutana qarTvel ers. am dokumentis pirvel nawil Si vkiTxul obT: `dReidan saqarTvel os dapyrobisa, qarTvel i eris winaSe arasodes ar yofil a iseTi simwvaviT dasmul i yofna- aryofnis sakiTxi, rogorc es dRes aris. sabWoTa xel i-sufli ebam daasrul a ra qal aqis Zarcva, misi mosaxl eobis srul i gaktreba, ukve meore wel ia rac xel i mihyo sofl is Zarcvasac. kol eqtivyizaciis saxel iT is awarmoebs erTis mxriv sofl is mosaxl eobis im nawil is kul akebad gamocxadebas da mTel i maTi qonebis CamorTmevas, romel sac raime gaacnia, xol o meores mxriv, uqonel Ta kol eqtivebSi da artel ebSi Zal iT Seyvanas, rom Seqmnas Sromis monuri pirobebi, amuSaos rogorc ymebi, xol o Semdeg maTi Sromis nayofi mi iTvisos.-

am amonawerSi kargadaa danaxul i is mZarcvel uri da danaSaul ebrivi politikuri kursi, romel sac sabWoTa xel isufli eba SeZl ebul i da saSual o gl exobis gasaRatakebl ad axorciel ebda. uaxl es periodSi gamoqveynebul samecniero Sromebsi faqtobrivi masal iTaa dadasturebul i, rom `kol eqtivyizaci am,- qarTvel i gl exkacobis tradiciul i meurneobis ngreviT, gl exebis srul i gaRatakeba ganapiroba. sofl ad Seqmnil i umZimesi pirobebi dan gamomdinare, Sesabamis Sedegebtan mi marTebaSi, imave rezol uciaSi vkiTxul obT: `damouki debl obis da Tavisufli ebis dakargvas daerTo... saarsebo wyaros dakargvac da mTel xal xs Tavs daatyda SimSili, sititvle da srul i uufli eboba. xal xi eZebs gamosavals, rom Tavi daaRwios fizikur ganadgurebas. misi aRel veba iqamdis aRwevs, rom xSirad adgil i aqvs sti qur gamosvl ebs sxvadasxva raionebsi (samegrel o, imereTi, afxazeTi da sxva). mTavroba sastik represi ebs mi marTavs amxedrebul Ta winaaRmdeg rom Tavisi arseboba gaaxangrZl ivos.-

Tu ra formiT mimdinareobda xel isufli ebisadmi ukmayofil o adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis angari Ssworeba, amis Sesaxeb dawvri l ebiTaa saubari saqarTvel odan parizSi saiduml od gagzavnil dokumentSi_ `borCal os tragedia,- romelic 1931 wl is 15 seqtembriTaa daTariRebul i. masSi motanil i monacemebis mi xedviT irkveva: 1) sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mxridan 1930 wels borCal os mazraSi kol eqtivyizaciis Zal datanebiTi kursis gatareba, adgil obrivi TaTris mosaxl eobis oj axebis Seuracyofis formiT mimdinareobda. oj axis Rirsebis SesanarCunebl ad, borCal os mosaxl eobam, moZal adebol Sevikebis winaaRmdeg brZol is partizanul meTods mi marTa, isini mazridanac gamodevna; 2) partizanebad gasul i borCal oel ebisadmi amnistiis gamocxadebi T Serigebis kursis aReba, piar kompaniis Semadgenel nawil s warmoadgenda da sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mowinaaRmdegeTa dasapatimrebl ad safexuris momzadebas iTval iswinebda; 3) 1931 wl is zafxul is dasawyisSi,

borCal os mazraSi 10 aTasi wiTel armiel is da saxel mwifo pol itikuri sammarTvel os saj ariso SenaerTebis mxol od somxuri Semadgenl obis gavgavna, borCal oel i TaTrebis sastik angari Ssworebaze iyo gaTvl il i. dasaxul i miznis ukeT gansaxorciel ebl ad, mazraSi ramdenime j avSniani matarebel i Seiyyanes. partizanebis mSobl ebisa da col - Svil is mZevl ebad ayvanis miuxedavad, moZal adeTa sisastikes borCal oel ebma `araCveul ebrivi simtkicit... upasuxes. ar yofil a arcerTi SemTxveva, gacemis an erTmaneTis dasmenis;- 4)sadamsjel o saeqspedicio saj ariso SenaerTebma, borCal os sofl is mosaxl eobis oj axebianad ayra da ruseTSi gadasaxl eba ganaxorciel es. borCal oel TaTarTa gamoTavisufi ebul sacxovrisze somxebis Casaxl eba daiwyes. aRniSnul dokumentSi im adamianta saxel i da gvarebia CamoTvl il i, roml ebic adgil ze iqna daxvretil i, xol o cocxl ad darCeni ebis ruseTSi gadasaxl ebul i. igive dokumenti, im gmirul i brZol ebis Sesaxebac amaxvil ebs yuradRebas, romel sac borCal oel i TaTari partizanebi eweodnen damsjel i j aris winaaRmdeg.

marTalia, aRniSnul i SeiaraRebul i gamosvl ebi bol Sevikuri Zal momreobis da kol eqtivyziaciis winaaRmdeg iyo mimarTul i, magram mas warmatebul i Sedegis motana ar SeeZl o Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom igi spontanur xasiaTs atarebda. meore mxriv, saqarTvel oSi kol eqtivyziaciis sawinaaRmdegod dawyebul SeiaraRebul gamosvl ebs erTiani xel mZRvanel oba ar hyavda. es garemoeba, adgil obriv mosaxl eobas gansakuTrebul i safrTxis winase ayenebda im Tval sazrisiT, rom araorganizebul ad dawyebul i antisabWouri gamosvl ebi garduval i damarcxebis, xol o regionis adgil obrivi mosaxl eoba umkacresi represiebis winase idga. mosaxl eobis aRniSnul i safrTxisgan dacvisa da nebis mieri antisabWouri gamosvl ebisatvis organizebul i xasiaTis micemis aucil ebl obaze imsj el a saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis da demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciis 1931 wl is 28 Tebevli isa da 21 martis sxdomebma. stenografiul i angariSebidan kargad Cans, saqarTvel oSi mimdinare pol itikur procesebTan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i emigraciis damokidebul eba. kqvarjal azis mtkicebit, Tuki zemoaRniSnul i gamosvl ebis droul ad SeCerebas ver SeZl ebdnen, winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel oSi sagangebo warmomadgenel i unda gaegzavnaT da SeiaraRebul i antisabWouri gamosvl ebi garkveul kal apotSi moeqciaT. rac Seexeba iv.zurabi Svil s, egegeWkors da i.gobeCias, isini zemoaRniSnul gamosvl ebTan mimarTebaSi ukrainel ebis, pol onel ebisa da saertod evropis saxel mwifoTa liderebis saqmis kursSi Cayenebas moitxovdnen. maTi aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri el ita, Rmad iyo darwmunebul i, rom saqarTvel oSi dawyebul i antisabWouri partizanul i gamosvl ebi, qarTvel i erisTvis dadebiti Sedegis momtani ar iqneboda. igi ama Tu im regionis mosaxl eobas Seizl eba umzimesi represiebis safasurad daj domoda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, 21 martis sxdomaze warmoTqmul si tyvaSi ak.Cxenkel ma partizanul i gamosvl ebi, erovnul - ganmatavisufi ebel i moZraobis pirvel safexurad miicnia, magram im periodis pol itikuri koniunqturidan gamomdinare, misi gaRrmaveba mizanSeuwonl ad CaTval a. `cven unda vTqvaT, rasac vfiqrobT, rom partizanul i gamosvl a- ambobda igi- dauSvebel ia. saqarTvel om Tavi

unda daaRwi os partizanul saqmes. Cven ver avyvebiT CarGenil xal xebs da Tavs ver gavaJl etinebT. kaci unda gaigzavnos sazRvarze da es Cveni azri gadasces kategoriul ad.- ak.Cxenkel is aRni snul i moTxovna, saqarTvel odan 1931 wl is 16 marts miRebul daSifrul radiu- depeSaSi motanil faqtebs eyrdnoboda. am dokumentSi xazgasmiT iyo aRniSnul i: `saqarTvel os sxvadasxa kuTxeSi daiwo partizanul i gamosvl ebi sabWoTa xel isufl ebi wi naaRmdeg. gamosvl ebs aqvs organi zaciul i xasiaTi da gamowveul ia kol eqtivisticiis gatarebis gamo. azerbaijanSi moqmedebs partizanta razmebi 5000 kacamide. saucxovod arian Seiararebul ni. brZol ebi midis.-

aseTi damamedebel i dokumentis miRebis miuxedavad, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri partizanul moZraobas skeptikuri Tval sawieridan afasebda, ramac garkveul i formiT asaxva ak.Cxenkel is zemoaRniSnul gamosvl aSiac hpova. miuxedavad amisa, am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi imave sxdomam TavSekavebul i pozicia daafiqsira. rogorc dadgenil ebidan da Cems mier mopovebul i sxva dokumenturi masal idan irkveva, qarTul i emigracia, saqarTvel oSi da kerZod kavkasiaSi mimdinare partizanul i antisabWouri moZraobis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTi informaciis nakl ebobas gani cdi da. **amis utyuar dadasturebas, parizidan 1931 wl is 4 april s.s.menaRariSvil is mier varSavaSi s.mdivni sadmi da imave wl is 19 mai ss, j anis (fsevdonimia) mier oTarisadmi da biqtor j Rarkavasadmi gagzavnul i weril ebi warmoadgens. samive dokumentSi principul adaa sakiTxi dasmul i: 1)parizisaTvis ecnobebinaT saqarTvel osa da azerbaijanSi kol eqtivisticiis niadagze dawyebul i partizanul i gamosvl ebi, misadmi kavkasiis damouki debul obis komitetis damouki debul eba; 2)kavkasiaSi mimdinare procesebisadmi aRniSnul i komitetis mxridan gadadgmul i nebi smieri RonisZiebis Sesaxeb; 3)azerbaijanel partizanebs hqonda Tu ara raime kavSiri ucxo saxel mwi foebTan; 4)azerbaijanSi da saqarTvel oSi dawyebul i gamosvl ebi rogor xasiaTs atarebda da vin xel mZRvanel obda mas.**

saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom aRniSnul i sakiTxebiT TavrizSi myofi qarTvel Ta warmomadgenl ebi ciyvnen dainteresebul ni. amis Sesaxeb val iko i adonaSvil is mier Tavrizidan parizSi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetisadmi gagzavnul weril Si (1932 wl is april i) konkretul adaa miTitebul i: `gTxovT gvacnoboT ruseTis sxvadasxa kuTxebis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb... di dmni Svnel ovania Cveni sazRvargareTul i organi zaciebiSvis (masal ebi dasamuSavebl ad) ruseTis teritoriazed moqceul i patara erTa Soris nacional uri moZraobis sakiTxi. garda kavkasiis erovnebaTa yuradReba unda mi eqces ukrainas da sxvebs. Tu... aseT cnobebis mogvawdiT Zl ier karg saqmes izamT.-⁵

j er- j erobiT SeuZl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva, Tavrizis qarTul ma warmomadgenl obam mi iRo Tu ara zemoT CamoTvl il sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi raime saxis informacia. miuxedavad amisa, am weril s im etapze gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba hqonda im Tval sazrisiT, rom masSi garkveul i formiT iyo miniSnebul i kavkasiis erebis antisabWouri gamosvl ebi_ ukrainisa da Suaaziis erebTan dakavSirebis aucil ebl oba. e.i. gamosvl ebi ara mar to samxreTi kavkasi iT Semofargl ul iyo, aramed igi kavkasiis qeds unda gascdenoda, Crdil o kavkasiis xal xebe c fexze damdgar iyo da rac mTavaria, am moZraobas, sabWoTa imperiis sazRvrebSi saerTo saxal xo xasiaTi mieRo. Tuki dawye-

bul i gamosvl ebi masStabur safexurze avidoda, mxol od maSin iqneboda dasaSvebi misi gagrZel eba, radgan Cagrul erebs garkveul i politikuri perspeqtivis Sansi gauCndebodya. ramdenadac zemoaRniSnul i gamosvl ebi mxol od `Caketil i- formiT warimarTa da farTo xasiaTi ver mi iRo, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas gadawyvetil ebiT, igi droul ad iqna SeCerebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom am sakiTxTan mi marTebaSi saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums da demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciis erTobl ivi sagangebo weril i_ Sesabamisi winadadebebiT, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmed social - demokratiul i partiis central ur komitets jer kidev 1931 wl is 28 Teberval Si gadaegzavna. adgil obrivi cekas gadawyvetil eba aj anyebis SeCerebis Sesaxeb, dokumentSi dadebiTad iyo Sefasebul i. imavdroul ad igi adgil obrivi organizaciebis mxridan dauyovnebl iv gasatarebel i RonisZiebebis rekomendaciebsac Sei cavda.

am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul i politikuri speqtri, devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobis pozicias axmovanebda. amis dadasturebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i organizaciebis del egatTa konferenciaze (1934 wl is 21 april i) n.Jordani as moxsenebis is nawil i iqcevs, sadac saqarTvel oSi ganviTarebul movl enebze da muSaobis gaaqtiturebazea saubari. `exl a Cvens muSaobaSi- ambobda igi- mTavari yuradRebami qceul ia saqarTvel osTan kavSirze, iq muSaobis nayofierad warmarTvaze. Cveni mizania maTTvis swori da dawvril ebiTi informaciis miwodeba, raTa saqarTvel oSi mudam saqmis kursSi iyvnen Cveni amxanagebi. Cven yvel a fostasTan vatanT politikur werils, sadac vcdil obT dRevandel i urTierTobis da mdgomareobis axsnas. ramdenadac... saqarTvel os sakiTxi dakavSirebul ia sabWoTa ruseTis teritoriaze mcxovrebs sxva erebis sakiTxTan da maT bedTan, yovel gvare separatul i gamosvl a CvenTvis miuRebel ia.- am SemTxvevaSi n.Jordania, warsulis gamocdil ebis paral el urad, mimdinare politikur situaciasac iTval iswinebda. mas kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i, rom safuZvl ianad momZl avrebul i sabWoTa imperiis uRel is msxvrevas, 30- ian wl ebSi mar to qarTvel i eri ver SeZl ebda da igi am brZol aSi SeiZl eba fizikurad ganadgurebul iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, ruseTis imperiis rRvevisa da qarTvel Ta Tavisufl ebis miRvevis Sesazl ebl obas, sabWoTa ruseTis mi er damonebul erebTan, erTobl iv moqmedebaSi xedavda. aRniSnul i faqtoris gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, qarTvel - Ta gancal kevebul i separatul i gamosvl a da `SiSveli xel ebiT- sabWoTa imperiisadmi dapi rispireba, mas miuRebl ad miacnda. n.Jordani aseul i es pozicia, imave konferenciaze i.WavWani Zemac gai zi ara. `Cveni mdgomareoba- ambobda igi- gansakuTrebul ia. Cven brZol as vawarmoebT erovnul s da politikurs... erebTan dakavSirebaSi da saerTo brZol is warmoebaSi aris xsna da es aris erTaderTi Tavdebi saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebi- saTvis.

dasavl eT evropaSi mimdinare politikurma cvl il ebebma da germaniis xel isufl ebaSi nacional - social istebis (faSistebis) mosvl am (1933 wl is ianvari), saqarTvel os emigraciisa da devnil i xel isufl ebis winase, evropaSi Seqmnil i umZimesi politikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebis aucil ebl oba daayena dRis wesrigSi. es sakiTxi gansakuTrebiT mwaved dad-

ga emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebis winaSe. maT mier arCeul pol itikur kurss unda ganesazRvra ara mar to qarTul i emigraciis, aramed saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis saqmianobis mimarTul eba. am udidesi pasuxismgebl obidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis emigraciul ma warmomadgenl obam, 1933 wl is 16 oqtomers, sagangebo weril iT mimarTa saqarTvel oSi moqmed social - demokratiul i partiis cekas. am dokumentSi gamokveTil i formiT iyo miTitebul i im pol itikuri gzis Sesaxeb, romel ic safuZvl ad unda dadeboda partiisa da TviT saqarTvel os devnil i xel isufl ebis saqmianobas. `qveynis erovnul i pol itika unda darCes srul iad damoukidebel i ise, rogorc is iyo dRemde. aventurebis gza ver gaxdeba Cven gzaT. rasistebisa da faSistebis aventurebs ver gadaebmeba qarTvel i eris bedi, magram es imas ar ni Snavs, rom Cven didis si frTxil iT da gul modginebiT ar vadevnoT Tval yuri rasistul - komunistur reJimTa Soris mosal odnel konfl iqtebs. mTel i Cveni cda iqeTken unda iqnas mimarTul i, rom yovel i moZraoba wamowyerbul i moskovis dRevandel i xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg gamovi yenoT... saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRsadgenad. am mi znis mi Rweva savsebi T damoki debul i iqneba im taqtikaze da unarze, romel sac gamoiCens eri da misi ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZol is xel mZRvanel i social - demokratiul i partia.-

es amonaweri, garkveul saprogramo miTitebas warmoadgenda da gansazRvra vda saqarTvel osTan mimarTebsaSi social - demokratiul i partiis pol itikur kurss. imave dokumentidan kargad Cans, rom emigraciaSi myofi qarTvel i social - demokratebi faSistebTan TanamSroml obas ar apirebda. germania- sabWoTa ruseTis dapirispirebis fonze, iseTi kur sis SemuSavebas cdil obda, romel ic saqarTvel os saxel mwifos damoukidebl obis aRsadgenad iqneboda gamoyenebul i. dasaxul i mi znis gansaxorciel ebl ad da pragmatul i xasiaTis samoqmedo gegmis SesamuSavebl ad, emigraciaSi myofi qarTul i social - demokratiis l iderebi, saqarTvel oSi arsebul i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTi informaciis miRebas aucil ebl obad Tvl idnen. am mi zans emsaxureboda parizi dan saqarTvel oSi 1931 wl is Teberval Si gagzavnil i weril i. am dokumentis mixedviT, sazRvargareTis qarTul i social - demokratiis l iderebi, saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiisgan informaciul i xasiaTis masal ebis miwodebas Semdeg sakiTxTan mimarTebsaSi moiTxovda: 1)bol Sevikuri partiis Sida urTierTobis da maTi praqtikul i saqmianobis Sesaxeb; 2)saiduml o dokumentebis, maT Soris moskovidan saqarTvel os central uri komitetisadmi da piriqit, saqarTvel os central uri komitetidan moskovSi gagzavnil i saiduml o masal ebis mopovebas da masSi dacul sxvadasxva saxis informacias; 3)ruseTsa da kavkasiaSi mimdinare procesebis Sesaxeb dazustebul i faqtebis miwodebas; 4)saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis saqmianobis sesaxeb dawvril ebiT angaris- informacias; 5)rac Seexeba korespodenciebs, Cveul ebrivi `gziT- mudmi vad unda gaegzavnaT safrangeTsi. igive dokumenti, saqarTvel oSi moqmed social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel obas garkveul miTitebasac aZl evda Tu ra formiTa da saSual ebebiT ganexorciel ebina zemoaRniSnul i informaciis Semcvl e-

I i dokumentebis parizSi gagzavna. dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul ebis Zir- iTad sakomunikacio saSual ebad, Zvel i da nacadi gza unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. sabWoTa uSiSroebis Sesabamisi organoebis yuradRebis am mimarTul ebiT argadatanis mizniT, zemoT dasaxel ebul i `gziT- saqarTvel odan arcerTi emigranti ar unda gagzavniI iyo. mi Tumetes, im etapze I tol vil ebis miRebaze safrangeTs oficial urad uari hqonda gamocxadebul i.

Cems mier motaniI i dokumenturi masal is mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, qarTuli i emigracia da gansakuTrebiT devniI obaSi myofi social - demokratiuI i partiis I iderebi, saqarTvel os sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi seriozul i muSaobis Catarebas isaxavdnen miznad. am mimarTul ebiT Sesabamisi safexuris mosamzadebl ad, evropasi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebisadmi Sesatyvisi formis SemuSavebas cdil obdnen. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti mniSvel oba evropis ori didi saxel mwifos_ ingl is- safrangeTis I iderTa pozicias eniWeboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) sabWoTa ruseTisadmi maTi damokidebul eba; 2) ra funqciis Sesrul ebas daaki srebdnen saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobas da damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums. Tuki sakiTxs am Wril Si ganvixil avT, gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis centrSi 1931 wl is ivniSi JenevaSi Catarebul i konferencia moeqceva, sadac aqtiur rol s ruseTi TamaSobda. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums da pol itikuri partieb is del egaciis 1931 wl is 13 ivniSis sxdomaze, ak.Cxenkel ma sagangebo moxseneba gaakeTa. sxdomis stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom JenevaSi gamarTul kinferenciaze monawil eobis mi saRebad, ssrk- is sagareo saqmeTa ministris mI itvinovis Casvl is gamo, ak.Cxenkel i nasesxebi ful iT naucbaTevad Cavida JenevaSi da konferenciis monawil e saxel mwifoTa warmomadgenl ebs, saprotesto nota gadasca. mi si moxsenebidan irkveva, rom es nabiji, evropis didi saxel mwifoebis mxridan sabWoTa ruseTis pol itikur procesebSi aqtiurad CarTvam ganapiroba. aRni Snuil i faqtiT, evropis qveynebma I okarnos konferenciaze (1925 wl is 5- 16 oqtomberi- 1 dekemberi) miRebul i xel Sekrul ebebis da konvenci ebis mizanmimarTul ad ignori eba moaxdina. aqedan gamomdinare, ingl isis mxridan ruseTisadmi `mfarvel obis- kurssma, ruseTis fargl ebSi moqceul i erebi, mZime mdgomareobaSi Caayena. ramdenadac Jenevis aRni Snul i konferencia, rogorc ak.Cxenkel i ambobda, mxol od ekonomikuri TaTbiris formatiT i fargl eboda, misadmi yuradRebis miqceva aucil ebl obas warmoadgen- da. mi Tumetes, ruseTisadmi ekonomikur daxmarebas, evropis qveynebi saqarTvel os bunebrivi simdidris mitacebis xarj ze fiqrobdnen. `es daxmareba unda momxdariyo- ambobda ak.Cxenkel i- Cveni (saqarTvel os S.v.) bunebrivi simdidris xarj ze. es ki iqneboda yvel a wril i erebis (ruseTis fargl ebSi) daRupva da maT Soris TviT ruseTis xal xis. amitom, Cveni nota iyo Sedgenil i Cagrul i erebis da mezobl ebis warmomadgenl ebTan didi msjel obis safuZvel ze... ai am winaswari samzadisis Semdeg gadaveci nota saqarTvel os saxel iT... pirdapir saSinel i usamarTI oba xdeba, radgan Cveni qonebiT, Cvenve gvaxrCoben. bol Sevi kebs earSi yebian da sasyidI aT Cveni qoneba undaT mi i Ron, amiT Cvens mtrebs aZi iereben da Cven ki pirSi wyal dagubebul i unda viyoT. amas bol o unda moeRos. Cven saqveynod unda vsTqvaT, rom evropa amaragebs bol Sevi kebs. Cven aravis ar unda davaneboT saqarTve-

I os saki Txis bol Sevi kebis saqmeze gadar Tva. am mxriv saWi roa am saki-
Txis momzadeba, winaswar saTanado kampani is gaweva. saWi roa agreTve didi
yuradReba mi eqces Jenevas.-

Cems mier motani li am vr cel i amonaweridan kargad Cans: 1) evropis saxel m-
wi foTa li der ebis pol itikurad gameZavebul i kursi; 2) evropis saxel mwi-
foebis pol itikuri el itis mxridan merkanti izmi sadmi upi ratesobis mi cema
da patara erebisadmi sasxvaTa Soriso damokidebul eba; 3) I oid j orj is
I ozungis_ `Tu dagvWir da kani bal istebTanac vivaWrebT- evropel i pol i-
tikosebi sgan gafeti Seba. am formatSi Tuki ganvixil avT saki Txs, ak.Cxenkel is
mier piradi iniciativi T gadadgmul i zemoaRni Snul i nabiji erTi Sexed-
viT gamarTi ebul ad moeCvene ba adami ans. magram, im etapze evropaSi mim-
dinare urTul esi pol itikuri procesebis da imave evropis didi saxel mwi-
foebis meTaurTa pol itikuri qmedebebis gaTval iswi neba, ak.Cxenkel is indi-
vidual ur gadawyvetil ebas, naCqarev saxes aZl evda. mi Tumetes, evropis saxel
I mwi foebis I iderTa mxridan sabWoTa ruseTTan `pol itikurma arSi yobi-
am,- rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, im etapze oficial uri saxemi i Ro
da am faqts, saerTa Soriso TaTbi rebzedac ar mal avdnen. aqedan gamomdi na-
re, ak.Cxenkel is nota, ramdenadac ucxo qveynis saxel mwi foTa warmomadgen-
l ebisadmi saqarTvel os mTavrobis saxel iT iyo gadacemul i, misi teqstis
mTavrobasTan da damfuZnebel i krebi s prezid i umTan SeTanxmeba sasurvel i
iyo. isic gasaTval iswi nebel ia, rom ak.Cxenkel ma es nabiji, aucil ebl obidan
gamomdinare gadadga da gansakuTrebul Secdomad ar unda Sefasdes. misi
yovel i qmedeba drois faqtor iT da JenevaSi Seqmnil i rTul i situaci iT
iyo gansazRvrul i. swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi imave sxdo-
mis monawil eebis, roca ak.Cxenkel Tan mimar TebaSi umkacresi kritiki s nacvl -
ad, mxol od Seni Svnebi T Semoi fargl nen. stenografi ul i angari Si dan irkveva,
rom ak.Cxenkel is notis Sefasebis Sesaxeb sami mimar Tul eba gamoikveTa:
1) ak.Cxenkel is mxridan axal i xazis aReba- rusebisadmi `apekunoba- da
evropisadmi `Wkuis swavl ebis- mcdel oba. Jenevis TaTbirze ak.Cxenkel is
mier evropis saxel mwi foTa warmomadgenl ebisadmi gadacemul notaSi, n.Jo-
rdania da g.gvazava am bral debebs uyenebdnen notis avtors. g.gvazavas
`mtki cebi T,- ak.Cxenkel is nota, saqarTvel os mTavrobis axal xazs warmoad-
genda. igi winaswari ganxil vis, didi mofiqrebis da SeTanxmebis sagani un-
da gamxdariyo. rac Seexeba n.Jordani as, igi xazgasmi T ambobda: `saqarTvel -
os saqme sxvaa da ruseTis kidev sxva... exl a ki el Cs sul sxva xazi auRia.
e.i. ruseTs gamosarCl ebia. es xazi CvenTvis ar aris xel sayrel i. dRes mTe-
l i evropa ruseTs el aparakeba da exl a rom Cven gamovideT da evropas
Wkua vaswavl oT, es arc Segvefereba da arc Cveni saqmea. Cven ruseTis sa-
kiTxi rom wamovayenoT_ gvetyvian: Tqven vin xarT, ra geki TxebaTo. esec rom
ar gviTxran, amiT Cven saqarTvel os sakiTxs ruseTis Sinaur saqmed gavxdi T,
rac ueWvel ad yovel Tvis ruseTis interesia. marTal ia, TviT notis Sinaar-
si sworia da is rom yofil iyo sagazeTo weril i iSviaTi mWermetyvel uri
iqneboda. magram, rodesac masze xel i aqvs moweril i el Cs da gadacemul ia
saxel mwi foTa meTaurebi saTvis, maSin mas eZl eva sul sxva xasiaTi da gam-
ovdivarT sxvisi interesebis damcvel ad.-

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom n.Jordania, notis Sinaarsis si swores
aRiarebda, magram im etapze mimdinare pol itikuri procesebidan gamomdi-

nare, evropis didi saxel mwi foebis l iderebTan `weril obi T saubars- sul sxva forma sWirdeboda. dokumenti, sxva saxel mwifos saqmeebSi Carevis el ementebis gamomricxav stil s da formas moiTxovda. isic gasaTval iswi- nebel i iyo, rom im etapze saqarTvel os sakiTxis evropis qveynebis l ide- rTa cnobierebaSi ruseTis Sinaur saqmed aRqmis didi al baToba arsebob- da. meore mxriv, evropis didi saxel mwi foebis meTaurebis gan sabWoTa ruse- TTan garkveul kompromisze wasvl as, evropaSi Seqmnil i urTul esi pol i- tikuri situacia da ruseT- germaniis mosal odnel i SeTanxmebebis SiSi ga- napirobebda. arsebul i pol itikuri koni unqturis gaTval iswi nebas efuZne- boda imave sxdomaze n.Jordani as mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba: `maT ar ici an xval rogori mTavroba iqneba germaniaSi... eSini aT ruseTi da germania erTad ar iqnen da cdil oben rusebis mimxrobas. ai, aseT pol itikur situa- ciaSi msgavsi notebis wardgena ni Snavs im sakiTxebis Cagdebas, rac gvaqvs, miT ufro, Cveni gzis Sesacvl el ad aravi Tari axal i gaerTianebar Seqmni- l a. es SeiZl eba moxdes xval an zeg, magram dRes... Cven unda SevaTanxmOT Cveni pol itika evropisas. is unda eguebodes mas da ara ebrZodes.-

yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, n.Jordani as pozi- cia misaRebi unda yofil iyo qarTul i pol itikuri speqtrisaTvis. mi Tume- tes, qarTul i emigracia da devnil i mTavroba, evropis saxel mwifos l iderTa xel Semyure iyo. evropaSi maTi Stabbinis SenarCunebas, qarTul i emigra- ci- is xval indel i dRis beds, i sev evropis qveynebis l iderebis pozicia gansa- zRvravda. iyo damokidebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, maTdami ukmayofil ebis gamovl ineba garkveul i mini Snebebi T da di pl omatiuri etiketis maqsimal uri dacvi T unda momxdariyo. amis aucil ebl obas qarTul i emigraciis yofi Ti sinamdvil e moiTxovda. ak.Cxenkel is notisadmi am pozici iT mi dgoma, n.Jor da- nias Seni Svnebis ZiriTadi debul ebebis mizanSewonil ebas adasturebda.

2)ak.Cxenkel is notis paTosis di pl omatiur Secdomad gamocxadeba. ase- Ti saxis debul eba n.Jordani am imave sxdomaze daafi qsi ra. misi mtkicebi T, `roca gamovdivarT sxvisi interesebis damcvel ad... amdenad, es nota aris di pl omatiuri Secdoma.- anal ogiuri pozicia eWira k.sabaxtaraSvil sa da k.gvarjal aZes. am ukanasknel is mtkicebi T, `nota notacias uki Txavs sxva sa- xel mwifoebs. aseTi ram CvenTvis ar aris misaRebi da ar Seefereba Cvens mdgomareobas... ami tomac gadacemul i nota me mimaCnia di pl omatiur Secdo- mad.-;

3)ak.Cxenkel is poziciisadmi mxardaWera mxol od e.gegeWkorma gamoTq- va. misi mtkicebi T, ruseTis sakiTxiis wi na pl anze wamoyeneba aucil ebl o- bas warmoadgenda. `ar aris marTal i- ambobda igi- TiTqos Cven ar gvain- teresebdes ruseTis bedi, Tu ra iqneba iq. piriqiT, Cveni momaval i didaT aris damokidebul i ruseTis bedze.- aqedan gamomdinare, e.gegeWkori ar da- eTanxma k.gvarjal aZes, TiTqos ar unda Tqmul iyo is rac iTqva notaSi. `pi- riqiT, Cven unda vsTqvaT da xazi gavusvaT im saSinel usamarTi obas, romel sac adgil i aqvs Cveni qveynis mimarT, visi wyal obi Tac ar unda iyves es. magram erTi ki marTal ia, aseTi nabij ebi s gadadgmas win unda uswrebdes azrTa gacvl a- gamocvl a Cvens wreSi. exl a dadga iseTi mo- menti, rom saWi roa gadavxedoT Cvens taqtikas da vTqvaT is, rac saTqme- l i gvaqvs. aqve minda Tqveni yuradReba mi vaqcio ruseT- safrangeTis mol aparakebis faqts. saWi roa exl a Cven avamuSaoT Cveni Zal ebi da megobrebi, rom am mol aparakebis Sedegi ar iqnes Cveni gaqroba, anda Cveni

poziციების შესახებ.⁶

ამ ამონაწილში კარგად ჩანს, რომ ეგეგუნი მომხრე იყო სიმართლის პირდაპირი ტყუილსა, ხოლო მეორე მხრივ, ასეთი სინაისის დოკუმენტების წინა-სვარი განხილვის და აზრთა გაცვლის გამოცვლის საფუძველზე, მასივები და დებულებები დაზუსტების მიზანსახიზნებლად უნდა მოხდეს. იმავდროულად, კართლის პოლიტიკური ემიგრაციის ტაქტიკური ხაზის გადარჩენის და რუსეთ-საფრანგეთის შორის დადებული მოლაპარაკების დროს, კართლის საზიაროდ რაიმე სახის დოკუმენტის არმისარება, წინასვარი სამსახურების წარების შესახებ დატვირთვების მონაწილეობა.

ზემორნი სნულსაკითხებთან მიმართებაში, კართლის ემიგრაციის პოლიტიკური აზრის მსვენური ურთიერთსაინაარმდგო პოზიციადგა, მაგრამ, როცა კართლის მომავლის და მისი ინტერესების დაცვის აუცილებლობა მოიხვედრა წინაშე, უმეტესობა, კონსენსუსზე დაფუძნებული ერთიანობის პლატფორმის წარმართებას ცდილობდა. აკ. ცხენკელის პასუხიც ზრითად ამ ჩარევის თავსებობადა. ხოლო ნოტა, კარგული რეზიუმე და რუსის ხალხის ბედთან მიმართებაში, ემიგრაციული მთავრობისა და დაფუძნებული კრების პრეზიდიუმის მიერ ორგანიზებული პოლიტიკური ხაზის გაგრძელება უნდა მოხდეს. ეს ნოტა-ამბობდა აკ. ცხენკელი-კავკასიის კომიტეტს რომ გადაეცა უკეთესი იქნებოდა. მეკისულს ხვა ვარ. ამასი მე ვთანხმები თავმჯდომარეს. მაგრამ ამ მხრივაც სიფრთხილი იყო დაცული და წინასვარი ზომები მიღებული. ცენ წინადაც გადაეცინოტა განიარაღების კომისიის და ის არაფრით არ განხვავდება უკანასკნელისაგან... მე გამოვტყუამ სურვილს... უნდა საკითხები ირცოდეს აკ წინასვარ და ტუმე ცავიდინე ამ მხრივ სეცდომა... შემდგომის ეს ნუ მოხდება.

დოკუმენტი მასლიტის რკვევა, რომ XX საუკუნის 30-იან წლებში, კართლის ემიგრაციის და მისი ურთოდენობის აქტიური მუშაობის სედეგად, მათდამი ევროპის ჯიგერტილი დერის დამოკიდებული ებამკვეთად სეცვალა. ტუკი წინა წლებში გამოკვეთილად ამ ჯრავნებდნენ ინდიფერენტულ დამოკიდებული ებას, 1934 წლიდან დაპირებების ფორმის ტენდენცია სეიმცნეოდა. მხედველობაში მაგვს ეროვნულ ცენტრის და ეროვნულ ფრონტის სემალი პოლიტიკური პარტიების ურთოდენობის ტა ცენტრალი ბიუროს გაერთიანებული სხდომაზე (1934 წლის 29 სექტემბერი) ეგეგუნი გამოსული სტენოგრაფიული ანგარიში გარკვევითა მიუთითებულ, რომ კართლის ოსაკითხი, კვლავაც საერთაშორისო საკითხად რცებოდა და ამ სტატუსის წარმართებასი განსაკუთრებული როლი კართლის პირველი რესპუბლიკის მთავრობისადმი მეგობრულად განუყობილმა ევროპელმა პოლიტიკოსებმა (ი. მონა, ჯ. მარტელი) სეასრულა. სეპირებები-ამბობდა ეგეგუნი-გვაგვს, ცენ ვნახეთ მთელი რიგი დეგაციებისა, რომლებიც გვირდებიან ცენისაკითხის დასმას... სეილი ება ცენისაკითხი ერთხელ კი დედაის ვას, მაგრამ გადაუვტავთ სეილიონ... აკ მთავარია, რომ ცენისაკითხი რცება საერთაშორისო საკითხად და პირველ სავხელ საყრდენებსი საგადაღება. ამიტომ მუშაობის სასული ება გახსნილი გვაგვს, მხოლოდ საწინააღმდეგობის ენერჯია და საკმარისობა.

ამ სმთხვევაში ეგეგუნი სიმართლეს ამბობდა. იმ პერიოდის დოკუმენტი მასლის მხედვით, კართლის ემიგრაციული მთავრობისადმი ევროპელთა სეპირებები, დახმარებისა და ტანადგომის შესახებ მართლაც არსებობდა. სამუხაროდ, როგორც ვარსული (1919-1930 წლები), ისე იმ ჯამადაც (1934 წელი) სეასრული ებელი დარცა. პირიქით, ევროპის დიდი სახელმწიფოების მიდერები, პოლიტიკური სიტუაციის ცვლილებების ტანავე, უნდა გვარი სახის გა-

cemul dapi rebas i viwyebda da sabWoTa ruseTisadmi Tanadgomi s nabij s dgamda. amis utyuar dadasturebas safrangeTisa da ssrk- is sagareo saqmeTa ministrebis Jan I ui bartusa (1862- 1934 ww.) da maqsime I itvino- vis (1876- 1951 ww) megobrul i Sexvedris faqti warmoadgenda. samecniero I literaturiT dadasturebul ia, rom maTi SeTanxmebis ZiriTadi nawil i sabWoTa ruseTis erTa I igaSi mi saRebad, safrangeTis mxridan mxardaW- eris garantias Seicavda. momxdari faqtiT, safrangeTis xel isufli ebam daviwyebas misca: 1) sabWoTa ruseTis mier 1920 wl is 7 maiss saqarTvel- os demokratiul respubl ikasTan xel moweril i xel Sekrul eba; 2) 1921 wl is Teberval Si sabWoTa ruseTis mier am xel Sekrul ebis darRveva da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis okupacia_ aneqsia; 3) ignori reba gaukeTa misi da evropis sxva saxel mwifoebis mier 1920_ 1921 wl ebSi saqarTvel- os saxel mwifos samarTI ebrivad aRiarebas. aRni Snul idan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis winaSe principul ad daisva saki- Txi: 1) erTa I igris I okarnos kongresis mowvevamde, saqarTvel osTan mi- marTebaSi sabWoTa ruseTis dampyroburi pol itikuri kursi, evropis qveynebisatvis erTxel kidev SeexsenebinaT. 2) xazgasmiT mi eni SnebinaT, rom 1920 wl is 16 dekembers, saqarTvel os damouki debel respubl ikas erTa I igaSi mi Rebaze, imave evropis qveynebma uari rom uTxra. 3) momx- dari faqtidan 13 wl is Semdeg, evropis qveynebi agresors erTa I igris wevrad epati Jeboda. am uarResad rTul i propagandistul i samuSaos Se- srul eba, garkveul finansebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. im periodis saarqi- vo masal ebis Seswavl idan irkveva, rom erTa I igris momaval i kongresi- satvis, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba sagangebod moemzada. mxedve- l obaSi maqvs erTa I igris qarTul i sazogadoebisadmi sufsi diis saxiT 1934 wl is 25 april s gamoyofil i 700 franki. imave sazogadoebas daeval a, zemoaRni Snul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi Sesabamisi wignis da sxva saxis saagitacio bukl etebis dabeWdva, xol o egegeWkors moxsenebis dawera. yuradReba unda mi vaqci oT im garemoebasac, rom I okarnos erTa I igris kongress, win uswrebda erTa I igris damxmare asociaciis saerTaSoriso ko- ngresis fol kstonSi (ingl isi) mowveva (1934 wl is 18- 24 maissi). am forums qarTul i emigracia momzadebul i Sexvda. im periodis qarTul i emigraciis gamocemebSi (Jurnal - gazeTebi da samecniero I literatura) dadasturebu- l ia, rom imave kongresis 22 maissis sxdomam, saqarTvel os sakiTxi sagange- bod ganixil a. sxdomis monawil eTa gansakuTrebul i yuradReba g.gvazavas gamosvl am miqcia. moxsenebis Semaj amebel nawil Si, saqarTvel os sakiTx- Tan mimarTebaSi ZiriTadi debul ebebi man Semdegi formiT Camoayal iba: `1. ar SeiZl eba msofil io sindisma daakanonos ruseTis mier Cadenil i dana- Saul i; 2. ar SeiZl eba saqarTvel os sakiTxi moxsnil i iqnas saerTaSoriso ni adagidan... vinaidan saqarTvel os teritoria dResac uWiravs ruseTs da sul ac ar fiqrobs gaiyvanos iqedan Tavisi jari. ruseTis Sesvl a erTa I igaSi, Tu saqarTvel o exl ave gamoyofil i ar iqneba sabWoTa kavSiri dan, ni Snavs ruseTis Tavdasxmis dakanonebas da erTi Tavisufal i eris dasa- fl avebas ruseTis imperial izmis samareSi. mi saRebia es TqvenTvis? mi saRe- bia es erTa I igrisatvis?`⁷

sabWoTa ruseTis gan saqarTvel oze ganxorciel ebul i dampyroburi qmedebebi, saerTaSoriso forumze g.gvazavam gaxsnil i formiT warmoaCi-

na. am fonze, evropis qveynebis politikuri l iderebisadmi mis mier dasmul i kiTxvebic, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi 1919- 1933 wl ebSi gatarbul i politikurad meZavis kursis saerTasoris arenaze mxil ebas warmoadgenda da TiToeul matGans, ukan mosaxeds ar utovebda. miTumetes, safuZvl iani momzadebi dan gamomdinare, qarTul i del egaciis warmomadgenel Ta yovel i debul eba, istoriul faqtebze iyo damyarebul i. imaverTa l igis mier aRiarebul saerTasoris samarTl ebriv normebs efuZneboda da rkiniseburi l ogikis CarCoSi j deboda. aRniSnul is gartval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, kongresis monawil eni izul ebul ni iyvnen angariSi gaewiat saqarTvel os del egaciis mier wardgenil i rezoluciis proeqtisadmi. erTa l igis wevri saxel mwifos warmomadgenl ebisgan wina wl ebSi ganxorciel ebul i uprincipobis askarad dadasturebis da sabWota ruseTisadmi arwyeni nebis kursidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os del egaciis rezoluciis proeqtis is nawil i, sadac naTqvami iyo: `aRdgenil i iqnas saqarTvel os suverenoba, gauqmebul i ruseTis Tavdasxmitgamouval mdgomareobaSi ayenebda kongresis evropel monawil eeb. miTumetes, l okarnoSi dagegmil erTa l igis kongresze, sabWota ruseTis am organizaciaSi gawevrianebis sakiTxis dayeneba gadawyvetil i iyo. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki erTa l igis damxmare asociaciis saerTasoris kongresi, sabWota ruseTis mier gauqmebul i saqarTvel os suverenobis aRdgenis moTxovnis zemoaRniSnul formul irebas rezoluciaSi datovebda, es faqti, l okarnos konferenciis monawil eeb umZimes mdgomareobaSi Caayenebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, erTa l igis wevrobis mosurne sabWota ruseTisaTvis, saqarTvel os suverenobis aRdgenis moTxovnis Sexseneba da garkveul i garantiabis gacemis aucil ebl obis garduval oba.

mosal odnel i uxerxul obis politikuri vel i, ungreTis warmomadgenel ma poka pivnim gantvirTa, roca rezoluciis proeqtidan aRniSnul i formul irebis amoRebis sakiTxi daayena da mas safuZvl ad kongresis yvel a monawil isgan erTsul ovani mxardaWeris garantiaze miuTiTa. es imdenad Sefarviti dipl omatiuri formiT ganxorciel da, rom qarTul mxares ukan daxevis gamarTl ebis SesaZl ebl obis motivi dautova. Seqmnil i situaciis sworad gaanal izebi dan gamomdinare, qarTul i del egaciis xel mZRvanel i e.gegeWkori izul ebul i gaxda, **poka pivnis** Semotavazebul `kompromisul ~ winadadebaze daTanxmebul iyo. zemoaRniSnul i proceduris Semdeg, erTa l igis asociaciis saerTasoris kongresis mier saqarTvel os sakiTxze miRebul ma rezoluciam Semdegi saxemiiRo: `XVIII yril oba Rebul obs ra mxedvel obaSi, rom 1. saqarTvel o, romelic 20 saukune arsebobda, rogorc damoukidebel i qveyana, gauqmebul i iqna rogorc Tavisufal i saxel mwifo 1801 wels imperial isturi ruseTis Tavdasxmit, winaaRmdeg 1783 wels dadebul i xel Sekrul ebisa; 2. saqarTvel om 1918 wl is 26 maiss gamoacxada damoukidebl oba da es aqti erTxmad iqna damtkicebul i sayovel Taoxmis micemiT damfuZnebel i krebis mier; 3. Tanaxmad 1920 wl is 7 maiss dadebul i xel Sekrul ebisa, ruseTi scnobs yovel i davis gareSe, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos damoukidebl obas da suverenobas da srul is Tavis nebit xel siRebs yovel suverenul ufl ebaze, romelic ki ekuTvnodea ruseTs qarTvel i eris da teritoriis mimarT; 4. saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba cnobil ia `de- iure- yvel a didi saxel mwifos mier, agreTve bevri

sxva qveynebi danac. yril oba aqcevs erTa l igis yuradRebas saqarTvel os mdgomareobaze da im rezol uci ebze, roml ebic mi Rebul i iyo 22 setembers 1922 wel s da 25 setembers 1924 wel s. igi mouwodebs l igis sabWos fxizi ad adevnos Tval yuri qveynierebis am nawil Si momxdar ambebs da xel idan ar gauSvas xel sayrel i SemTxveva, raTa daexmaros saqarTvel os mSvidobiani saSual ebiT da Tanaxmad saerTaSoriso ufl ebebis princi pebis sa, am qveyanaSi normal uri mdgomareobis aRSadgenad.-⁸

aRni Snul i rezol uci is mi Rebi dan 15 dRis Semdeg, aSkarad gamoi kveTa sabWoTa ruseTis erTa l igaSi mi Rebis wina pirobebi da rac mTavaria, misi aRsrul ebis `medrosed- dasavl eT evropis wamyvani saxel mwi foebis (safrangeTi, ingl isi) warmomadgenl ebi gamovi da. am SemTxvevaSi, aRni Snul i saxel mwi foebis meTaurebi, pol itikurad meZavisa da merkantil izmis sisxl Si gamj dar kurss ar Ral atobdnen. ise iqceodnen TiTqos, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki sadmi da SemdegSi misi emigraciul i mTavrobis admi micemul i dapirebebi Seesrul ebinos. is ki arada, ingl isis xel is ufl ebas, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki sarkinigzo momsaxurebis val i 1934 wel sac gadauxdel i hqonda. saqarTvel os mTavrobis l iders n.Jordanas da mis garemocvas safuZvl ianad hyavdaT Seswavl il i evropis pol itikuri el ita. `Zal a aRmarTsa hxnavso,- aseT pol itikur sivrceSi uxdeboda saqmi anoba emigraciaSi myof saqarTvel os kanonier mTavrobas. mis wevrebs kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom erTaderT gamosaval s, mxol od ideol ogiur frontze gaaqtireba, evropis farTo sazogadoebisatvis saqarTvel os sakiTxis isev Sexseneba da am faqtoris amuSavebis safuZvel ze, evropis l ideri qveynebis meTaurebze garkveul i formiT zemoqmedebis ganxorciel eba warmoadgenda. es sakiTxi saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis 1934 wl is 24 ivni sis sxdomis monawil eebis winaSe mTal i princi pul obi T daisva. saqmo Canawerebi dan irkveva, rom `saerTo pol itikuri mdgomareobis da erTa l igaSi sabWoTa kavSiris mosal odnel i mi Rebis Sexaxeb, moxseneba n.Jordani am gaakeTa. aRni Snul Tan dakavSirebi T, mi Rebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1)saWi rod iqnas cnobil i Sesaferi weril ebis momzadeba gazeTebSi mosaTavsebl ad, ristvisac arCeul i iqnas komisia romel Siac Sevl en: e.gegeWkori, ak.Cxenkel i, i.zurabi Svil i, gg.vazava da agreTve isini visac centri daasaxel ebs; 2)saWi roa iseTi saxel mwi fos moZebna, roml is warmomadgenel i iki srebs Cveni sakiTxis erTa l igaSi wamoyenebas; 3)saWi roa aRni Snul i muSaobisatvis Tanxis gamoZebna, rac endoba e.gegeWkors; 4)mi endos Tavmj domares gamoi wvi os x.Savi Svil i, roca saWi roT dai naxavs.- doku menturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom es dadgenil eba srul fasovnad iqna Sesrul ebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebis mier erTa l igis Tavmj domarisadmi wardgenil i sami memorandumi: a)erTa l iga da saqarTvel os sakiTxi; b)qarTvel i xal xis brZol is mokl e istoria damouki debl obisatvis; g)saqarTvel os iuridiul i mdgomareoba.⁹ anal ogiuri saxis memorandumebi erTa l igaSi kavkasiis sxva respubl ikis warmomadgenl ebmac waradgina. paral el urad iqna amuSavebul i evropis presa. gansakuTrebi T Svei caria aqtiurobda, radgan iq maRal doneze muSaobda `saqarTvel os damxmare internacional uri komiteti.- aRni Snul sakiTx-Tan dakavSirebi T, erovnul centrSi da erovnul frontSi Semaval i partiebis central uri biuros 1934 wl is 29 setembris gaerTianebul sxdomaze

dasaxel ebul i komitetis mier gaweul i didi muSaobis Sesaxeb e.gegeWkori xazgasmiT ambobda: `Tqven iciT, rom JenevaSi gvyavs `saqarTvel os damxmare internacional uri komiteti,- roml is wevrebma didi aqtivoba gamoiCines da saqarTvel os saqmes daufasebel i Rvawl i dasdes. j er kidev ianvarSi J.martel ma gaxsna kampania ruseTis winaaRmdeg da pirvel rigSi saqarTvel os sakiTxi wamoayena. aqedan dawyebul i kampania TandaTan ZI ierdeboda da izrdeboda... SveicariaSi rodesac Cavedi, gaCaRebul i muSaoba damxvda, sadac Cveni megobrebis aqtivobaSi didi rol i iTamaSa Cvenma warmomadgenel ma x.Savisvil ma.- imave e.gegeWkoris mtkicebiT, saqarTvel os sakiTxis popul arizacias da mis wina pl anze wamowevas gansakuTrebul i amagi Sveicariis saxel mwifos warmomadgenel ma j .motam dasdo. `imas mainc mi vaRwi eT, rom Sveicariis saxel mwifom, romel ic didi gavl eniT sargebl obs- ambobda e.gegeWkori- da mi sma warmomadgenel ma j .motam, saqveynod daayena saqarTvel os sakiTxi da Tavze aiRo masze zr unva.- dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom im etapze arsebul i umZimesi pol itikuri situaciis miuxedavad, aRebul i pasuxismgebl obis dacvas j .mota maqsimal urad Seecada. mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom zogierTi qarTvel i pol itikuri moRvawe, saqarTvel osadmi megobrul ad ganwyobil ucxoel pol itikosebs, saqarTvel os sawinaaRmdego nabij is gadadgmsken mouwodebda da Tavis qmedebi T, mtris sasi keTo saqmis gakeTebas cdil obda. aRni Snul sakiTxiTan dakavSi rebi T, imave sxdomaze e.gegeWkori ambobda: `maSin rodesac Cveni ucxoel i megobrebi wel ebze fexs idgamdnen saqarTvel os dasacavad, am dros erT am megobarTagans Jan martens erTma qarTvel ma (xmebi keresel iZe) weril iT mi marTa, sadac eubneboda, rom saqarTvel os mTavrobas nu endobiT da nu dauj erebTo. aseTi gamosvl ebiT ra zians ayeneben qarTul saqmes vfiqrob udaoa.¹⁰ marTal ia, e.gegeWkorma weril is avtoriar daasaxel a, magram misi vinaoba aRni Snul i sxdomis monawil eTaTvis cnobil i iyo. mi Tumetes, es weril i J.martenma JenevaSi Casul qarTul del egacias aCvena.

Tuki ucxoel i pol itikuri moRvaweni, emigraciaSi myof saqarTvel os kanonier mTavrobasa da mis mier JenevaSi wargzavnil oficial ur warmomadgenl obas undobl obi T moekideboda, maSin ndobis mandats vin im saxurebda? nuTu im organizaciis (`TeTri giorgis-) mesveurebi, roml ebic faSizms zeaRmatebul formebsi warmosaxavdnen da Tavianti organizaciis ideol ogiis sayrden safexurad acxadebdnen? ideol ogiis, roml is winaaRmdegac dasavl eT evropis umetesi saxel mwifoebis l iderebi xmal SemarTul i ibrZoda.

saqarTvel osa da misi devnil i kanonieri xel isufli ebisadmi megobrul ad ganwyobil i ucxoel i pol itikosebis did Rirsebad unda CaiTval os, rom yurad ar iRes keresel iZis msgavsi adami anebis gamrudebul azrovnebaze dafuznebul i Segonebebi da saRi azrovnebis poziciidan muxl Cauxrel ad gaagrZel es saqarTvel os interesebis dacva. amis utyuar dadasturebas, Sveicariis gazeTebSi gamoqveynebul i masal ebi warmoadgens, sadac principul ad iyo dasmul i sakiTxi_ `j er saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba...- am fonze, Sveicariis pol itikuri wreebi, saqarTvel os okupaciasTan dakavSirebi T Cadenil danaSaul s Seaxsenebda moskovis xel isufal s. imavdroul ad,erTa l igis wevri qveynebis warmomadgenl o-

bas 1922 da 1924 wl ebis rezol uciebs moagonebda, romel ic erTa l igis sabWos wevrebs saqarTvel oSi mimdinare procesebisadmi Tval yuris de- vnebas, saTanado momentSi saqarTvel oSi normal uri cxovrebi seul i pi- robebis saerTaSoriso samarTI is CarCoSi aRdgenas aval debul ebda. igive presa, safrangeTis, ingl isisa da Sveicariis maRal i rangis di- plomatTa maSindel mwvave gancxadebebsac Seaxsenebda evropel `ruse- Tume- pol itikur wreebs. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, `Jan dekebis- gazeTi `kurieri- (1934 w. # 252) werda: `safrangeTis mTavrobam Tavisi del egaciis piriT, l igis pol itikur komisiaSi 1924 wel s ganacxada, rom l igas ar Se- uZl ia gul gril ad ucqiros qarTvel i xal xis wamebas. anal ogiuri gancxa- deba gaakeTes Sveicariis da didi britaneTis warmomadgenl ebma. 7 maiss 1920 w. sabWoTa mTavrobam dasdo saqarTvel os respubl ikasTan formal uri xel Sekrul eba, roml is Zal iTac saqarTvel os damoukidebel arsebobs garantia eZl eoda 1921 wl is dasawyisSi, es xel Sekrul eba bol Sevi kebis mi- er darRveul i da wiTel i armiis saSual ebiT saqarTvel o dapyrobi l i iqna. amitom, Sveicaria moiTxovs sabWoeTidan saqarTvel os dacl as j er kidev sanam erTa l igaSi Seva, rom daamtkicos, moskovi mzad aris momaval Si aasrul os saerTaSoriso val debul ebani erTa l igis statusis principi- sa.-¹¹

am amonawerSi garkveviTaa miTitebul i safrangeTisa da ingl isis war- momadgenl ebis mxridan XX saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi, sabWoTa ruseTis mi- er saqarTvel osTan mimarTebsaSi ganxorciel ebul i eqspanionisturi pol itikis dagmobis Sexsenebis faqtebi. am fonze, Sveicariis presa da pol itikuri wreebi, ingl isisa da safrangeTis dipl omatiur warmoma- dgenl obas garkveviT mianiSnebda: erTa l igaSi sabWoTa ruseTis miRe- ba- armiRebis sakiTxis dasma, mxol od mas Semdeg gaxdeboda SesaZl ebe- l i, Tuki sabWoTa ruseTi saqarTvel os dacl ida. samwuxarod, ingl isisa da safrangeTis XX saukunis 30- iani wl ebis mmarTvel wreebs, pol iti- kuri `amneziidan- gamomdinare, pol itikuri sindisi ar aRmoacnda da da- moukidebel i qveynebis dampyrobels erTa l igaSi miRebas, saerTaSo- riso samarTI ebrivi normebs ignori rebiT Seecada. am samarcxvino qmede- bis winaarmdegi brZoda Sveicariis imJami ndel i presa. aRni Snul sakiTx- Tan dakavSirebiT, `erovnul i centrSi- da `erovnul frontSi- Semaval i pa- rtiebis central uri biuros gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1934 wl is 29 seqtem- beri), egegeWkori xazgasmiT acxadebda; `unda iTqvas, rom safrangeTma ver SeZl o imis ise gatareba, rogorc es mas warmoedgina. amas xel i SeuSal a gansakuTrebul i saxis kampaniam, romel sac gansacvifrebel i sisastikiT Svei- cariis presa awarmoebda da romel ic winaarmdegi iyo ruseTis l igaSi Se- svl is da kerZod im meTodebis, romel sac mimarTes zogma saxel mwi foebma ruseTis sasargebl od. ar darCenil a arcerTi gazeTi, ... rom sastikad ar gael aSqros ruseTis winaarmdeg. mTel i am gazeTebis mTavari argumenti iyo saqarTvel o. saqme iqamdisac mi vinda, rom zogi gazeTi saqarTvel os sa- kiTxis beds safrangeTis sindisze stovebda. amitom iyo, rom bartu ki dec ambobda, rom mTel i es kampania qarTvel ebis saqmea, magram cdebi ano. faqtia, rom Sveicariis presam mTel i sigrZe- siganiT dasva kacobr iobis winase, viTomcda mi viwyebul i saqarTvel os sakiTxi.-

imasTan dakavSirebiT, Turit iyo ganpi robebul i safrangeTis xel isufl -

ebis warmomadgenl ebis Tavgamodebul i brZol a ruseTis erTa I igaSi Sesayvanad, amis Sesaxeb, imave sxdomaze e.gegeWkori daufaravad acxadebda: `safrangeTis mTel i cda da energia erTa I igaSi ruseTis Sesayvanad, germaniis SiSiT iyo nakarnaxevi... momentis damaxasiaTebel i niSani is aris, rom... erTis mxriv xdeba ruseTis evropasTan (safrangeTi) dakavSireba, xol o meore mxriv mzaddeba germaniis, pol oneTis da iugoslaviis daaxl oeba. ai es iyo meore motivi, romel ic ukarnaxebda safrangeTs ruseTis I igaSi Seyvanas da amiT cdil obda zemoaRniSnul i daaxl oebis Sesustebas. da ai es evropul i pol itikis gadaj gufeba da Cveni sakiTxis am aspeqtSi aqtiurad dayeneba aris is garemoeba, romel ic Cven angariSSi unda mi viRoT.-

es amonaweri aSkarad mi gvani Snebs, rom iq sadac didi pol itikis gl obal - uri sakiTxebi wydeba, saqarTvel o da mi sebr patara qveynebi Ciris fasadac ar uRirT. evropel i pol itikosebis umetesobisTvis Tandayol il i tyuil ebidan gamomdinare, gacemul dapi rebes umal ve `ivi wyebdnen.~ I oid- j or- j is si tyebi T rom vTqvaT, `vaWrobas kani bal istebTanac- ar Takil obdnen. ase iyo maSin da asea dResac.

dokumenturi masal iT da samecniero I iteraturiT dadasturebul ia, rom saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebis gabrZol ebis mcdel obas, mSvidobis 30- e I okarnos msofi io kongresis (1934 wl is 1-6 seqtemberi) muSaobis periodSi hqonda adgili. am forumze, saqarTvel os del egaciis warmomadgenel ma xariton SaviSvil ma, gamanadgurebel i pasuxi gasca frang del egats I usie I e fuaiems, romel ic mcire erebis ufl ebebis ignori rebis safuZvel ze, mSvidobianobis dacvis I ozungebiT manipuli rebda. x.SaviSvil is gamosvl a imdenad I ogikuri da STambeWdavi iyo, rom kongresma saqarTvel os sasargebl o rezolucia mi iRo.¹² mi uxedavad amisa, erTa I igis I okarnos kongresze, sabWoTa ruseTi erTa I igaSi iqna gawevrianebul i.

sabWoTa ruseTis erTa I igaSi miRebis sawinaaRmdegod, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis mier gaweul muSaobasTan dakavSirebiT, Tavis mogonebebSi ak.Cxenkel i 1950 wel s werda: `yvel a es Wapan- wyveta ara marto saqarTvel os, aramed misi mezobl ebis, agreTve ukrainis da Turqestanis warmomadgenl ebis a unayofod Caiara JenevaSi da erTa I igam mi iRo Tavis wevrad sabWoTa kavSiri.¹³ mi uxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis avtoriteti dasavl eT evropis pol itikur wreebSi erTiorad gazarada. igi ideol ogiur sferoSi intel eqtual ur- pol itikur codnaze dafuZnebul ma im pragmatul ma gadawyvetil ebebma ganapiroba, romel ic erTa I igis I okarnos kongress uZRoda win da sabWoTa ruseTis winaaRmdeg iyo mi marTul i. ingl is- safrangeTis erTobl i vi Zal isxmeva rom ara, qarTul i mxarisa da misi evropel i megobrebisgan, sabWoTa ruseTi ideol ogiur da saerTaSoriso samarTI ebriv frontze dasamarebul i iyo. swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi e.gegeWkors, roca `erovnul centrSi- da `erovnul frontSi- Semaval i pol itikuri partiebis central uri biuros 1934 wl is 29 seqtembris sxdomaze ambobda: `srul iad gadaumetebi ad unda giTxraT, rom saqmis damTavrebis Semdeg, saqarTvel os sakiTxi gazarada, man avtoriteti moi pova da is pirebi, roml ebic dRemdis al macerad gviyurebdnen, exl a metis yura- dRebiT gvepyr obian. Jenevidan ufro optimisti davbrundi, vinem wasvl i-

sas viyavi. me vfi qrob, Seqmni l i garemoeba gvi qmni an xel sayrel pi robebs muSaobis gasaZl ierebl ad. mxol od ami sTvis saWiroa qarTvel ebis mTl i-anoba, rac samwuxar od ar aris... Cveni sakiTxi rCeba saerTaSoriso saki-Txad... amiT muSaobis saSual eba gaxsnil i gvaqvs, mxol od saWiroa meti energia da saqmi anoba.~

marTalia, sakiTxi sworad iyo Sefasebul i da dasmul i, magram, muSaobis Semdgomi gaRrmavebi saTvis da saagi tacio- propagandistul i saqmi anobisaTvis, garkveul i raodenobiT ful i iyo saWiro, romelic qarTul emigracias ar gaaCnda. aqedan gamomdinare, mtrisa da moyvrisadmi Rirseul i pasuxis gasacemad, maT mier dabeWdil i mcire tirajiani Jurnal - gazeTebi arasakmaris saSual ebas warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba da social - demokratiul i partia, meore internacional is beWdviT organoebis xSirad iyenebda. amis SesaZl ebl obas meore internacional is wevroba ganapirobebda. meore mxriv, saqarTvel os sakiTxis saerTaSoriso forumebze gasatanad da dasacavad, imave internacional is l iderebs xSirad mimarTavda qarTul i mxare. evropasi mimdinare rTul ma procesebma (germaniaSi faSizmis xel isufl ebaSi mosvl am) da saqarTvel os mTavrobis l egacis gauqmebam (1933 wl is ivl isi) saqarTvel os mTavroba da qarTul i pol itikuri emigracia umZimes mdgomareobaSi Caayena. aseT pi-robebSi daisva sakiTxi meore internacional Tan saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis TanamSroml obis formebis daxvewis Sesaxeb. mxedvel obaSi maqvs social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i organizaciebis 1934 wl is april is konferencia. stenografiul i angariSi danirkveva, rom social isturi internacional is Sesaxeb sagangebo moxseneba k.gvarj al aZem gaakeTa. igi dawvril ebit Seexo meore internacional is l iderebisa da masSi Semaval i partieb is mxridan saqarTvel osadmi gaweul Tanadgomas. imedi gamoTqva, rom meore internacional Si Semaval i pol itikuri partiebi Semdgom etapzedac aucil ebl ad gamoiCendnen saqarTvel osadmi daxmarebas. aseTi optimizmiT aRsave gamosvl is miuxedavad, imave konferenciis 22 april is sxdomaze, meore internacional isadmi damokidebul ebis sakiTxTan mimarTebsi mwvave diskusia gaimarTa da ori urTierTsawinaarmdego mmdinareoba gamoikveTa: 1)meore internacional is muSaobiT ukmayofil o da 2)meore internacional isadmi l oial urad ganwyobil adami anTa j gufebi.

rac Seexeba pirvel sakiTxs_ 1)meore internacional is muSaobiT ukmayofil o pol itikosebs (ak.Cxenkel i, p.sarj vel aZe, z.wul aZe, pr.inwki rvel i, s.menaRariSvil i), maTi ZiriTadi poziciebi Semdegi formiT SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: **a)**meore internacional is axal i xazi- mimarTul eba, komunistebTan saerTo enis gamozebnas da erTiani frontis Seqmnas isaxavda miznad; **b)**meore internacional Si bol SeviktTa zegavl enis gaZl ierebam, sxvadasxva partieb is seqtanturi saqmi anobis gaaqtireba ganapiroba. es faqtori saSual o kl asis ignori rebas da am organizaciaSi faSizmis gavl enis gafarToebas uwyobda xel s; **g)**meore internacional Si Semaval i partieb is didi nawil i, patara erebis ganTavisufl ebas ewinaarmdegeboda. isini mxol od Tavianti saxel mwifoebis teritoriul ad gafarToebaze fiqrobden; **d)**bol Sevizmis winaarmdeg brZol aSi, meore internacional ma saqarTvel os daxmareba ver aRmouCina; **e)**meore internacional ma msoulio or banakad gayo: 1)faSizmi da reaqtia da 2)social izm- komuni zmi. am ori banakidan, meore inter-

nacional ma komunizms dauWira mxari da pirvandel i Sexedul ebebis revizia moaxdina.

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul idan gamomdinare, meore internacional is kriti-kosebi, principul ad ayenebdnen sakiTxs: saqarTvel os social - demokrati-as, meore internacional is l iderebis mier daSvebul Secdomebze xazgas-miT mieTitebina da am organizaciaSi pirvandel i gavlena aRedgina. **doku-menturi masal idan ar dasturdeba, konferenciis monawil eebis, saqarTve-l os social - demokratiul i partiis am saerTaSoriso organizaciidan gamosvl is sakiTxi rom daeyenebinos. es moTxovna, mxol od vaso aTabega-Svil is mier konferenciisadmi gagzavnil moxsenebaSia dasmul i. misi `mtkicebiT,- meore internacional i im etapze arafli smkeTebel organiza-cias warmoadgenda da saqarTvel osTvis aranairi sargebl obis motana ar SeeZlo. igive v.aTabegaSvil is azrit, meore internacional i `real ur Zal - ad da cocxal organizaciad ar SeiZleba moazrebul iyo.- aqedan gamom-dinare, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis yofnas meore inter-nacional Si mizanSeuwonl ad miCnevda. mi Tumetes, ruseTis wi naaRmdeg brZo-l aSi, rogorc TviTon `amtkicebda- saqarTvel osTvis aranair sargebel s ar iZleoda. `es faqtebi da sxva movlenebi- werda v.aTabegaSvil i- gvikar-naxeben, rom Cven Camovcil deT meore internacional s da SevqmnaT Zl ier i sicocxliTa da energiit savse qarTul i mebrZol i erovnul i organiza-cia.-¹⁴ am SemTxvevaSi, survil i da SesaZlebl obebi erTmaneTs ewi naaRmdege-boda. iseTisaxis organizaciis Seqmna, rogorc v.aTabegaSvil i moiTxov-da, did finansebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. meore mxriv, igi qarTul i emigraci-is Sinagani fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobis ignorebas axdenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs is gauTavebel i kinkl aoba da dausrul ebel i bral debebi, rasac adgi-l i hqonda qarTul i emigraciis SigniT. aRniSnul i garemoeba udi des xe-l SemSiel faqtors warmoadgenda konsesusze dafuznebul i erTiani samo-qmedo gegmis SesamuSavebl ad.**

meore sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi_ meore internacional isadmi l oial u-rad ganwyobil Ta (n.Jordania, i.sal ayala, v.wul aZe, i.WavWaniZe, v.inwki rvel i, d.SaraSeniZe, k.gvarjal aZe) pozicia Semdeg argumentebs Seicavda:
a) saqarTvel os sakiTxis evropi sadmi gacnobisa da saerTaSoriso forume-bze dacvis miznit, meore internacional ma didi saqme gaakeTa. imavdroul ad, mxardaWera da Tanadgoma gamoucxada sabWoTa ruseTis mier okupire-bul saqarTvel oSi mimdinare erovnul - ganmatavisufli ebel moZraobas; **b)** me-ore internacional is mier miRebul dadgenil ebebSi garkvevit iyo miTite-bul i dapyrobel i erebis TviTgamorkvevis aucil ebl obaze. am faqtorebi-dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os gasantavisufli ebl ad Cafiqrebul i gegmis ga-nxorciel ebis miznit, evropaSi mimdinare politikiuri procesebis gatval - iswinebis aucil ebl oba da or frontze muSaobis ori xazi: 1) meore inter-nacional is, rogorc saerTaSoriso organizaciis da 2) saxel mwifoebis mxri-dan daxmarebis SesaZlebl obebi maqsimal urad yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. omis SemTxvevaSi, meore internacional s saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebisatvis gansa-kuTrebul i roli unda Seesrul ebina; **g)** meore internacional i esarCl ebo-da da mxars uWerda sabWoTa kavSirSi Semaval damonebul erTa TviTgamo-rkvevas da saxel mwifoebriვი cxovrebis formirebis arCevas. **am fonze, meore internacional isadmi wayenebul i bral debis_ TiTqos bol Sevikuri**

meTodis gzas daadga da sabWoTa sistemas iziarebda, mcdarad acxadebd-
 nen. miTumetes, im etapze meore internacional is ekzekutivebSi mxol od
 ori wevri: avstriel i oto baueri da ingl isel i brokvei icavdnen sab-
 WoTa sistemas da bol Sevikur diqtaturas. aqedan gamomdinare, ori pi-
 rovnebis xarj ze, mTel i internacional is pol itikuri xazis bol Sevizmisa
 da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mxardamWerad gamocxadeba, meore internacio-
 nal is wevrTa umravl esobis poziciis ignorirebas warmoadgenda. aRni S-
 nul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi k.gvarj al aZe xazgasmiT miuTitebda, rom ev-
 ropis social istur partiebs ganuwyvetel i dava da konfliqti hqonda
 moskovis evropel agentebTan. maTi taqtika da moqmedeba ZiriTadad anti-
 bol Sevikuri, antikomunisturi iyo. imave k.gvarj al azis mtkicebiT, sab-
 WoTa kavSiris Sesabamisaxel mwi fo uweyebma aTeul obiT milionebi
 daxarj a ingl isisa da avstriis muSaTa kl asis xel mZRvanel obis mo-
 sasyidaT. miuxedavad amisa, mxol od ori pirovnebis mimxroba SeZl o.¹⁵

meore internacional Si im etapze Seqmnil i mdgomareobis anal izis safuZ-
 vel ze, k.gvarj al aZe dasZenda: `komunistebi mTel i am xnis ganmavl obaSi ara
 mxol od ebrZodnen social istebs, aramed... isini Segnebul ad da winaswari
 ganzraxviT uWerdnen mxars social istebs mowinaaRmdegeebis_ faSistebs
 da memarj veneebis. komunisturma taqtikam ukve mogvca samwuxaro da saSiSi
 Sedegebi germaniaSi, rasac uTuod ara erTi da ori saSinao da sagareo gar-
 rTul eba moyveba. am udidesi danaSaul istvis istoriis da saerTaSoriso
 muSaTa kl asis winaSe pasuxi bol Sevicebma unda agon.¹⁶

Cems mier motanil i masal ebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom saqarTvel
 os social - demokratiul i partiis liderebi, meore internacional -
 Tan TanamSroml obis gagrZel ebas aucil ebl obad Tvl idnen. miTumetes,
 maTmier motanil mtkicebul ebebSi, gamokveTil i formiT iyo warmodge-
 nil i saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis saqmeSi meore internacional is ga-
 moyenebis savarauto SesaZl ebl obebi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, saerTaSoriso
 forumbze, imave internacional is mxardaWeriT saqarTvel os sakiTxis
 gatana da Sesabamisi rezolucia- dadgenil ebebis miReba. am mimarTul ebiT
 gaweul muSaobas, saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebisatvis gadamwyveti mniSvnel o-
 ba ar hqonda, magram ideol ogiur- pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT, saerTa-
 Soriso sazogadoebrivi azris Sesaqmnel ad, garkveul i Sedegis motana
 SeeZl o. aRniSnul isa da sxva faqtorebis gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare,
 vaTabegaSvil is zemoaRniSnul i moTxovnis_ saqarTvel os social - demo-
 kratiul i partiis meore internacional idan gamosvl is Sesaxeb Sesru-
 l eba, pol itikuri Secdoma iqneboda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba,
 rom igive sakiTxi 1937 wel sal .asaTianis jgufma ganaxl ebul i formiT
 daayena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi mxridan erovnul - demokratiul i partiis
 saxel iT `saqarTvel os erovnul centrSi~ Setanil i gancxadeba. es do-
 kumentu saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezid-
 iumis wevrebis da partiaTa warmomadgenl obiT kol egiis 1937 wl is 16
 oqtombris gaerTianebul sxdomaze iqna ganxil ul i. (sxdomas eswrebod-
 nen: n.Jordania, e.gegeWkori, k.kandelaki, iv.zurabiSvil i, eq.TayaiSvil i, s.mdi-
 vani, g.gvazava, sam.fircxalava, iv.WavWaniZe, kal .qavTaraZe, al .asaTiani, il .nu-
 cubiZe, sar.menaRariSvil i. saTaTbiro xmiT: ak.Cxenkel i, k.gvarj al aZe,
 ias.sal ayai a). aRniSnul i sxdomis stenografiul i Canawerebidan irkveva,

rom al .asaTianis gancxadeba, Sesaswavl ad da masSi dasmul i sakiTxebi-
sadmi pasuxis gasacemad, social - demokratiul partias gadaeca. mxol
od am proceduris gavli is Semdeg CaTval a `erovnul ma centrma- misi
ganxil vis SesaZl ebl oba mi zanSewonil ad.

saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom al .asaTianis zemoaRni Snul gancxadeba-
sTan mimarTebaSi, social - demokratiul i partiis warmomadgenl ebis pa-
suxi `saqarTvel os erovnul centrSi- 1937 wl is 13 noembers iqna Setani-
li. am dokumentSi dasabuTebul i formiTaa miTiTebul i: 1)al .asaTianis
`mtkiceba- imis Sesaxeb, romM social - demokratiul i partiis meore inter-
nacional Si yofna TiTqos `xel s uSl ida srul i erTobis damkvidrebas sa-
qarTvel os mebrZol fenebSi_ samSobl oSi da emigraciaSi- sinamdvil es ar
ASeesabameboda. social - demokratiul i partiis sapsuxo weril Si dasa-
buTebul ia, meore internacional is liderTa Zal isxmeviT saerTaSoriso
organizaciebis forumbze saqarTvel os sakiTxis gatani faqtebi. rac Se-
exeba qarTul i emigraciis sxvadasxva j gufebis `erovnul centrSi- verga-
erTianebis mizevad, al .asaTianis mxridan social - demokratiul i partiis
meore internacional is wevrobis dasaxel ebas, usafuzvl obral debas Sei-
cavda, radgan: a) qarTul i emigraciis didi nawil i mowyvetil i iyo saqarTve-
l os sinamdvil es da iq mebrZol j gufebTan organizaciul i kavSiri ar ga-
acnda; b) maTze zemoqmedebas mxol od evropaSi mimdinare politikuri proce-
sebi axdenda, ris gamoc isini ama Tu im politikuri da social uri Sexedu-
l ebebis zemoqmedebis qves imyofebodnen; g) rejimis sakiTxma maT pol itikur
azrovnebaSi pirveli adgil i daiwira, xolo erovnul ma_ ukana pl anze gada-
inacvl a. `am daj gufebaTa urTierTobaSi Cveni partiis internacional Si
yofna rom araviTar rols ar Tamasobs- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- iqedan-
ac scans, rom gamdgar arasocial istur j gufebis dRevandl amde ver mouxe-
rxebia erTi frontis Seqmna, erTi organizaciis daarseba da erTad muSaoba.
Cveni partiis sazRvargareTul muSaobaSi gadamWrel rols Tamasobs
samSobl odan miRebul i instruqciebi da ara ucxoetsi gamomuSavebul i mo-
Txovnil ebebi.~ 2) saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis meore inte-
rnacional idan gamosvl is aucil ebl obas al .asaTiani imiT `asabuTebda,
rom meore internacional i mtkiced iyo `dakavSirebul i mesame internaci-
onal Tan da moskovTan.~ es ori internacional i qmnida `mTel i msofil os
sivrceze saerTo fronts, sadac xel mZRvanel rols mesame internacional i
da moskovi Tamasobda.~

aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, sapsuxo weril Si dokumentur masal aze
dayrdnobiT dasabuTebul ia, rom `mesame internacional ma ramdenjerme mi-
marTa meore internacional s masTan erTi frontis Sekvris Sesaxeb, magram
es winadadebebi meore internacional is mier uaryofil i iqna didi umrav-
l esobiT. evropis iseTi mTavari da masiuri social isturi partiebi, rogoric
aris ingl isis, Sveciis, daniis, hol andiis, bel giis, Cexosl ovakiis, Sveicari-
is da pol oneTis,- yovel Tvis uaryofdnen komunistebTan saerTo fronts.
yvel a es partiebi principul adimis winaarmdegnic arian, rom meore inter-
nacional ma daiwyos raime mol aparakeba mesamestan SeTanxmebaze.~ aqve aRni S-
nul ia, rom mxol od safrangeTis social isturi partia iyo adgil obriv
komunistebTan erT frontSi gaerTianebul i. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, sa-
qarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis liderებს saprotesto gancxa-

debebi ramdenj erme hqondaT gakeTebul i; 3)al .asaTianis azriT, ucxo saxe-
 l mwifoebis l iderebTan warmatebul i urTierTobis gaRrmavebaSi, `erovnul
 centrs- TiTqos social - demokratiul i partiis meore internacional Si
 yofna uSl ida xel s, sinamdvil es iyo mokl ebul i. amastan dakavSirebiT, so-
 cial - demokratiul i partiis pasuxSi garkveviT iyo naTqvami: social - de-
 mokratis meore internacional Si yofna Tuki ucxo saxel mwifoebTan ka-
 vSiris xel SemSl el faqtors warmoadgenda, antisocial istur qarTul da-
 j gufebebs, gansakuTrebul i mWidro kavSirebi unda qonoda da mtki ce da-sa-
 yrdeni moepovebina maTTvis ideol ogiurad daaxl oebul saxel mwifoTa
 l iderebSi. miuxedavad amisa, aseT faqts im etapze adgil i ar hqonia. aRniS-
 nul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, sapasuxo weril is avtorebi, al .asa-
 Tianis j gufs Saxsenebda: `politika mimarTul i unda iyos saxel mwifos in-
 teresebis gaTval iswinebiT da ukavSi rdebodes yvel a im daj gufebas, ro-me-
 lic mas real ur sargebl obas miscems. l oid- j orjis cnobil i fraza-
 `Cveni kani bal istebTanacki vaWrobt-- aris am xazis aSkara gamoxatul eba.
 nacional ur saqmesTan Cveni dakavSireba SeuZl ia mxol od iseT saxel m-
 wifos, roml is interesi moiTxovs saqarTvel os da kavkasiis ganTavisu-
 fl ebas. e.i. nacional ur saxel mwifoebad ruseTis imperiis daSl a unda
 Seadgendes maTTvis misaReb programas. Cveni arasodes ar unda avuriOT
 es ZiriTadi nacional uri sakiTxi rejimis sakiTxSi da ar unda vaRiar-
 OT yvel a antibol Sevikuri mimdinareoba Cvens mokavSired. garda amisa,
 patara mebrZol erebs marTebis didi sifrTxil e da windaxedul eba, rom
 did saxel mwifoTa SetakebaSi fizikurad ar ganadgurdes. Cveni Tval win
 gvaqvs didi istoriul i magal iTi osmal eTis somxeTisa da amitom Cveni
 erisTvis miuRebel ia windawin moaxdinos arCevani mopirdapire koal i-
 ciaTa Soris da Tavisi arseboba daukavSiros mosal odnel omis cval e-
 bad movl eneb;-; 4)al .asaTianis bral debastan mimarTebaSi- `social -
 demokratiul i partia ibrZvis imave l ozungebiT, romel ic axasiaTebis
 bol Sevicebs,~ imave sapasuxo weril Si vkiTxul obT: `Cveni vibrZviT Tavisu-
 fl ebisatvis, isini ki gvebrZvian am Cveni l ozungis winaaRmdeg. maSas-
 adame, Cvens Sua ormoa amoTxril i, samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol aa gamocx-
 adebul i.~ es simarTl es warmoadgernda da igi uamravi saarqivo doku-
 menturi masal iT dasturdeba. imave pasuxSi, konkretul adaa miTitebul i
 meore internacional is mxridan saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikisa da
 misi okupaciis Semdgom periodSi gaweul i Tanadgoma. mxedvel obaSi maqvs,
 saerTasoris forumebze da kongresebze, meore internacional is l ider-
 Ta Zal isxneviT saqarTvel osadmi mxardamWeri rezol uciebisa da dad-
 genil ebebis miRebis faqtebi. am fonze, imave dokumentSi xazgasmiTaa mi-
 Titebul i, rom `dRes meore internacional is sxvadasxva seqciebs Tavi-
 anTi warmomadgenl ebi hyavT safrangeTis, Sveciis, daniis, norvegiis, Cex-
 osl ovakiis da finl andiis mTavrobebSi. mosal odnel ia aseTi mTavrobebis
 ricxvi xval kidev meti iqnes. dRevandel areul - dareul pirobebSi
 sul advil i Sesazl ebel ia saqarTvel os Seeqnes iseTi mdgomareoba, rom
 Cveni eris mTavari miznis misaRwevad, saqarTvel os social - demokrati-
 ul partias mouxdes ucxoel i megobrebisadmi mimarTva maTi mxridan
 mxaris dasaWerad... Cveni koal icia sxva partiebTan agebul ia ara doqtrinis
 da ideol ogiis, aramed nacional uri brZol is niadagze... pirvel rigze

dayenebul ia gamaerTianebe l i momenti, eris Tavisufl ebis da suvereno-
bis droSa. ra reJimi iqneba ganTavisufl ebul erSi- es am eris saqmea,
roml is winaSe Tavisufl ad warsdgeba TiToeul i partia Tavisufl gegme-
biT. yvel a zemoTqmul idan aSkaraa, rom b-ni asaTianis winadadeba agebu-
l ia mTel rig gaugebrobebeze da srul iad miuRebel ia saqarTvel os
social - demokratiul i partiisaTvis.¹⁷

al .asaTianis gancxadebaSi dasmul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, saqarTve-
l os social - demokratiul i partiis warmomadgenl ebis mxridan doku-
mentebze dayrdnobiT gacemul i pasuxiT dasturdeba: a)im etapze saqarTve-
l os social - demokratiul i partiis meore internacional idan gamosv-
l a, maRal i donis pol itikuri Secdoma iqneboda; b)al .asaTianis moTxov-
nis Sesrul eba, evropis pol itikur wreebSi, saqarTvel os social - demokra-
tiul i partiisa da misi l iderebis diskreditaciis paral el urad, ze-
moT CamoTvl il i qveynebis mTavrobebis warmomadgenl ebTan urTierTo-
bis gawyvetas da saerTaSoriso tribunis dakargvas ni Snavda; g)al .asa-
Tianis mier SeTavazerbul i `pol itikuri receptiT- moqmedeba, social -
demokratiul i partiisa da emigraciul i mTavrobis mizanmimarTul i
pol itikuri TviTmkvl el obis tol fasi qmedeba iqneboda.

saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi arsebul i saarqivo
masal ebidan, Cemi yuradReba `saqarTvel os erovnul i centris- mier 1931
wl is 28 Teberval s miRebul ma dokumentma mi iqcia. igi imave wl is 14 marts
saqarTvel oSi moqmed pol itikur partiebs gadaegzavna. am dokumentis pre-
ambul aSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom `saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba dakav-
Si rebul ia sabWoTa xel isufl ebis saSinao da sagareo kursTan. aseTia so-
cial - demokratiul i partiis ZiriTadi debul eba, romel sac iziarebs yve-
l a sxva partiebi.~ aRni Snul i formul irebis konkretul i ganmar tebisTvis,
dokumentSi ori ZiriTadi mimarTul ebaa gamoyofil i: a)sabWoTa kavSiris
saSinao da b)sabWoTa kavSiris sagareo krizisebi. TiToeul i maTgani Sem-
degi formiTaa warmodgenil i: l)saSinao krizisi: 1)sabWoTa ruseTSi xel i-
sufl ebis damxoba farTo saxal xo moZraobis- revol uci iT. am RonisZie-
baSi aqtiuri monawil eoba saqarTvel osa da mTel kavkasi as unda mi eRo. mi-
mdinare pol itikuri procesebis dros, saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRd-
gena da kavkasiis konfederaciul i kavSiris Seqmna ganxorciel ebul iyo;
2)arsebul i xel isufl ebis Secvl a (Camogdeba) SeTqmul ebis gziT. dasax-
ul i amocana sam safexuriani formis gatarebas isaxavda mi znad: a)SeTqmu-
l ebas awyobda demokratiul i da social isturi wreebi da mmarTvel obac
maT xel Si rCeboda. aRni Snul pol itikur procesi saqarTvel os social -
demokratiul i partia imdenad iqneboda aqtiuri, ramdenadac sakiTxi saqarTve-
l osa da amierkavkasiis respubl ikebis damouki debl obis aRdgenas exeboda.
dasaxul i mi znis mi Rwevis- damouki debl obis aRdgenis Semdeg, kavkasiis re-
spubl ikebs individual urad unda ganesazRvra moskovTan urTierTobis sa-
kiTxebi; b)monarqistul i da reqciul i Zal ebis gan mowyobil i SeTqmul ebis
dros, Sinagani winaaRmdegobebi- brZol ebi garduval i iyo. am faqtoris ga-
Tval iswinebidan gamodinare, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i parti-
is samoqmedo gegma, winaswarve unda yofil iyo SemuSavebul i. mis l iderebs
arsebul i pol itikuri situaci iT unda esargebl a da kavkasiis, ukrainis,
Turqestanis, yubanis, cimbiris daCagrul erebTan erTobl ivi brZol iT, da-

mouki debel i saxel mwi foebis erovnul i mTavroebis Seqmni sTvis xel i See-
 wyo; **g)** opozici urad ganwyobil i bol Sevikebis mier stal inis xel isufl eb-
 is SeTqmul ebis gziT damxobis SemTxvevaSi, es momenti, saqarTvel os so-
 cial - demokratiul partias, partiul i rigebis damouki debl ad SenarCunebi sa
 da konspiraciul i saqmi anobis gasaRrmavebl ad unda gamoeyenebina. social -
 demokratias mowodebiT unda miemarTa gamarj vebul i opozicioneri bol Se-
 vikebsadmi - saqarTvel os damouki debl obis ni adagze damdgari yvnen. **II) sagareo
 krizisi:** 1) evropis qveynebis I iderebi, ramdenadac sabWoTa xel isufl ebas
 ruseTis dasustebis saukeTeso saSual ebad mi iCnevda, mis winaaRmdeg ar
 gail aSqrebda; 2) evropas aSinebda ruseTis aRdgena- gaZl iereba, radgan
 gaurkvevel i iyo, Tu vis winaaRmdeg aRmarTavda maxvil swel Si gamarTul i
 sabWoTa ruseTi; 3) sabWoTa ruseTis ekonomikuri krizisi, ruseTis mxridan
 evropaze TavdasxmiT da kontingentis Suagul Si bol Sevikebis SeWriT Sei-
 Zl eba damTavrebul iyo. momxdari faqti, evropis qveynebsi did qaoss gamoi-
 wvevda da saerTasoris o mSi gadazrdis safrTxes Seqmni da. aseT SemTxve-
 vaSi, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis taqtika ucvl el i rCe-
 boda_ arc avantura, saqmis arc al baTobaze miSveba da xel sayrel i situ-
 aciis momwifebisadmi dal odeba.¹⁸

social - demokratiul i partiis I iderebis mier aRebul i pol itikuri
 xazi da am mimarTul ebiT SemuSavebul i ZiriTadi debul ebebi, metnaki e-
 bi sisrul iT Seesabameboda ruseTsa da evropis qveynebsi mimdinare
 procesebs. imavdroul ad gasagebad miuTiTebdnen, rom didi saxel mwi fo-
 ebis Wi dil Si, saqarTvel o ganze mdgariyo da xel sayrel i pol itikuri
 situaciis Seqmnas dal odeboda, naCqarevi gadawyvetil ebebiT qveyana um-
 Zimes mdgomareobaSi ar Caeyenebina. es mosal odnel i safrTxe imdenad
 real uri iyo, rom aucil ebl obam misadmi gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis
 mi pyroba moiTxova. am probl ematikis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os erovnul i mTa-
 vrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums da partiata warmomadgenl ebis
 1935 wl is 8 ivnisis sxdomaze n. Jordaniam sagangebo moxseneba- `pol iti-
 kuri momenti - waikiTxa. stenografiul i Canawerebis mixedvit Tuki vimsj e-
 l ebT, es moxseneba or mimarTul ebas Seicavda: **a)** dasavl eT evropaSi mi mdi-
 nare pol itikuri procesebi da **b)** pol itikuri mdgomareoba sabWoTa ruseT-
 Si. moxsenebaSi warmodgenil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi formiT Sei-
 Zl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1) dsavl eTis saerTasoris pol itikuri procesebis,
 didi saxel mwi foebis _samTa kavSiri (germania_ avstria- ungreTi_ ital ia)
 da samTa al iansi (ingl isi_ safrangeTi_ ruseTi) gansazRvravda. maT Soris
 interesTa winaaRmdegoba imdenad didi iyo, rom igi pirvel i msofi io omis
 dawyebas daedo safuZvl ad. XX saukunis 30- iani wl ebis evropis qveynebis
 pol itikuri kursi, versal is xel Sekrul ebis monawil e saxel mwi foebis (sa-
 frangeTi, ingl isi, ital ia) mier SemuSavebul i gegmis mixedvit mi mdinareob-
 da. misadmi dapirispireba hitleris xel isufl ebaSi mosvl iT mxol od ger-
 maniam SeZl o. momxdari faqtiT, versal is sistemaSi Semaval qveynebs Soris
 warmoqmnil ma winaaRmdegobebma, am rgolis gawyvetis procesi daacqara.
 mSvidobis darRvevis moSi Sarma safrangeTma, gadarCenis erT- erT gzad, ru-
 seTi mi iCnia da masTan xel Sekrul ebaC gaaforma; 2) Jeneva- strezis pol i-
 tikis ngrevas, samTa kavSirs Soris ganxeTqil ebis Camogdebas da evropaSi
 sabWoTa kavSirisTvis izol aciis momzadebas, pol oneTis sakiTxma Seuwyo

xel i. ingl isis mxridan germaniasTan sahaero separatul i xel Sekrul ebis dadebam, germani is zRvaze gabatonebas daudo saTave. eTiopi is sakiTxma, safrangeT- ital iis urTierTobis gamwveba ganapiroba; 3)1935 wl isaTvis, germani is mmarTvel wreebSi, ruseTTan damokidebul ebis ori mimdinareoba gamoikveTa: a)ruseTis daSl a- danawil ebis da dasustebis momxreni, roml ebic ruseTis meore- mesame xarixovan saxel mwifod gadaqcevas uWerdnen mxars; b)ruseTis komunisturi reJimis Secvl is Semdeg, didi ruseTis aRd- genis da masTan urTierTobis momxreni; 4)ruseTis izol aciaSi moqcevis SiSi dan gamodinare, moskovma mil itarizaciis kursis paral el urad, kapi ta- listur qveynebTan koal iciuri SeTanxmebis gza airCia. am faqtTan mima- rTebaSi, imave moxsenebaSi n.Jordania xazgasmi T mi uTi Tebda: `bol Sevikuri ruseTi iqca uaRresad mil itaristul saxel mwifod. amas SeiZl eba moyves samxedro uwebis mier xel isufl ebis xel Si Cagdeba, komunisturi l ozu- ngebis srul i likvidaciis safuZvel ze xal xis Semorigeba da naciona- l uri l ozungebis wamoyeneba... Znel ia aqedanve imis gaTval iswineba, Tu ro- gor Catardeba es gadatrial eba, Tu is aucil ebel i gaxda, magram is ki Se- iZl eba iTqvas, rom am SemTxvevaSi ac safrangeT- ruseTis kavSiri Zal aSi darCeba.-

marTal ia, n.Jordani as moxsenebis es ZiriTadi debul ebebi evropasa da ru- seTSi mimdinare rTul pol itikur procesebs exeboda da garkveul i for- miT prognozirebis el ementebsac Seicavda, magram igi pesimisturi ganwyo- biT iyo datvirTul i. masSi ar Canda is saprogramo miTiTebebi, roml iTac qarTul emigracias saqarTvel os sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi unda exel mZRvane- l a. am da sxva nakl ovani mxareebis Sesaxeb, imave sxdomis monawil eebma: s.fircxal avam, r.gabaSvil ma, ias.sal ayai am, al .asaTianma, e.gegeWkorma sagangebod gaamaxvil es yuradReba. aRni Snul pirovnebaTa Seni Svnebi T iyo ganpi robe- bul i saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiu- mis da partiaTa warmomadgenl ebis momdevno sxdomaze (1935 wl is 6 ivl i- si) n.Jordani as mier `pol itikuri muSaobis Sesaxeb- Tezisebis wardge- na. es dokumenti gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imi T iqcevs, rom masSi konkre- tul adaa gansazRvrul i mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis dros saqarTve- l os mizani da amocanebi. n.Jordani as mtkicebiT: 1)saqarTvel os Sesvl a romel ime koal iciis Semadgenl obaSi da qarTvel i eris bedis misadmi gadabma dauSvebel i iyo; 2)qarTul emigracias saqmi ani urTierTobebi ki dev ufro unda ganemtkicebina im qveynebSi, sadac pol itikuri Tanadgoma hqonda mopovebul i. paral el urad axal i mimarTul ebiTac emuSava; 3)mosk- ovis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi, qarTul i emigraciul i mTavrobis ucvl el i poziciis miuxedavad, sabWoTa ruseTis winaaRmdeg evropis romel ime sa- xel mwifos mxridan ganxorciel ebul sabrZol o moqmedebaSi, saqarTve- l o ar unda Careul iyo; 4)saqarTvel os sakiTxi qarTul emigracias, sa- frangeTis da misi mokavSire saxel mwifoebis winaSe samarTl ebriv ni adag- ze_ xel Sekrul ebaTa dacvis moTxovni T unda daesva. ruseTTan mimarTe- baSi am formis gamoyeneba, al iansis qveynebis da erTa l igis saSual e- bebiT moexdina; 5)propagandistul i muSaoba iseTi frTxil i da mozo- il i formi T unda ganxorciel ebul iyo, rom qarTul i emigracia, anti- frangul an rasistul mimdinareobaSi ar aRmoCeni l iyo. muSaoba wmin- da qarTul i interesebi T Semofargl ul iyo; 6)saqarTvel os sakiTxis popu-

I arizaciis mizniT, qarTul emigracias SeZl ebi sdagvarad muSaoba ing-
l isSi, gansakuTrebiT osmal eTsa da sparseTSi gaeZl ierebina, radgan
saqarTvel os samomavl o bedis gadawyvetaSi, am ori saxel mwifos xe-
l Semwyob pozicias, mniSvnel ovani rol i mieniWeboda; 7)bol Sevikuri
reJimis mosal odnel i dacemis momentisaTvis, saqarTvel oSi da kavkasiis
masStabiT erTiani frontisTvis winaswari safexuris momzadeba auci-
l ebl obas warmoadgenda.

n.Jordani as Tezisebis es ZiriTadi debul ebebi, garkveul i formiT qarTu-
l i emigraciis samoqmedo gegmas warmoadgenda da maqsimal uri si frTx-
il is gamoCenas iTval iswinebda. aseTi kursi, evropis garTul ebul i pol i-
tikuri procesebis `duRil iT- iyo ganpi robebul i. im etapze Znel i iyo
imis winaswari ganWvreta, pol itikuri saswori Tu romel i mxaris sasarge-
bl od gadaxreboda. aseT pi robebSi, moufiqrebl ad da naCqarevad gada-
dgmul nabij s, saqarTvel os sakiTxis dRi s wesrigi dan amoReba da dasa-
mareba SeeZl o. Seqmnil i urTul esi mdgomareobis gaTval iswinebis fonze,
qarTul i emigraciis muSaobis daxvevis da pol itikuri procesebis Sesaba-
misi pragmatul i meTodebis SerCevis, saerTaSoriso arenaze saqarTvel os
sakiTxis wi na pl anze erTxel ki dev wamowevis, saagi tacio- propagandistu-
l i muSaobis gaaqti urebis aucil ebl oba iqna ganxil ul i saqarTvel os ero-
vnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums da partiaTa warmomad-
genl obis 1935 wl is 29 ivni sis sxdomaze. stenografi ul i Canawerebidan ir-
kveva, rom n.Jordani as, iv.zurabiSvil is, e.gegeWkoris, r.gabaSvil is, ias.sal a-
yai as, al .asaTianis, kal .qavTaraZis, s.fircxal avas gamosvl ebSi, aSkarad igr-
Znoboda qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mxridan arsebul situaciis siR-
rmiseul i anal izi. maT kargad esmodaT, rom erT romel ime saxel mwifoze
dayrdnoba im periodisaTvis dauSvebel i iyo. imasac kargad acnobierebd-
nen, rom pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobas, qarTul i mxare CixSi ar
unda moemwyvdia da di pl omatiuri l avirebis droul i SesaZl ebl oba hqon-
oda. es princi pi, saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da damfuZnebel i krebis prezid-
iumis wevrTa umravl esobis mier dacul i iyo. rac Seexeba pol itikuri
partiebis warmomadgenl ebis garkveul j gufebs, isini am `pol itikuri or-
bitidan- gancal kevebiT idgnen da ama Tu im saxel mwifosTan urTierTobis
dams saxurSi Cadgomis sakiTxs, mosal odnel i pol itikuri cval ebadob-
bis samomavl od gauTval iswinebl ad wyvetdnen. maTi aseTi qmedeba, qarTu-
l i emigraciis el itarul i frTis (saqarTvel os mTavroba, damfuZnebel i
krebis prezidiumi, partiaTa warmomadgenl oba) gadawyvetil ebebis conse-
susiT miRebul i samoqmedo gegmis sawinaaRmdego nabij ze iyo dafuZnebul i.
dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom `emigraciul i opozicia,~ xSirad
saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums da
partiaTa warmomadgenl ebis sadiskreditacio saqmes akeTebda, riTac sa-
frangeTis mTavrobasTan maTi mfarvel obis Sansebs maqsimal urad amci reb-
da. isini angariSs ar uwevdnen Soreul i aRmosavl eTis sakiTxs_ ruseT-
iaponiis mosal odnel dapi rispirebas. maTgan gansxvavebiT, emigraciul i
mTavrobisa da damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums mxardamWer i pol itikuri
el ita, sagareo urTierTobis saqarTvel os sasikeTod Semobrunebis da ero-
vnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obis mniSvnel ovan SesaZl e-
bl obebs ruseT- iaponiis saomar moqmedebebSi xedavda. **amis udao dadas-**

turebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis sazR-
vargareTul i organizaciebis del egatTa parizis konferenciaze (1934
wl is 21 april i) e.gegeWkoris mier warmOTqmul i sityvis is nawil i war-
moadgens, romel ic uSual od zemoaRniSnul sakiTxs exeba. misi sama-
rTI iani mtkicebiT, evropisa da aziis interesebi im etapze imdenad iyo
erTmaneTTan gadakvanZul i, rom `Tofis erT kuTxeSi gasrol a, saerTo
cecxl is danTebas moaswavebda.- aseT rTul viTarebaSi, saqarTvel o `Casa-
frebul ~ da misTvis xel sayrel i pol itikuri situaciis Seqmnis dal -
odebis mdgomareobaSi unda darCenil iyo. mi Tumetes, rogorc e.gegeWkori
ambobda, ruseT- iaponiis omi garduval i iyo. am fonze, igi konkretul ad
svamda sakiTxs: ras moigebda am mosal odnel i omisgan saqarTvel o, da iqve
pasuxobda: `ruseTis konfli qti aRmosavl eTSi Cven gvaZl evs imeds, sagareo
garTul eba, Sinauri krizisi da gaZl ierebul i erovnul i moZraoba, romel -
sac ruseTma sul sxva mosazrebiT Cauyara saZirkvel i, dRes cocxl oben,
izrdebian da moqmedeben. yvel aferi es ki dev ufro gaarTul ebs im kriziss,
romel sac sagareo garTul eba gamoiwvevs da am garTul ebas ruseTi uTuod
gadayveba. ai, am isTvis unda viyoT mzad, rom aseTi momentis dros Cveni mo-
val eobaa saqarTvel os sakiTxi gadavabaT sxva erebis mdgomareobas da am
ferxul Si saqarTvel om iTamaSos xel mZRvanel i rol i.- imave e.gegeWkoris
gaTvl ebiT, sabWoTa ruseTis omSi Cabmas da imperiis SigniT krizisis daw-
yebas, dapyrobil i erebis ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraoba unda mohyol oda.
`am moZraobaSi- ambobda igi- saqarTvel os gansakuTrebul i rol i aqvs da
man es unda Seasrul os. misi val ia iyves mzad da nakl ebi msxverpl is gaRe-
biT aRadginos Tavisi dakargul i damoukidebl oba... me Rrmad mwams, rom sa-
qarTvel o TavS dai xnis im saSinel i mdgomareobi dan, romel Si dac dRes im-
yofeba da misi ganTavisufl eba ar aris ocneba... axl o momaval Si is iqceva
srul sinamdvil ed.-

e.gegeWkoris gamosvl is es nawil i optimizmiT iyo datvirTul i. evro-
paSi omis zRurbl ze miyvanil i pol itikuri procesebi, qarTul i emigra-
ciis l iderebs, sabWoTa imperiis rRvevis imedebs aZl evda. isini, ruseT-
Si 1017 wel s ganviTarebul i movl enebis prognozi rebas wi naswarme-tyve-
l ebdnen. am fonze, 1935 wl is momdevno uaxl oes monakveTSi, omisgan da-
sustebul i sabWoTa ruseTis rRvevas da damoukidebel i erovnul i saxel
l mwi foebis aRmocenebas garduval ad mi iCnevden. amis udao dadasture-
bas saqarTvel os emigraciul i social - demokratiul i partiis dekl aracia
warmoadgens. `Cven varT momxre- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- sabWoTa ruseTis
omSi damarcxebisa ara imitom, rom gamarj vebul ma moaxdinos ruseTis
okupacia... aramed imitom, rom moxdes Sinagani revol ucia msgavsad 1917
wl is Tebevli sa da... ararus erebs mieces Tavisufl eba, aRdges damouki de-
bel i saxel mwi foebi da maT Soris Camovardes kavSiri SeTanxmebiT da
urTierTis ufl ebebis dacviT. omSi damarcxebul i reJimis mospoba Cveu-
l ebrivi istoriul i movl enaa.- aseTi poziciis mi uxedavad, qarTul i emi-
graciis mxridan frTxil i rezol uciebis mi Rebas da ruseTis argaRi zi-
anebas, im etapze qarTvel i xal xistvis samomavl od dadebiTi Sedegis
momtanad mi iCnevden. mi Tumetes, n.Jordani as si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, qarTul
emi gracias sabWoTa imperial izmTan hqonda saqme da Tavis gadarCenis mi-
zniT, mis mier moqneul i maxvil i, qarTvel obisTvis SeiZl eba didi zianis

montani yofil iyo. aRni Snul saki TxTan mi mar TebaSi, `erovnul i centrisa-
da `erovnul i frontis- 1934 wl is 29 seqtembris sxdomaze qarTul i po-
litikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebs al .asaTiani Seaxsenebda: `Seqmni-
li mdgomareoba gvaizul ebs angariSi gavuwi oT ruseTs... nu mivecemiT
il uzias rom vinme dagvi cavs. amiT SeiZl eba ruseTi ufro gavaRizianoT,
rac sabediswero gamodgeba eris fizikuri arsebobisaTvis. dRes ruse-
Ti is aRar aris rac eqvsi Tvis wined iyo da amas angariSi unda
gavuwi oT.-

am SemTxvevaSi al .asaTiani savsebiT swori iyo, radgan sabWoTa ruse-
Tis Zi iereba da misi avtoriteti saerTaSoriso arenaze safexurebri-
vad izrdeboda. meore mxriv, igi saocari siswrafiT axdenda qveynis mi-
litarizacias. faSisturi germaniis saomari ritorikis fonze, dasav-
leT evropis saxel mwi foebi izul ebul ni iyvnen sabWoTa imperial izmis-
admi angariSi gaewiaT da masTan mi mar TebaSi garkveul daTmobebzedac
wasul iyvnen. amis erT- erT saukeTeso magal iTs montres (Sveicaria) kon-
ferenciis (1936 wl is 22 ivnisi_ 21 ivl isi) Sedegebi warmoadgens.

cnobil i faqtia, rom konferenciis monawil e saxel mwi foebis (sabWoTa ka-
vsiri, didi britaneTi, avstralia, safrangeTi, Turqeti, bul gareTi, saberZne-
Ti, rumineTi, iugoslavia, iaponia) mizans, Savi zRvis sruteebis rejimis sak-
iTxis gadawyveta warmoadgenda. maT unda gadaesinj aT adre mi Rebul i konve-
nciebi da SeTanxmeba axal pirobebze mi eRwiaT. didi britaneTisa da Turqetis
erToblivi mcdeloba, sruteebSi sabWoTa samxedro xomal debis gasvl is
ufl ebis SezRudvis mi Rwevis mcdeloba_ uSedego aRmoCnda. 20 ivl iss xel i
axal SeTanxmebas moaweres, roml is Zal iTac; 1)Turqetma sruteebis remi-
litarizaciis ufl eba mi iRo; 2)mSvidobianobisa da omis drosac, yvel a qve-
ynebis savaWro gemebs sruteebSi Tavisufl ad gasvl is ufl eba eZl eoda;
3)Savi zRvispira qveynebs, sruteebSi yvel akl asis gemebis gatarebis ufl eba
mieca mxol od im SemTxvevaSi Tuki amis Sesaxeb Turqetis xel is ufl ebas
winaswar Caayenebdnen saqmis kursSi; 4)araSavi zRvispira qveynebisatvis ga-
rkveul i SezRudvebi iqna SemoRebul i: a)sruteebSi gavl a SeeZl o mxol od
mci re wyal zeda samxedro xomal debs; b)araSavi zRvispira qveynebis samxedro
xomal debis saerTo tonaJi Sav zRvaSi 30 aTas tonaze meti ar unda yofil -
iyo; g)im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki Savi zRvispira qveynebs samxedro- sazRvao Zal ebis
gazrda mouxdeboda, araSavi zRvispira qveynebis samxedro xomal dTa tona-
Jobis gazrda 45 aTas tonamde iyo dasaSvebi, rac Seexeba misi yofnis xa-
ngrZl iobas, igi 21 dRiT gani sazRvra; 5)omis SemTxvevaSi, Turqetis ufl eba
hqonda sruteebSi samxedro xomal debi Tavis Sexedul ebisamebr gaetare-
bina, an uari eTqva mis gatarebaze.¹⁹

es SeTanxmeba, garkveul i formiT im etapze sabWoTa ruseTis warmate-
bad unda CaiTval os. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Savi zRvispireTis qveynebisadmi
gadanawil ebul i ufl ebebis ruseTzedac srul ad gavrcel eba. es imis
damadasturebel i iyo, rom montres saerTaSoriso konferenciis monaw-
il e saxel mwi foebi, nebsiT Tu unebel ied sabWoTa ruseTs angariSs uw-
evdnen. maTi es `kompromisi- evropaSi mimdinare daZabul i politikuri
situaciidanac iyo ganpirobebul i. am fonze, qarTul i emigraciac si-
frTxil iT unda mokideboda ruseTis sakiTxs da Tavis politikuri
saqmi anoba, moskovis argaRizianebs formatSi waremarTa. am mxriv, gada-

mwyveti mniSvnel oba qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis el itarul i warmomadgenl ebis mxridan gamJRavnebul pozicias da maT mier gakeTebul pol itikur gancxadebebs eniWeboda. qarTul i emigraciis is nawil i, roml ebic saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis mxardamxar imyofeboda, am mxriv ucdoml ad moqmedebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs e.TayaiSvil is Tavmj domareobiT 1940 wl is 4 Teberval s gamarTul i damfuZnebel i krebis wevrTa TaTbiri. Sekrebi sazogadoebas man gaerTianebis aucil ebl obisken mouwoda da iseTi makoordinirebel i organos Seqmnis mizanSewonil ebis sakiTxi daayena, romel ic emigraciaSi myofi qarTvel ebis SemakavSirebel rgol ad gadaiqceoda da mTavrobasTan erTad, saqarTvel os gasanTavisufl ebl ad iRvawebda. am mimarTul ebiT droul i nabij is gadadgma imiTac iyo aucil ebel i, rom pol itikuri procesebi swrafad icvl eboda da saqarTvel os sasargebl od Sesatyvisi RonisZiebebs dasaxva-gatareba pol itikuri emigraciis erTobl iv Zal isxmevas saWi roebda. es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi n.Jordani as, roca iq damswre sazogadoebas Seaxsenebda: `19 wel ia rac Cveni aqa varT da am xnis ganmavl obaSi erTxel ac ar yofil a Cveni saqmisTvis aseTi xel sayrel i momenti. garemoeba uecrad gamoicval a... saWi ro Sei qna pasuxismgebel i pirebis Sekreba, rom maTTan erTad vimsjel oT, Tu rogor movuaroT Cvens saqmes,... ra gziT SegviZi ia davZi ioT yovel gvari dabrkolebani, rom Cveni interesi iqnes maqsimal urad dacul i... dRes evropa or banakadaa gayofil i. erTi... i brZvis Tavisufl ebisaTvis, meore Tavisufl ebis winaaRmdeg. Cveni adgil i Tavisufl ebisaTvis mebrZol Ta banakSia. Cveni simpaTiebi, Cveni TanagrZnoba... mokavSireTa mxarezea. es Cveni Sexedul ebani unda vaRiaroT saj arod... aseTia Cveni orientacia.- am amonawerSi garkveviTaa miTitebul i pol itikuri situaciis SesabamisobaSi qarTul i emigraciis saqmi-anobis moyvanis aucil ebl oba. imavdroul ad, dasmul ia sakiTxi orientaciis arCevastan mimarTebaSi da upiratesoba faSizmis winaaRmdeg mebrZol Zal ebze_ mokavSireebzea gadatanil i. imave TaTbirze gamoTqmul mosazrebebsa da daskvnebs emyareboda parizSi daarsebul i qarTvel Ta erovnul i sabWos mier gakeTebul i oficial uri gancxadeba. dokumenti qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis erTianobisken mowodebis paral el urad, evropis urTul esi pol itikuri situaciis sworad gaazrebis, qarTul i emigraciis TavdaWeril i moqmedebisa da saRi azrovnebisken mimarTul ebis micesis mcdel obas warmoadgenda. aqedan gamomdinare, am dokumentis srul i teqstis motana winamdebare naSromSi mizanSewonil ad CavTval e.

`qarTul emigracias! safrangeTSi daarsda qarTvel Ta erovnul i sabWo, b. eqvTime TayaiSvil is Tavmj domareobiT, romel ic Sesdgebra saqarTvel os yofil i damfuZnebel i krebis wevrebisa da qarTvel i emigraciis sxva warmomadgenl ebisgan. sabWo TanamSroml obs saqarTvel os erovnul mTavrobasTan, masTan erTad uZRveba erovnul saqmeebs da ucxoetis sxvadasxva wreebSi awarmoebs muSaobas saqarTvel os suverenul i ufl ebebis aRsadgenad.

dRevandel rTul saerTasorisomdgomareobaSi, roca Zal momreobis da Tavisufl ebis droSebi erTmaneTs ebrZvis, Cveni erovnul i Tavisufl ebis perspeqtiva da imedi ingl is- safrangeTis gamarjvebasTan aris mWidrod dakavSirebul i, da Cvenc amaT vusurvebT am omSi gamarjvebas.

Cven unda visargebl oT im garemoebiT, rom dRes mokavSi re saxel mwi-foebis sazogadoebrivi azri didi TanagrZnobiT xvdeba agresorebis mier dapyrobil i erebis beds. ami tom, farTod unda gavacnoT qarTvel i eris tragedia mTel qveynierebas da mokavSi reebis winaSe naTI ad da garkveiT davayenoT saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis probl ema.

warmatebiT rom Sevasrul oT es didi amocana, saWiro da aucil ebel ia qarTvel Ta yvel a Zal ebis gaerTianeba. unda moispos yovel gvari partikul i da j gufuri brZol a da SuRI i, evropis winaSe Cven unda warvdgeT mTI iani frontiT, gaerTianebul i erTi azriT da mi swrafebiT. ucxoel - Ta Soris cal - cal ke muSaoba da Cvens saqmeSi maTi erTmaneTisadmi dapi rispireba, awindel pirobebSi iqneboda Cveni erovnul i saqmis Ral ati.

unda SevignoT mdgomareobis simZime: didi dabrkol ebebia gadasal axavi, gansacdel i da xifaTia aRmarTul i Cvens win. samuSao da gasakeTebe- l i bevria. TiToeul ma CvenTaganma Tavisi wvl il i unda gaiRos saerTo saqmisTvis. yovel i qarTvel i, romel sac Seswevs unari da SeuZl ia raimes gakeTeba da sargebl is motana qarTul i saqmisaTvis, Semokrebs erovnu- l i sabWos garSemo da vimuSaoT yvel am Zmurad Cveni wamebul i samSob- l os ganTavisufl ebi saTvis.

Tanamemamul eno, mi vmarTav Tqvens mamul i Svil ur Segnebas, Tqveni mSobe- l i eris siyvarul s, Tqvens qarTvel ur gul s da mogiwodebT yvel as erTobi saTvis, mTI ianobi saTvis, samSobl os samsaxuri saTvis.

qarTvel Ta erovnul i sabWos prezidiumis Tavmj domare eq.Tayai Svil i (xel moweril ia). 1940 w. april i. parizi.-

am dokumentis wamkiTxavi adamiani gul qva da piradi ambiciebiT unda yo- fil iyo daavadebul i, rom didi eqvTime Tayai Svil is aRniSnul i mowodeba yurad ar eRo da i.kril ovis igavarakis gmi rebis `qariyl` apia, gedi da kiboxvadasxva mimarTul ebiT gaqcevaze efiqra. dokumenturi masal iT dadas- turebul ia, rom didi ambiciebiT Sepyrobil ma da kargi cxovrebi sadmi motr- fial e qarTul i emigraciis erTma nawil ma, saqarTvel os bedis wamosasxam- iT, faSisturi germaniis samsaxurSi Cadgomas mi sca upi ratesoba. faSi zmi s ideol ogiis safarqveS fiqrobdnen qarTvel Ta `Tavisufl ebi s- bedis gamoWed- vas. ver acnobierebdnen, rom 1940 wl is germaniis mmarTvel i wreebi, Tavisi pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri mrwamsiT, saxel mwi foebrivi azrovnebiT da mcire erebi sadmi damokidebul ebiT, ise iyvnen daci l ebul ni 1918 wl is ger- maniis pol itikuri wreebis xel isufal Ta saxel mwi foebrivi azrovnebi sgan, rogorc ca da dedami wa. aqedan gamomdi nare, eqvTime Tayai Svil is zemoaRni S- nul i mowodeba, SeiZl eba maTSi Rimil is momgvrel ic yofil iyo. harvardis da l evil is Sesabamis saarqivo fondebSi dacul i masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis da damfuZnebel i krebi s prezi- diumis garSemo Semokrebi l i qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis warmomadgen- l ebi, bol omde darCnen mousyidvel ni da mkveTrad daupirispirdnen faSi- sturi germaniis samsaxurSi Camdgar qarTvel emigrantebis. am fonze, qarTve- l i istorikosebis moval eobaa, emigraciis istoriis probl ematikis kvl evi- sas, erTmaneTisgan gamij nos: a)wmi nda qarTul i saxel mwi foebrivi azrovnebis sawyisebze darCenil i qarTul i pol itikuri emigracia da b)faSisturi ideol ogiis, faSi zmi s samsaxurSi myofi qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebi. mi Tumetes, am SemTxvevaSi sxvadasxva pol usze mdgomi adami nebi s pol i-

tikur azrovnebasTan gvaqvs saqme da bunebrivia, maTi Sefasebac adeqvaturi unda iyos.

* * *

qarTul i emigraciis erTi nawil is ganvl il i pol itikuri cxovrebis tra-
gikul furcel s, faSisturi germaniis samasaxurSi Cadgoma da am qveynis
samxedro mundiriT saqarTvel os `ganTavisufl ebaze- ocneba warmoadgen-
da. maTi mxridan gadadgmul i es nabiji, sami faqtoriT SeiZl eba yofil iyo
ganpirobebul i: 1)pol itikuri umwifarobiT_ faSisturi germaniis xel isu-
fal Ta ideol ogiis siRmiseul ad vergacnobierebiT; 2)emigraciul i mTavro-
bis da damfuZnebel i krebis wevrebis, gansakuTrebiT n.Jordani as anti fa-
Sisturi poziciisadmi `niSnis mogebiT-; 3)emigraciis wevrTa umZimesi pi ra-
di cxovrebi seul i pi robebis gaumj obesebiT.

Sesabamisi dokumenturi masal isadmi miuwdoml obidan gamomdinare, Zne-
l ia imis mtkiceba, azrovnebis romel safexurze idga germanul i faSizmis
samsaxurSi myofi qarTul i emigraciis erTi nawil i. Cemi azriT, d.saRi-
raSvil is formul irebis_ `Cveni mtris mteri- Cveni megobari- mokav-
Sirea,- Sefasebis kriteriumad miCneva da faSisturi germaniis samsax-
urSi Camdgari qarTvel ebis gamarTl ebis amosaval safuZvl ad gamoyene-
ba yovl ad dauSvebel ia.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom es formul ireba, im pol itikuri sinamdvil is
sivrceSi absurdul i iyo da faSisturi germaniis xel isufal Ta mxridan,
sabWoTa ruseTis mier dapyrobi l i erebisadmi damokidebul ebas srul ebiT
ar miesadageboda. roca am uaRresad mtkivneul sakiTxs vexebiT da germani-
is samxedro mundiris qveS myofi emigranti qarTvel ebis mxridan gadadg-
mul i nabij is Sefasebas vcdil obT, pirvel rigSia gasaTval iswinebel i:
1)ra funqciis Sesrul eba hqonda dakisrebul i faSisturi germaniis sam-
saxurSi myof emigrant qarTvel ebs; 2)sabWoTa imperiis damarcxebis SemTx-
vevaSi, imave imperiis mier damonebul i erebisadmi damouki debl obis micemas
da maTTvis erovnul i saxel mwifos Seqmnas isaxavda Tu ara mi znad XX
saukunis 40- iani wl ebis fasisturi germaniis xel isufl eba.

I. rac Seexeba pirvel sakiTxs- Tu ra funqcia daekisreboda germaniis
samsaxurSi myof emigrant qarTvel ebs, amis Sesaxeb gaxsnil ad germaniis
samxedro maRal Cinosnebi ar saubrobdnen. isini zogadi frazebiT ifar-
gl ebodnen. Tumca qarTvel i emigrantebis da gansakuTrebiT tyveTa banake-
bSi myofi qarTvel ebis gadabirebiT didad iyvnen dai nteresebul ni. dasax-
ul i mi znis aRsrul ebis pirvel safexurad, am banakebSi myofi qarTvel ebis
raodenobis dadgena iqna miCneul i. val erian togoniZis dakiTxvis masal ebi dan
irkveva, rom 1941 wl is seqtemberSi, al .rozenbergis brZanebiT, giorgi maRa-
l aSvil s, val erian togoniZes, markoz tuRuSs, l eonti WeiSvil s, al eqsan-
dre WeiSvil s da arCil gomarTel s, germaniis tyveTa banakebSi qarTvel Ta
aRwera daeval a. maT unda gaerkviaT: a)saxel i da gvari; b)dabadebis Tari Ri
da adgil i; g)profesia da ganaTl eba. Sesrul ebul i samuSaos monacemebis
mixedviT, germaniis tyveTa banakebSi qarTvel Ta raodenoba 6000 kacss Sead-
genda. rac Seexeba germaniis mier dapyrobi l qveynebsi myof qarTvel tyvebs,
misi raodenoba 9000 kacs aRwevda. 1941 wl is dekembris bol os, qarTvel i

tyveebi s raodenobam evropi s tyveTa banakebSi 15000 kaci Seadgina.²⁰ es monacemebi, okupirebul i armosavl etis teritoriebis ministrs al .rozenbergs gadaegzavna. imave al .rozenbergis gankargul ebiT, germaniis samxedro uwyebaSi momuSave qarTvel ebs, tyve qarTvel Ta germaniis mxar dasaWerad gadmobi reba daeval a. am mimarTul ebiT gansakuTrebul i aqtiurobiT `TeTri giorgis- wevrebi gamoirCeoda, romel sac wl ebis ganmavl obaSi l eo keresel iZe xel mZRvanel obda. organizaci am yofil i tyve qarTvel ebiT dakompl eqtebul i j gufebis bazaze special uri seqciebi Camoayal iba da progermanul i ideol ogiis dasamkvidrebl ad, qarTvel tyveebSi Sesabamisi propaganda gaaZl iera. ZiriTad mizans, germanul i orientaciis mqone saqarTvel os momavali immarTvel i wreebis momzadeba warmoadgenda.²¹ sp.WavWavaZis dakiTxvis saoqmo Canawerebidan irkveva, rom tyveTa banakebSi myofi qarTvel ebis mdgomareoba gadabirebamde umZimesi iyo. aseTi kursis gatarebiT arwevdnen germanel Ta samsaxurze tyveTa daTanxmebas. imave sp.WavWavaZis mtki cebi T, tyveTa banakebSi myofi qarTvel ebi sasikvdil od iyvnen ganwirul ni. am faqtoris gaTval iswi nebi T Tuki mi vudgebi T sakiTxs, datyvevebul qarTvel Ta umetesobis mxridan germaniis samxedro SenaerTebSi gawevri anebaze daTanxmeba, fizikuri gadarCenis iZul ebi T process warmoadgenda. isic gasaTval iswi nebel ia, rom germanel ebi, qarTvel Ta nacional uri j gufebis niRbi T moqmedebdnen da uaris SemTxvevaSi, maTi simkacre zeaRmatebul formebsi iqneboda ganxorciel ebul i.

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom 1941 wel s, qarTvel nacional - social istTa daj gufebisa da `TeTri giorgis- gaerTianeba moxda. am faqtidan ramdenime Tvis Semdeg, grafi fon den Sul enburgis mxardaWer iT, 1941 wel s berl inSi `qarTul i nacional uri komitetis- sainiciativo j gufi Sei qmna, xol o 1942 wl is maisSi organizacia `qarTul i nacional uri komitetis- formirebis mizni T, berl inSi sagangebo konferencia moiwvis es (eswrebodnen: mi xeil kedia, mi xako wereTel i, l eo keresel iZe, davi T vaCnaZe, Tavadi irakl i bagrationi, zurab aval iSvil i, Sal va maRI akel iZe, haidar bamati, al ixan kantemiri, emin- rasul - zade, imam Samil is Svil iSvil i- seid Samil i). konferenci aze gadawyda, rom qarTvel i samxedro tyveebis gan SeeqmnaT batalionebi da maTi samxedro momzadeba, kavkasiis ganTavisufl ebis l ozungiT germanel Ta xel qveiT ganxorciel ebinaT. imave konferenciam `qarTul i nacional uri komiteti- Seqmnil ad gamoacxada da mis wevrebadaamtkica: mi xako wereTel i (Tavmj domare), spiridon kedia, zurab aval iSvil i, giorgi maRal aSvil i). aRni Snul komitetTan mimarTebaSi, al .rozenbergisa da fon den Sul enburgis azrTa sxvadasxvaobis safuZvel ze warmoqmnil i dapi ripsirebidan gamomdinare, komiteti `qarTul sakavSiro Stabad- gadakeTda da qarTvel Ta nacional uri l egi onebis Seqmna dai saxa mi znad.²² am mimarTul ebi T farTo saagitacio- propagandistul saqmianobas `TeTri giorgi- eweoda. samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom es organizacia ZiriTadad ramdenime mimarTul ebi T muSaobda: a) avrcel ebda faSisturi ideol ogiis l iteraturas; b) cdil obda qarTul i samxedro tyveebis gadabirebas da germaniis samsaxurSi Cayenebas.

`qarTul i nacional uri l egi onebis- qvedanayofebis formireba 1942 wl is gazafxul ze daiwyo. am mimarTul ebi T pirvel i warmatebul i nabij i 1942 wl is agvistoSi gadaidga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) akaki al Sibai as xe-

I mZRvanel obiT qal aq gadiaCSi (ukraina) pirvel i qarTul i batal inis Seqmna; 2)1942 wl is agvisto- seqtemberi_ imave qal aqSi meore qarTul i batal ionis Seqmna; 3)1942 wl is noemberi_ qal aq gadiaCSi mesame qarTul i batal ionis Seqmna; 4)1942 wel s qal aq noihamerSi Sei qmna meoTxe qarTul i batal ioni. 1943 wl is bol os, qal aq kruSinoSi (pol oneTi) damatebiT Sei qmna qarTvel Ta meoTxe batal ioni; 5)1943 wl is dasawyisi_ imave qal aqSi iqmneba qarTvel Ta mexuTe batal ioni; 6)1943 wl is dasawyisSi qal aq kruSinoSi formirebul i iqna qarTvel Ta meeqvse batal ioni; 7)1943 wl is bol osTvis qarTvel Ta VII da VIII batal ionebi Camoyal ibda pol oneTSi.²³

samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom v.kanaris is uSual o miTiTebiT da T.oberl ingis iniciativiT, 1942 wl is dasawyisSi specdani Snul ebis batal ioni `bergmani~ (mTis kaci) Sei qmna. batal ionis daniSnul ebas samTo pirobebSi sahaero- sadesanto operaciebSi monawil eoba warmoadgenda.²⁴ am batal ionis pirvel i aseul iDqarTvel ebis gan Sedgeboda. qarTvel i tyveebis bazaze 1942 wel s `branderburgis divizia~ Camoyal ibda.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom germanel Ta samxedro mundiris qveS myof qarTvel j ariskacebs, faSisturi germaniis mTavrobis samsaxuris erTgul ebaze ficss aRebinebdnen. amis Semdeg xdeboda maTdami iaraRis gadacema da samxedro- taqtikuri xaziT momzadeba. isic sayuradReboa, rom aRniSnul i batal ionebis paral el urad, tyve qarTvel ebis gan germanel ebma `muSaTa batal ionebi~ Seqmnes. maTi gamoyeneba sabrZol o strategiul i mniSvel obis obieqtebis mSenebl obisTvis, sofl is meurneobaSi da mrewel obaSi dasasaqmebl ad xdeboda. isic cnobil ia, rom imave batal ionebs, germanel ebi sadamsj el o RonisZiebebis Casatarebl adac iyenebda.²⁵ mxedvel obaSi maqvs germanel Ta mier okupirebul teritoriebze partizanebis da misi TanamgrZnobi mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis winaaRmdeg gamosayenebl ad maTi gadayvana. ar unda dagvaviwydes, rom am batal ionebis Semadgenl obas germanul i raixis winaSe erTgul ebis fici hqonda dadebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, yvel a is daval eba unda Seesrul ebinaT, rasac faSisturi germaniis sardl obis interesebi moiTxovda. isini germanel i j ariskacebis gan gansxvavebul ebi arafriT ar unda yofil iyvnen. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, daval ebis Seesrul ebl obis gamo, germanul i droSisa da mundiris qveS myofi qarTvel i j ariskacebi, mis oficrebTan erTad sani muSod dai sj ebodnen. saarqivo masl ebis simwiris gamo, dRevan- del pirobebSi SeuZl ebel i xdeba qarTul i batal ionebis mier Catarebul i sadamsj el o RonisZiebebis xarixis garkveva. im zogadi informa- ciis safuZvel ze romel ic zogierT saarqivo dokumentSi da samecniero l iteraturaSi a motanil i, irkveva, rom germanel i sardl ebis miTiTebiT, qarTul i batal ionebi evropis kontigentis im qveynebsi iqna gadasro- l il i, sadac germanel i dampyrobil ebis da faSi zmis winaaRmdeg erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i droSiT partizanul i brZol ebi mimdinareobda. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs iugosl avia, niderl andebi, ital ia, safrangeTi. saqarTve- l os emigraciul i mTavrobis da damfuZnebel i krebis wevrebi, safrange- Tis araokupirebil teritoriaze iyvnen TavSefarebul ni da srul mx- ardaWeras ucxadebdnen frangi xal xis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel

moZraobas, romel ic Sarl de gol is xel mZRvanel obi T mi mdinare obda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis da damfuZnebel i krebis wevrTa erTobl ivi memorandumi, romel sac xel s n.Jordania, e.gegeWkori da ak.Cxenkel i awerda. es dokumenti 1940 wl is april is pivrel ricxvebSi safrangeTis xel isuflebas oficial urad gadaeca. masSi garkvevi T iyo mi Ti Tebul i saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isuflebis damis garSemo myofi qarTul i emigraciis mxardaWera inglis- safrangeTis bl okisadmi da rac mTavaria, frangi xal xis erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobisadmi. dokumentSi, faSizmis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i safrangeTis armiis gamarj vebis survil i iyo gamoTqmuli.²⁶

dokumenturad dadasturebul ia, rom qarTvel i emigrantebis erTi nawil i, frangi partizanebis mxardamxar ibrZoda faSisturi germaniis winaaRmdeg da frangi xal xis erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel moZraobaSi garkveul i wvil i Sei tana. qarTvel ma partizanebma Tavit ali is winaaRmdegobis moZraobaSi ac gamoiCines. mxedvel obaSi myavs 1944 wl is ivl isSi tyveTa banakidan gaqceul i kote l eJava da misi patara j gufi. qarTvel i tyvebis bazaze, k.l eJavam partizanul i razmi Seqmna. italiis antifasisturi moZraobis erT- erTi lideris general Cino moskatel is brZanebi T, k.l eJavas partizanul i razmi qarTul batalion # 1- ad gardaiqmna da Seyvani l i iqna j uzepe garibal dis saxel obis me- 2 diviziis me- 10 brigadaSi `rokoSi~. k.l eJavas Sesapyrobad, b.musol inim j il dod milion 500 atasi l ira daawesa. 1945 wl is 27 april s, al pebSi dongos gzaze, qarTul i batalionis wevrebma k.l eJavas meTaurobi T benito musolini Seipyro.²⁷ Tuki gaviTval iswinebT, rom qarTul l egionebs faSisturi germaniis sardl oba aRniSnul qveynebSi mi mdinare partizanul i moZraobis winaaRmdeg iyenebda, bunebrivia, qarTvel s- qarTvel is mimarT uxdeboda tyviis srol a. ufro mZime mdgomareoba iyo kavkasiis misadgomebTan. samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom kavkasiis damcvel Ta 16 divizidan, 10 qarTul i iyo. esenia: 242- e, 276- e, 296- e, 349- e, 351- e, 357- e, 392- e, 394- e, 406- e, 414- e da 417- e. qarTvel Ta am diviziebis winaaRmdeg, germaniis sardl obam, sxva SenaerTebTan erTad S.maRI akel izis xel mZRvanel obi T (1842 wl is bol o) `qarTul i erovnul i batalioni- gadaisrol a. saqarTvel os teritoriaze diversiul i operaciebis Catarebis mizni T, germanel ebma qarTvel ebis gan gansakuTrebul i daniSnul ebis qvedanayofebis `Tamari- 1- is- da `Tamari- 2- is- formireba (xel mZRvanel ebi- germani da krameri) moaxdina. es faqti, sabWoTa uSi Sroebas mxedvel obis miRmar darCenia da adeqvaturi nabij ebi gadadga. ssrk- is Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisa da uSi Sroebis erTobl ivi gadawvyetil ebi T, saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatsa da uSi Sroebas, mowinaaRmdegis diversantul i j gufebis gamanadgurebel i qvedanayofebis Seqmna daeval a.²⁸ am faqtebze yuradreba imi tom gavamaxvil e, rom am SemTxvevaSi ac qarTvel i_ qarTvel s upirispirdeboda da isini mosixl e mtrebis ampl uaSi idgnen erTmaneTTan mimarTebaSi.

am fonze unda moxdes sakiTxis ganxil va da misi Sefaseba. meore mxriv, wina pl anze unda wamoiwios faSisturi germaniisa da sabWoTa ruseTis damokidebul eba dapyrobi l i erebisadmi.

II. pasuxi unda gaeces Cems mier zemoT dasmul meore kiTxvas: faSisturi germaniis xel isufal T hqondaT Tu ara dapyrobi l erebTan mima-

rTebaSi sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufli ebaze ukeTesi programa. germanel - Ta gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi ra mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda saqarTvel o. mi iRebda Tu ara igi damouki debi obas. harvardidan da l evil idan Camotanil i saarqivo masal ebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTvel os emograciul i mTavrobis da social - demokratiul i partiis damokidebul eba faSisturi germaniisadmi_ Tanmimdevrul i da ucvl el i darCa. amis dadasturebas, imave social - demokratiul i partiis mier 1944 wl is 7 ivl iss miRebul i dekl aracia warmoadgens. es dokumenti evropasi mimdinare procesebs, saerTaSoriso samarcxvino urTierTobas da gavel urebas uwodebda. am fonzea warmodgenil i sabWoTa ruseTisadmi da misi mowinaaRmdege Zal ebisadmi damokidebul eba. `Cven varT momxre- vkiTx- ul obT dokumentSi- sabWoTa ruseTis omSi damarcxebisa ara imitom, rom gamarj vebul ma moaxdinosh ruseTis okupacia, daamyaros Tavisi mTavroba, gaixados kol oniad, aramed imitom, rom moxdes Sinagani revol ucia msgavsad 1917 wl is Tebevli isa da damyardes xal xuri respublika, suverenul i, nacional uri mTavroba, xol o ararus erebs mieces Tavisufli eba, aRdges damouki debel i saxel mwifoebi da maT Soris damyardes kavSiri SeTanxmebiT da Tanaswori urTierTis ufl ebebis dacvit. omSi damarcxebul i reJimis mospoba Cveul ebrivi istoriul i movl enaa. es aris Cveni Zvel i pozicia... Tu igi dRes ar gamarTi deba, moskovi oms moigebs da Tavis axl andel reJims ar Secvli is, misi Semcvl el i Zal a Signidan aRdgebra da mas revol uciuri meTodiT daamxobs. Cveni adgil i am Zal asTan iqneba. yvel a mdgomareobidan gamosaval i moizebneba Tu Cveni social - uri da nacional uri xel idan ar gagvivardeba.~²⁹

Cems mier motanil i dokumentis mixedvit, emigraciaSi moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebis mizans warmoadgenda: 1) sabWoTa ruseTis reJimis Secvli a da misi demokratiul sawyisebze ageba. mis Semadgenl obaSi Semaval i dapyrobil i respublikebisadmi damouki debel i saxel mwifoebriobis aRdgena. maT Soris urTierTobis Tanasworufl ebianobis princi pebze dafuzneba; 2) im SemTxvevaSi Tuki sabWoTa reJimi demokratizmit ar Seicvl eboda, qarTul i social - demokratiis mxardaWera da Tanadgoma ruseTis im Sinagan Zal ebs eqneboda, romel ic arsebul i reJimis Secvli as da demokratiizmis princi pebis gatarebas ganaxorciel ebda.

samecniero l iteraturiT dadasturebul ia, rom faSisturi germaniis xel isufalni am motxovnil ebis arcerTpirobebs ar iTval iswinebda. maT miznas, sabWoTa ruseTis dapyrobil i erebis ara Tu Tavisufli eba da maTi saxel mwifoebis aRdgena, aramed sabWouri kol eqtivyizaciis kursis Secvli ac ar dausaxavs miznad. ukrainaSi, bel orusiaSi da sabWoTa ruseTis central ur nawil Si, kol meurneobebi SeinarCunes, rogorc adgil obrivi mosaxleobis eqspl oataciis, misi ekonomikurad gayvl efis organizaciis saukeTeso saSual eba.

rac Seexeba kavkasiis erebisadmi faSisturi germaniis xel isufal Ta keTil ganwyobis mitS, igi bol o periodSi gamoqveynebul ma dokumenturma masal ebma sabol ood gaacamtvera. cnobil i faqtia, rom omis dawyebisas adol f hitlerma ganacxada: `kavkasia, Tu misi navTis miRebavinda, umkacresi meTval yureobis qveS unda aviyvanoT. sxva pirobebSi, am sisxli is aRebiT daorsul ebul sivrceSi, tomebs Soris mtroba SeuZl ebel s gax-

dis yovel gvar sargebl ian eqspl oatacias.- am amonaweris mixedviT, faSisturi germaniis pirvel i piri, kavkasiasa da mis erebs, ara civil izaciis akvnad, aramed vel ur tomebad ganixil avda da maTdami gansakuTerebul i sazedamxedvel o funqciis dawesebas moiTxovda. Cemi azriT, savsebiT sworia a.sonRul aSvil i, roca faSisturi germaniis warmomadgenel Ta mxridan, kavkasiis xal xebisadmi rasobrivi principiT midgomaze rom gaamaxvil a yuradReba.³⁰ am fonze Tuki ganvixil avT sakiTxs, faSisturi germaniis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, kavkasiis erebis samomavl o bedi, sabWoTa ruseTis monobaze uaresi SeiZl eba aRmoCeniI iyo. rac Seexeba germaniis Semadgenl obaSi moqceul i saqarTvel osTvis damouki debl obis gametebis il uzias, igi pol itikurad umwifari da faSisturi germaniis samsaxurSi myofi qarTvel ebis mier iyo SeTxzul i. amis dadasturebas sp.WavWavaZis dakiTxvis saqmo CanawerebSi motaniI i faqti warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mis mier Sedgenil i memorandumi kavkasiis erebis saxel mwifoebis damouki debl obis aRdgenasTan mamarTebaSi, romel ic germaniis erT- erT maRal Cinosans gadaeca. am faqtis Sesaxeb imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `stavropol Si misvl idan ramdenime dReSi damouki debl ad... daviwye memorandumis Sedgena. cnobil i gaxda, rom Camodioda engel garti. am vizitistvis Sevadgine Cemi memorandumi. misi Sinaarsi SevaTanxme kavkasiel xal xTa sxva warmomadgenl ebTan. erTxmad miiRes. erTi sityvac ar Seucvl iaT. sityyasi tyviT ver aRvidgen Cems Canawers, magram ai mTel i misi arsi: a)omis erT- erTi mizani_ kavkasiel xal xTa ganTavisufl eba. kavkasiel i xal xi warmoadgens oTx damouki debl saxel mwifos- azerbaijans, somxeTs, saqarTvel os da Crdil oeT kavkasiis. es saxel mwifoebi daamyareben maTTvis Sesaferris rejimebs; b)aucil ebel ia: aqve da axl ave momzaddes momaval i administraciisa da armiis kadrebi, roml ebic dakompleqtdeba adgil obrivi mcxovrebl eb iT; g)kavkasiel Ta gamoyvana yvel a banakidan, maTgan administraciul i saqmianobis SemZl eTa amorCeva; d)amoirces Sesaferrisi raionebi. momaval i saqmianobistvis Seiqmnas mosamzadebel i kursebi; e)gansakuTerebul i yuradReba unda mieqces Zl ier oficerTa da unter- oficerTa kadrebis Seqmnas; v)es yvel aferi unda moxdes germanel xel isufal Ta meTval yureobis qveS.-

rogorc vxedavT, es dokumenti amierkavkasiis damouki debl i respublikis Seqmnaze da misi Tavdacvisunarianobistvis safexuris momzadebaze iyo gaTvl il i. meore mxriv, igi garkveul i formiT germanel i maRal Cinosanis `gamocdasac- iTval iswinebda. kerZod, Tu ra pozicias da iWerda sabWoTa ruseTis mier dapyrobl i kavkasiis erebis mosal onel saxel mwifoebri damouki debl obasTan mamarTebaSi. rogorc sp.WavWavaZis Cvenebidan irkveva, memorandumSi dasmul i sakiTxebi germanel i engelgartisadmi siurprizi aRmoCnda, ramac igi wonasworobidan gamoiyvana. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT imave CvenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `roca j amal ianma, engel garts waukiTxa am dokumentis germanul i Targmani, mas raRac ucveul o daemarTa. cofianiviT wamoiWra adgil idan da yiril i morTo. rogorc miTargmnes, yviroda, rom aseTi moTxovnebis wamoyeneba didi Tavxedoba iyo, rom Tavad ukeT ician, ra rogor gaakeTon da a.S. roca sabol ood dawynarda da daj da, j amal ianma dauwyo imis mtkiceba, rom am dokumentSi gaxmov-

anebul i moTxovnebi srul iad akmayofil ebs saerTo interesebs... engel garti civad dagvemSvidoba da miTxra, rom Cvens mier proeqtSi gamoTqmul i survil ebi moxsendebodya xel isufli ebas da imedovnebd, rom or- sam kviraSi pasuxs mi viRebdiT. magram pasuxi ver mi viReT, radgan sastiki movl enebi swrafad ganviTarda da germanel ebs CvenTvis aRar ecal aT.³¹

Cems mier motanil i es amonaweri imis damadasdturebel ia rom omamde da omis msvl el obis Semdgom etapze- 1944 wl amde, faSisturi germaniis umaRl es xel isufal T, kavkasiis da miTumetes saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos damouki debl obis aRdgena miznad ar hqonda dasaxul i. Tuki 1944 wl is seqtemberSi, faSisturi germaniis mier okupirebul i aRmosavl eTis teritoriebis ministrma al fred rozenbergma da kavkasiuri Stabis warmomadgenel ma saqarTvel l osa da kavkasiis xal xebis damouki debl obis aRdgenis Tanxmobas moaweres xel i, igi saomari moqmedebebis koni unqturidan gamomdinare, iZul ebiTi faqtorebiT iyo ganpirobebul i.³² germaniis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, misi praqtikul ad gatareba da mxol od kavkasiis qveynebisadmi gamoCeul i formiT damouki debl obis miniWebis Sesrul eba, adol f hitl eris mTavrobis mxridan nakl ebad damaj erebel i iyo. meore mxriv, isini am kompromisze mas Semdeg wavi dnen, roca brZol is bedi mokavSire saxel mwi foTa sasargebl od iyo gadawyvetil i da germania, garduval i damarcxebis zRurbl ze idga.

amrigad, 1) qarTul pol itikur emigracias, Tavisufli ebisaTvis brZol a mxol od smi pirobis SemTxvevaSi miaCnda SesaZl ebl ad: a) Tuki eri pol itikurad da fsiqol ogiurad iqnebodya momzadebul i; b) moxdebodya eris pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidacia da saimedo mokavSiris SeZena; g) dasaxul i miznisTvis saerTaSoriso xel Semwyobi gare faqtorebi Sei qmnebodya.

kol eqtivizaciis winaaRmdeg dawyebul i da erTian xel mZRvanel obas mokl ebul i partizanul i gamosvl ebi, garduval i damarcxebisTvis iyo ganwirul i. misi SeCereba im etapze swor gadawyvetil ebas warmoadgen- da. samxreT kavkasiaSi antisabWouri gamosvl ebi, Crdil o kavkasiis, ukrainis da sxva respublikების აჭიური monawil eobis SemTxvevaSi iqnebodya dasaSvebi. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, eri fizikuri ganadgurebis safrTxis winaSe aRmoCndebodya;

2) saqarTvel os sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, saerTaSoriso forumebze, evropis qveynebis l iderTa gadawyvetil ebebi, ormxrivi pol itikuri TamaSis saxes atarebda. erTa l igis damxmare asociaciis saerTaSoriso kongres- sis (1934 wl is 18- 24 maisi) monawil eebisadmi ruseTis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis Sexsenebis miuxedavad, erTa l igam Sesatyvisi rezol ucia ar mi iRo. momxdari faqtiT, evropis qveynebis l iderebma, saerTaSoriso pol itikuri meZavisa da merkantil izmis kursisadmi monuri morCil eba warmoaCina. am forumma, patara erebisadmi adre micemul i aRiarebiTi garantiebis Segnebul ad `miviwyeba~ da dampyrobელ i qveynisadmi gansakuTrebul i simpaTiebi gamoavl ina. momxdarma faqtma, evropis saxel mwi- foebisadmi undobl oba da maTze dayrdnobis SeuZl ebl oba daadastura;

3) qarTul i emigraciis erTi nawil is mxridan, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis meore internacional idan gamosvl is moTxovna, mim- dinare pol itikur situacias ar Seesabamebodya. am mimarTul ebiT gada- dgmul i nabiji, qarTul i emigraciisaTvis uaryofiTi Sedegebis momtani iqnebodya: a) evropis pol itikur wreebSi social - demokratiul i partiis

diskredi taciasTan erTad, qarTul i mxare saerTaSoriso tribunasi dakar-gavda; b)urTierTobas gawvyetda safrangeTis, Sveciis, norvegiis, daniis, Cexosl ovakiis da fineTis warmomadgenl ebTan. am faqtiT ganpirobebul i Sedegi, social - demokratiul i partiisa da emigraciul i mTavrobis mizanimarTul i TviTmkvl el obis tol fasi qmedeba iqneboda.

4)qarTul i samTavrobo pol itikuri emigraciis moTminebaze da l odinze dafuznebul i brZolis taqtika, swor arCevans warmoadgenda. qveynis bedis erTi romel ime saxel mwifosadmi mindoba, n.Jordaniis da mis mxardamWerebs Secdomad miaCnda. maTi samarTl iani mtkicebiT, pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobiT, qarTul i mxare CixSi ar unda moqceul iyo da dipl omatiuri l avirebis Sesazl ebl oba SeenarCunebina. gaRizianebul i ruseTis pirispir mdgomi saqarTvel ostvis, evropis arcerTi saxel mwifoTavs ar gamoidebda. ruseTis xel ovnurad argaRizianebis da l odinis taqtika, qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo l iderebs momgebian pozicias unarCunebda. qarTul i emigraciis l iderebi, montres konferenciis (1936 wl is 22 ivnisi- 21 ivl isi) dadgenil ebis dinebas unda miyol oda da maTi gancxadebebi, am kursis SesatyvisobaSi yofil iyo moyvanil i.

5)faSisturi germaniis samsaxurSi myofi qarTvel i emigrantebis saqmi-anobis Sefasebas, damonebul erebTan mimarTebaSi germaniis xel isufal - Ta damokidebul eba unda daedos amosaval safuzvl ad. qarTvel i tyveebis germaniis samxedro nawil ebSi samsaxurze daTanxmebaSi, qarTul ma nacional urma komitetma- gansakuTrebul i roli Seasrul a. 1942_ 1943 wl ebSi, germaniis saxel mwifos erTgul ebaze ficmiRebul i 8 qarTul i nacional uri batalioni- funqcionirebda da germaniis saxel mwifos interesebis Sesatyvis brZanebebs asrul ebda: a)evropis qveynebsi anti-faSisti partizani mebrZol ebis winaarmddeg, qarTul i batalionebis gamoyenebis faqti, faSizmis uRel qveS mgminavi evropis xal xebis erovnul - ganmatavisufli ebel i moZraobis gasanadgurebl ad gatarebul RonisZiebas warmoadgenda. am antifasistur moZraobaSi, evropel Ta mxardamxar qarTvel i partizanebic monawil eobdnen. b)kavkasiis damcvel 10 qarTul divizias, germaniis sardl obam gen. S.maRl akel izis meTaurobiT qarTul i erovnul i batalioni- da qarTvel ebis bazaze Seqmnil i gansakuTrebul i daniSnul ebis qvedanayofi `Tamari- 1- da `Tamari- 2- daupirispira. orive SemTxvevaSi, faSisturi germaniis samxedro mundirSi gamowyobil ma qarTvel ebma, qarTvel ebis winaarmddeg aRmarTa i araRi.

6)germaniis xel isufli ebis mier sabWoTa ruseTis evropul nawil Si kol meurneobebis SenarCunebis faqti, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis eqspl oataciisa da Zarcvis paral el urad, damonebul i erebisadmi Tavisufli ebis armicemis dadasturebas warmoadgenda. kavkasiis erebis damouki debl obis moTxovnis memorandumze (1942 wel i) germaniis maRal Cinosnebis mxridan uaris Tqmam, sabWoTa imperiis Semadgenl obaSi myof erebTan mimarTebaSi, faSisturi germaniis damokidebul eba oficial urad gaaxmovana. 1944 wl is seqtemberSi al fred rozenbergis mier qarTvel ebisa da kavkasiis xal xebis damouki debl obis Sesaxeb gacemul i Tanxmoba, izul ebis faqtoriT_ germaniis damarcxebis zRurbl ze dgomiT da qarTvel i samxedroebis gul is mogebiT iyo ganpirobebul i.

§. 3. kavkasiis politiki Zal ebis konsolidatsia da erTiani saxel mwifos Seqmnis idea.

XX saukunis 30- ian wl ebSi ganviTarebul i politiki procesebi da saqarTvel os damouki debel obaze fiqri, qarTul i politiki emigratsiis winaSeruseTis imperiisadmi erTiani kavkasiuri Zal ebiT dapiRispirebis sakiTxs ayenebda. maT kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom uzarmazari resursebisa da potentsiis mqone Crdil oETis mezobel saxel mwifos, patara saqarTvel o verafers daakl ebda. am faqtoris gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, samxreTi da Crdil oETi kavkasiis erovnul i Zal ebis erT samoqmedo antisabWoTa gegmaSi moqceva, qarTul i emigratsiis did nawil s real obad esaxebodya. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, sagazeTo `meTaur- weril Si `kavkasiis sadaraj oze, 1931 wel s ak.Cxenkel i werda: `roca mtris banakSi Tavseti esxmiT da arician saiTken gaswion- marjvni v Tu marcxniv, roca evrop- amerikaSi aSkar- aT ikafavs gzas sul axal i winaswari SeTanxmebul i midgoma sabWoTa sakiTxisadmi, roca antibol Sevikuri rusul i wreebi ucxoETSi patriotul artkinebas ganicdian, ... Cveni val ia, moaxl oebul i didi gadatexvis dros gnsakuTrebul i yuradRebami vaqciOT kavkasiis damisrols.

marTalia, sakiTxi sworadiyo dasmul i, magram arsebul probl emasTan mimarTebaSi, gnsakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba kavkasiis xalxebis damouki debel ebas, misi momzadebis dones eniWeboda. meore mxriv, didi saxel mwifobis gl obal ur politiki kurss unda gadaewyvi ta, sbWoTa ruseTis mier dapyrobul i kavkasia darCeboda Tu ara evrop- aziis damakavSirebel i xidis matarebl ad. es sakiTxi aqtual obas im Tval sazrisiTac izenda, rom evrop_ aziis interesebi im etapze erTamaneTs gadaej aWva. am SemTxvevaSi, mbrZanebl uri funqciisa da arbitris rolis Semsrulebel i sabWoTa ruseTi iyo. igi ganagebda kavkasiis yvel a bunebriv simdidres. am sakiTxiTan dakavSirebiT zemoaRniSnul statiaSi ak.Cxenkel i werda: `Cven araerTxel gvsenia ucxoel i megobrebisgan erTi paradoqsi: kavkasiis simdidreni erTsa da imave dros bedniereba da ubedurebac kavkasiel TaTvis! bedniereba im mxriv, rom aris namdvil i material uri baza damouki debel i arsebobisaTvis; ubedureba im mxriv, rom es simdidreni... mizezia moskovis imperial izmisa. Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT im garemoebasac, rom sabWoTa mTavrobas Tavis mol aparakebebSi ucxoETTan marTI ac kavkasiis simdidre gamoaqvs, rogorc mTavari mimzidvel i obieqti, CvenTvis aSkaraa saidan warmosdgebra es ubedureba.

magram aris meore mxarec, aranakl eb sagulisxmo: Tu kavkasiis simdidreni izidaven evrop- amerikas, Tu wineT da exlac gaaqvt iq am simdidreTa zogierTi mTavari nawarmi, es moaswavebs im saanbano WeSmari tebas, rom kavkasia Sedis msofli o ekonomikaSi, rogorc misi organuli nawil i. amas daumateT kavkasiis geografiuli mdebareoba or kontinentSua, misi mniSvnel oba tranzitisa da mSvidobianobisTvis, agreTve isic, rom kavkasiis erebi guSin Tavisufalni iyvnen, saqarTvel os ki ar daukargavs dRemde Tavis iuridული mdgomareoba da Tqven mi xvdebiT, rom kavkasiis sakiTxi imave dros uaRresad saerTasoris sakiTxi a.

am amonaweridan kargad cans, Tu ra maRal doneze qonda gaazrebul i qarTul i politiki azrovnebis erT- erT Tval saCino figuras ak.Cxenkel s

kavkasiis rol i saerTaSoriso pol itikaSi. aqedan gamomdinare, igi qarTvel da kavkasiel emigrantebs garkveviT mi ani Snebda aRni Snul i faqtorebis gonivrul ad gamoyenebis aucil ebl obaze. imave publ ikaciaSi ak.Cxenkel i xazgasmiT mi uTiTebda: 1)kavkasiis pol itikuri el itis gansakuTrebul pasuxismgebl obaze kavkasiis erebisa da misi momaval i Taobebis winaSe; 2)sabWoTaruseTSi mosal odnel i garTul ebebis SemTxvevisaTvis, emigraciaSi myofi kavkasiis pol itikuri el itis rol ze, romel ic mas unda Seesrul ebina kavkasiis erebSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis mosamzadebl ad. `Tu kavkasiis erebi da maTi xel mZRvanel ni- werda ak.Cxenkel i- ar iqnebian saTanadod darazmul ni, e.i. Tu maT ver aCvenes did saxel mwi foTa samsj avros erTi saxe, erTi nebi syofa, erTi fronti, srul id aSkaraa, rom Cveni give mogviva, rac mogvivi da 1918- 1921 wl ebSi! Cveni viciT, ras ni Snavs es... nu mivecemiT ocnebas, ar aris gamoricxul i, rom davdgeT faqtis winaSe, Cvens zurgs ukan maT gadawyviton Cveni bed- iRbal i! da maSin damnaSaveni Cveni TviTon viqnebiT.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans is mosal odnel i safrTxe, romel ic kavkasiis erebs emuqreboda didi saxel mwi foebis mxridan. imavdroul ad, ak.Cxenkel i 1918- 1921 wl ebsac Seaxsenebda saqarTvel os mezobel respublikebs. qarTul istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi somxeTisa da azerbaijanis xel isufal Tamier 1918- 1921 wl ebSi daSvebul i pol itikuri Secdomebi, romel mac damRupvel i Sedegebi gamoiRo da daacqara qarTul i saxel mwi fos ngrevis procesi.¹

warsul is gamocdil eba, mtkice safexuri unda yofil iyo amierkavkasiis erTa SesakavSirebl ad. mi Tumetes, dapi rispireba iseT dampyobel Tan uxdebodaT, romel ic amierkavkasiis erebisadmi daundobl obiTa da siasstikiT gamoirCeoda. aRni Snul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, ak.Cxenkel i erTxel kidev xazs usvamda dasaxul i miznis_ Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad, kvkasiel i erebis Sin da gareT erTsul ovnad moqmedebis mniSvnel obas da iqve dasZenda: `mware gamocdil eba warsul Si gakveTil ia momavl isaTvis. Cveni Segnebul ad unda vecadoT, yovel ive rac gvTiSavs ukan waviRoT, xol o rac gvaerTebis win wamowwi oT. Cveni... gamovnaxeT i seTi Semrigebel i formul a, rogoricaa saval debul o arbi traJi, formul a aRiarebul i erTa ligis mier, rogorc uebari meTodi yovel i davis mSvidobianad gadasaWrel ad.- aseTi optimisturi debul ebis ganvitarabis Semdeg, imave ak.Cxenkel ma kavkasiis erebi erT mTl ian erTeul ad warudgina mkiTxvel sazogadoebas da mas saerTaSoriso pol itikaSi sapatio adgil is damkvidreba uwinaswarmetyvel a. `kavkasia da misi oTxi mTavari eri- wers ak.Cxenkel i- erTmaneTs ekuTvnian, maTi gaTiSva... ver gamarTI deba veraviTari Tval sazrisiT, pol itikurad momwifebul i kavkasia, mowodebul ia iTamaSos friad sapatio rol i saerTaSoriso asparezzed... erTi pirobiT: Tu misi xel mZRvanel ni SeZl eben am mowodebis simaRl ezed dgomas. kavkasi am didi xania moi pova adgil i msoufl io ekonomikaSi, man unda moi povos adgil i saerTaSoriso praqtikaSi ac.-

ruseTis imperiis gan Tavis daRwevisa da saerTaSoriso ekonomikaSi damkvidrebis real ur Sansebs ak.Cxenkel i kavkasiis erebis erTobaSi_ erTiani samoqmedo gegmis mixelv iT gadawyvetil ebebis miRebaSi xedavda. sazogadobaSi uimedobis ar damkvidrebi dan gamomdinare, igi warsul is gamocdil ebas TiTqmis ignorebas ukeTebda im Tval sazrisiT, rom pasuxgaucemel s tovebda

kiTxvebs: 1)ramdenad SesaZI ebel i iyo kavkasiis erebis uambiciod gaerTianeba; 2)bol omde iyo Tu ara sando somex- azerbaij anel Ta megobrobisa da TanamSroml obis Sesaxeb gacemul i piroba; 3)adgil i xom ar eqneboda saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi isev teritoriul i pretenziebis wi na pl anze wamowevas da gaerTianebis Sesaxeb dawyebul i saqmis Ci xSi Seyvanas.

ak.Cxenkel is zemoaRniSnul i weril i gadametebul optimizms Seicavda da dasaxul i miznis Semaferxebel real ur barierebs gverds uvl ida. gansakuTrebul i yuradReba mxol od saqarTvel os momaval Tan mimarTebaSi Tanmdgomi saxel mwi foebis rol ze iyo gadatanil i. am SemTxvevaSi, prioriteti Crdil oet kavkasi as, ukrainas, Tergis, yubani sa da donis kazakebis pozicias hqonda miniWebul i. `ukraina, romel ic geografiul ad namdvil i zurgia kavkasi isaTvis vel i korosiis mxrit, angariSSi Casagdebia agreTve yazaxoba Tergis, yubanis da TviT donis. mar to Tavisufal i ukraina- wer da ak.Cxenkel i did rol s iTamaSebs kavkasiis sve- bedzed... aravistvis sadao araa, rom eris normal uri ganvitarebisTvis, Semoqmedebisa da winsvl is namdvil i baza saxel mwi foa. kavkasiis da ukrainis erebic am srul iad bunebriv da aucil ebel formaSi Camosxmas I amoben. sxvanairad SeuZI ebel ia, sanam isini eroben.-

marTal ia, sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i, magram, damouki debl obisa da erovnul i saxel mwi fos SeqmnisaTvis brZol aSi, mxol od samxreTi da Crdil oet kavkasiis erebis SeTanxmeba- gaerTianeba probl emas dadebitad ver gadawyvetda. aucil ebl oba, dasavl eTis romel ime ZI ieri saxel mwi fos mxridan ara mar to si tyvier da saagitacio- propagandistul Tanadgomas, aramed, pirvel rigSi finansur daxmarebas saWi roeboda. am mxriv, dasavl eT evropis qveynebis I iderebs, sabWoTa ruseTisagan mosal odnel i safrTxebeis`genetikurad- Tandayol il i fsiqol ogiuri SiSi gaaCnda da maqsimal urad eridebodnen ruseTis gaRizianebas. mi Tumetes, im rTul pol itikur situaci aSi, sabWoTa ruseTs germaniasTan dasapirispirebl ad mokavSi redac ki moiazrebdnen. ganvl il ma istoriul ma procesebma daadastura, rom saqarTvel osa da kavkasi asTan mimarTebaSi, dasavl eT evropis didma qveynebma (ingl isi, safrangeTi), saxel mwi foebrivi pol itikuri kursi tyuil ze daafuZna. yovel ive zemoaRniSnul is gaTval - iswinebi dan gamomdinare, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes is faqti, roca qarTul i emigraciis mesveurebi, evropisadmi undobl obas icendnen da amas oficial uradac acxadebdnen. amis dadasturebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis da demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciis 1931 wl is 28 Tebnervl is sxdomis saoqmo Canawerebi warmoadgens. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom sxdomis monawil eTa wi naSe n.Jordani am daufaravad ganaxada, rom dasaxul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad, evropis daxmarebis imedi ar unda hqonodaT da mTel i yuradReba ruseTis SigniT arsebul i xel isufl ebis sawinaaRmdogod moqmed Zal ebze gadaetanaT. imavdroul ad ezrunaT safrangeTSi da JenevaSi megobrebis SesaZenad, roml ebic saqarTvel os sakiTXTan mimarTebaSi mxardaWeris rol s Seasrul ebdnen. amis aucil ebl oba Tundac imiTac iyo ganpi robebul i, rom im etapze, ruseT- osmal eTis urTierTobis gaj ansaRebis nabij ebidgmeboda. es faqti, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikur el itas mxedvel obis miRma ar darCeni a da gamafrTxil ebel i formiT Sesabamisi reagire-

ba maSi nve gaakeTa. am mxriv, `erovnul centrSi- da `erovnul frontSi- Semaval i partieb is gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1934 wl is 29 seqtemberi) n.Jordani as mier gakeTebul i moxsenebebi gamoirCeva. misi samarTl iani mtkicebiT, Tuki ruseT- osmal eTis SeTanxmeba moxdeboda, igi usaTuod amierkavkasi is xarj ze ganxorciel deboda. mosal odnel i safrTxisadmi Tundac ideol ogiur frontze gasamkl avebl ad, aucil ebl obas amierkavkasi is Zal Ta gaerTianeba da evropis qveynebis l iderTa winaSe SeTanxmebul ad gamosvl a war moadgenda. am Canafiqris Sesrul ebis SemTxvevaSi, igi saerTaSoriso datvirTvas SeiZenda da evropis qveynebidan misadmi angariSis gaweva aucil ebel i Sei qmneboda. qarTul pol itikur emigracias isic kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i Tu ra sirTul eebTan iqneboda dakavSirebul i amierkavkasi is respubl ikebs Soris konsesusis miRweva da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSaveba. mxedvel obaSi iyo misRebi: **1)**1918 wl is april Si Seqmnil amierkavkasi is sei mSi war moqmnil i interesTa dapi r ispireba; **2)**1921 wl is 10 ivni ss parizSi oTxi respubl ikis warmomadgenel is xel moweriT gaFormebul i xel Sekrul ebis darRveva somxebis mier da erTiani frontidan gasvl a. 1925 wel s, somxebis gareSe `oTxTa sabWos- nacvl ad, `samTa sabWos- Sei qmna da imave wel s `kavkasi is damoukidebl obis komitetad- gadakeTeba. mi uxedavad amisa, mis muSaobas udidesi pol itikuri xarvezi dayeboda im Tval sazrisiT, rom srul i ad kavkasi is saxel iT gamosvl is samarTl ebrivi ufl eba ar hqondaT. es xarvezi, komitetSi monawil eobis miRebaze somxebis gan uariT iyo ganpi robebul i. aRni Snul i faqtebi mki Txvel s Segnebul ad Sevaxsene, raTa meCvenebina, Tu ra winaaRmdegobriv i pi robebSi mi mdi nareobda amierkavkasi is warmomadgenel Ta Soris mol aparakeba, konsesusamde misvl a da erT organizaciaSi gaerTianebis mcdel oba. am saki TxTan dakavSirebiT, `kavkasi is respubl ikaTa urTierTobis mokle mimoxil vaSi- vki Txul obT: `kavkasi uri mTl ianobis saqmes ucxoETSi Tan axl da mraval i dabrkol ebani, romelic erTis mxriv gamoixateboda mTis da azerbaij anis organizaciebSi permanentul ad arsebul krizisebSi da meores mxriv, TviT am seqciebSi kavkasi uri orientaci is meryeobaSi, ramac es seqciebi Seasusta da erT meores metoqe j gufebad dayo (mTa). amas zed erTvoda mezobel ebis mxridan saqarTvel os... winaaRmdeg daumsaxurebel i gamol aSqrebebi, rac kavkasi is mTl ianobis xazs arTul ebda.-² es winaaRmdegoba, SemTxveviT movl enas ar war moadgenda. **saarqivo masal ebiT da Sesabamisi samecniero l iteraturiT dadasturebul ia,**rom kavkasi is respubl ikebis warmomadgenl ebi, saqarTvel osTan mi marTebaSi mudamJams pretenziebs gamoTqvamdnen da qarTvel obas Tavdacvis mdgomareobaSi amyofebdnen. iseti foni iqmneboda, TiTqos romel ime maTganisadmi qarTvel ers raime waerTmi os, an val i hqonoda aRebul i. am SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os mezobel i erebisa da qveynebis pol itikuri l iderebi, mtacebl uri meTodis gamoyenebiT moqmedebdnen. imis mcdel obaSi iyvnen, saqarTvel os sazianod da maTi qveynisTvis sasargebl o xel moweril i oficial uri dokumenti saqarTvel os pol itikuri warmomadgenl ebisadmi daetyuaT. aRni Snul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri el ita mudamJams gansakuTrebul i sifxizl iT da daZabul mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda. mi Tumetes, warTmevis tendenci is matarebel i mezobel i erebis warmomadgenl ebTan uxdeboda urTierToba. aqedan gamomdinare, mTTan mi marTebaSi gasatarebel pol itikur kurss,

am faqtoris gaTval iswinebac unda dadeboda safuZvl ad. am mimarTul ebiT erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebas, qarTul seqciebSi warmoqmnil idaj gufebebis winaarMdegobebic abrkol ebda. yovel ive erTad aRebuli, qarTul emigraciis gavlenas asustebda, arbitris Sesrul ebis Sesazl ebl obas mesame Zal as utovebda, darac mTavaria, kavkasiis xal xTa moZraobasi medrosis funqciis saqarTvel os akargvinebda. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os interesebidan gamomdinare, qarTul emigraciis polititur warmomadgenl obis didnawils, erTiani kavkasiis niadagzedgoma pirvel xarisxovan amocanad miacnda. amisu dao dadasturebas, `kavkasiis respublikaTa urTierTobis mokle mimoxil va da moqmedebis gegma- warmoadgens. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTitebuli is ZiriTadi ganmapirobebeli mizezebi, romelic aRniSnuli mimarTul ebiT pragmatuli xasiaTis nabijis gadadgmis aucilebl obas gansazRvravda. am dokumentis Semdgenel Ta azrit: 1)saerTasoriso politituri situacia daruseTis SigniT ganvitarebuli movlenebi, qarTul polititur elitacagruli erebis miZinebuli erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebeli moZraobis gaRrmavebis, maTi amoZravebisatvis realur Sesazl ebl obebs uqmnida; 2)saqarTvel os politika, daCagruli erebis ganmatavisufl ebeli brZolis mowinave xazze unda yofil iyo. misi moqmedeba, kavkasiis, ukrainis da Turqestanis erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebeli moZraobasTan Setanxmebit ganxorciel ebuliyo; 3)momxdariyosrul iad ruseTis Cagruli erebis erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebeli moZraobis koordinacia, misi gaerTianeba da saerTomtris- moskovisadmi dapirispireba.

am sapasuxismgebl o misias qarTul politituri elitavis Tavze iRebda. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebit, imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `bevria damokidebuli, Tu yvel aferi ara, saqarTvel os aqtivobaze da energiaze. misi valia winapl anze wamoayenos da xel Si aiRos nacional uri moZraobis gaerTianebis damisi winamZRol obis iniciativa. amasis moaxerxebstuseZl o kavkasiis masStabitertsul ovani damtkice gaerTianebis damyareba.- dasaxulimiznis ganxorciel ebis ZiriTadpirobad, igive dokumenti Semdegi saxis RonisZiebebis gatarebas moitxovda: 1)dauyovnebliv mowveuliyosami ve respublikiis (saqarTvelo, azerbaijani, Crdil o kavkasia) warmomadgenel Ta konferencia, miRoT da gamoeqveynebinat kavkasiis aqti, romelic kavkasiurimTlianobis ideur- organizaciuli bazis funqciis Seasrul ebda; 2)kavkasiis respublikebis revoluciuri da dipl omatiuri saqmianobis gasaerTianebl ad SeqmniliyoseTi centraluri makoordinirebeli organo, roml is kursi, masSi Semavalical keul i respublikebis interesebis Tanxvedri iqneboda. axladSeqmnil organos, nacionaluri seqciebis sapropagando da beWdviTi saqmianobis (leqciebis, moxsenebebis da saubrebis sistematurad mowyoba) koordinacia unda moexdina. dasaxulimiznis xel Semwyobi funqciis Sesrul eba, kavkasiis sazRvrebTan Seqmnil kavkasiis centris filials unda ekisra; 3)kavkasiis mTlian frontSi somxebis Sesayvanad Sesabamisi niadagi unda momzadebuliyo.

aq CamoTvil i sapasuxismgebnl o sakiTxebis mowesrigebas, qarTulimxare garkveuli doziT Tavis Tavze iRebda. miuxedavad amisa, arcerT dokumentSi naxsenebiariyos finansuri saSual ebebi, romel sac dasaxulimiznis xel Semwyobi funqcia unda Seasrul ebina. arcimis Sesaxebiyominisnebuli,

saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi saerTo saqm is sakeTeb l ad sami ve respubl i kis war-
momadgen l obaze Tanxis gadanawil ebis ra meqanizmi amoqmeddeboda. saarqi-
vo masal ebis mixedviT, kavkasiuri Zal is erT muStad SesakavSirebl ad
dawyebul brZol aSi, qarTul i emigracia gansakuTrebul i aqtiurobiT
gamoirCeoda. dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad, yovel gvari gzisa da saSu-
al ebis maqsimal urad gamoyenebas cdil obda. amis Tval saCinoebis erT-
erT magal iTs saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiu-
mis wevrebis da pol itikur partiaTa del egaciis gaerTianebul i sxdom-
is (1931 wl is 7 marti) saaqmo Canawerebi warmoadgens. dokumentidan
irkveva, rom imave sxdomaze, kavkasiis erebis warmomadgenel Ta (azer-
bajani, saqarTvel o, Crdil o kavkasia) bazaze, 1925 wel s Seqmnil i da
Semdeg daSl il i `samTa sabWos- aRdgenis aucil ebl oba iqna dasmul i.

evropaSi mimdinare procesebis fonze, kavkasiis erebis saxel iT, sabWo-
Ta xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg gamosvl as, n.Jordania gansakuTrebul mniS-
vnel obas aniWebda. igi xazgasmiT ambobda: `me vfiqrob, rom aravin ar
iqneba winaaRmdegi aRsdges `samTa sabWo-... saWi roa teqniki saqm is
mogvareba.- anal ogiuri mosazreba gamoTqva g.gvazavamac. Seqmnil i pol i-
tikuri koniunqTuridan gamomdinare igi ambobda: `dadga momenti di p-
l omatiuri gamosvl is Sesaxeb. am ni adagze unda aRsdges `samTa sabWo-
da man unda gaakeTos saerTo gamosvl a.-

aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi k.kandel akma Tavisi pozicia zogadi dan
konkretul formebsi gadai tana da sxdomis monawil eebis Seaxsena, rom qarTul
emigracias, ramdenadac urTul es pol itikur pirobebsi uxdeboda muSaoba,
yovl ad dauSvebel i iyo fiqTuri seqciebis mier gamogzavnil adami anebT-
an TanamSroml oba. `Cven- ambobda k.kandel aki- saqme unda gvqondes real ur
Zal asTan imdenad, ramdenadac igi moi poveba mezobl ebSi.- aqedan gamomdi-
nare, gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas moqmed seqciebTan SeTanxmebas aZl evda
da Sesabamisi dadgenil ebis dauyovnebl iv miRebis sakiTxs ayenebda. ana-
l ogiuri pozicia eWi ra g.gvazavasac. misi samarTl iani mtkicebiT, qarTul
emigracias yvel a is pol itikuri Zal ebi unda amoeyenebina gverdiT, romel -
ic im etapze evropaSi funqcionirebda. `Cveni interesia- dasZenda igi-
`sabWo- amuSavdes. es sakiTxi dResve unda gadawydes.-³

Cems mier motanil i masal ebi, kavkasiis erebis erT muStad Sekvris da xe-
l sayrel i situaciis SeqmniStanave sabWota ruseTisadmi dapi rispirebis
meqanizmis amoqmedebis aucil ebl obaze miuTitebs. meore mxriv, qarTul i
emigraciis winaSe principul ad iyo dasmul i sakiTxi- ra formebsi gamoy-
enebiT iqneboda SesaZl ebel i kavkasiis erebis konsolidacia. am SemTxveva-
Si, qarTvel pol itikosebs `axal i vel osi pedis- gamogoneba ar sWirdeboda.
maT warsul is gamocdil eba (1918 wel i) edo win konfederaciis saxiT. aucil
ebl oba misi formebsi daxvewas da mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis ga-
Tval iswinebis Sesabamisi sobaSi moyvanas moiTxovda. am mimarTul ebiT nabij is
dauyovnebl ivi gadadgma imiTac iyo aucil ebel i, rom kavkasiis erTa dapi r-
ispirebis pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri formebsi, garkveul i xarisxiT wina-
swar gatarebul i RonisZiebebiT Semcirebul iyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTve-
l os mxridan kavkasiis erebisadmi Ria derefanis_ mimosvl isa da tranzi-
tis srul i Tavisufl ebis SeTavazeba. rac Seexeba erTobl iv RonisZiebas,
(sabaJos erToba, saerTo Tavdacva da di pl omatia) igi demokratiul princ-

i pebze yofil iyo dafuznebul i da masSi Semaval i respublikebis interesebi srul ad gaTval iswinebul i. es iseTi formiT unda ganxorciel ebul iyo, rom arcerTers, erTmaneTTan mimarTebaSi urTierTsawinaaRmdego da zianis momtani gadawyvetil ebis miRebis SesaZl ebl oba ar hqonoda. dasaxul i miznis aRsrul eba, konfederaciaSi Semaval i erebis mxridan, am gaerTianebs struqturebisadmi nebayofl obiT garkveul i pol itikuri daTmobebis gadacemaze iyo damokidebul i. amis ganxorciel eba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi moxdeboda, konfederaciis mxardamWerni, warsul Si daSvebul Secdomebs (gansakuTrebul i ambiciuroba da urTierTdapirispireba) ar gaimeorebdnen. sabWoTa ruseTis mcire erebze batonobis SenarCunebis xel sayrel pirobebis ar Seqmni dnen.

am mimarTul ebIT pragmatul i nabij is gadadgma imiTac iyo aucil ebel i, rom kavkasiis erebis urTierTdapirispireba, istoriul ad Tandayol il `mourcenel sens- warmoadgenda. es real oba, kavkasiis konfederaciis erTerTaqtiur mxardamWers ak.Cxenkel s dasaxul i miznis yvel aze did xel SemSl el faqtorad miaCnda. `saqmis interesi moiTxovs- ambobda igi- ar dav eridoT imis Tqmasac, rom kavkasiis erTa orientacia TviT kavkasiaze cotaTi moikowl ebda warsul Si da SeiZl eba exl ac araa mTI ad gamqral i es nakl i... maSin rodesac qristianebi kavkasiis Crdil oeTs misCerebodnen, mahdianebi samxreTisaken ibrunebdnen pirs. es iyo warsul Si da erTgvari istoriul i gamarTI ebac ki qonda mas. dRes sul sxvaa: ganvl il ma saSinel ma aTma wel ma Cven ukve dagvanaxa, erTis mxriT, rom bol Sevizmi pirmSo Svil ia ruseTis xal xis stiqiis, romel Tanac araviTari saerto ara aqvT ararusebs, gansakuTrebiT kavkasiel T; meores mxriT, xal ifatis gauqmeba stambol Si da angoris winda nacional isturi pol itika ukve mWermetyvel urad ucvenebs kavkasiis mahmadianebs, rom Tanamedrove namdvil i saxel mwifostvis aris erovneba da ara sarwmunoeba.

marTalia, azerbaijanel ebi amboben, rom isini Turqni arian rasiT, magram rasa sxvaa da erovneba sxva. erovneba kul turul i cnebaa, nayofi Tanamedrove cxovrebi sa, da am mxriv azerbaijanel ebi didaT gansxvavdebian Turqebisagan ara marto mTel i maTi warsul iT, romel ic ufro sparseTTan iyo gadabmul i_ umravl esoba Siituria, _ aramed dial eqtiTac. rac Seexeba mTiel ebs, eseni xom cota gamokl ebIT winda kavkasiuri rasisani arian. ase rom ar gansxvavdebian qarTvel ebisagan tipiT, xSirad adaTebiT, temperamentiT.-

es vrcel i amonaweri, kavkasiis erTa umetesobis garkveul i formiT msgavsebis `mtkicebul ebas- Seicavs. am faqtiT, ak.Cxenkel s surda sazogadoebisatvis eCveneбина, rom amierkavkasiis erTa gaerTianeba da erToblivi Zal ebIT sabWoTa ruseTisadmi dapirispireba real obas warmoadgenda. meore mxriv, xazgasmiT mi aniSnebda, rom gadamwyveti roli, erovnul cnobierebas ekuTvnode da ara sarwmunoebas. Tuki kavkasiis musul iman xal xebTan saerto enis gamozebnas da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebas ak.Cxenkel i SesaZl ebl ad miicnevda, am fonze, Sedar ebIT ufro rTul ad esaxeboda kavkasiuri saqmis sakeTebl ad somxebTan samomavl o gegmebze TanamSroml oba. aseTi uimedobiT datvirTul i Sinagani ganwyobis miuxedavad, igive ak.Cxenkel i da sxva qarTvel i pol itikosebi imeds ar kargavda da somxebis zurgSebrunebul i pol itikuri el itis

antisabwour sawyisebze gadayvanis meqanizms Ziebas cdil obda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis da demokratiul i kavSiris del egaciis 1932 wl is 16 ianvris erTobl ivi sxdomis saqmo Canawerebi warmoadgens. rogorc dokumentidan irkveva, azerbaijanis del egaciis sainiciativo j gufis mier somxebTan mosal aparakebl ad SemuSavebul i Tezisebis zogierTma debul abam (momxsenebl ebi egegeWkori, g.gvazava) sxdomis monawil eTa Soris azrTa sxvaoba gamoiwvia. garkveul i diskusiis Semdeg miRebul dadgenil ebaSi aRniSnul i iqna: `saqarTvel os erovnul i centris sxdomas saWi rod miacnia si tyvieri mol aparakeba somxebTan da gageba imisa, Tu ras fiqroben isini centris mier miRebul Sesworebebze sainiciativo j gufis Tezisebis gamo. am mi zni T, mol aparakeba somxebis del egaci- asTan an mis Tavmj domaresTan miendos e.gegeWkors da g.gvazavas.~⁴

aseTi saxis dadgenil ebis mi uxedavad, somxebTan SeTanxmehis mi Rweva im etapze SeuZl ebel i gaxda. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i pol itikuri el itis umravl esoba, somxebTan mol aparakebis gagrZel ebas drois dakargvad Tvl ida. es imas niSnavda, rom amierkavkasiis oTxi respublikis (saqarTvel o, azerbaijani, mTa da somxeTi) warmomadgenl ebis SeTanxmeha SeuZl ebel i iyo. am SemTxvevaSi kiTxvis qveS somxeTi idga. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom 1932 wl is noembrisTvis, Crdil o kavkasiis mTis respublikis warmomadgenl ebSi dapi rispirebam iCina Tavi. momxdarma faqtma, qarTul i emigraciis mesveurebs, mTiel ebi gan gamdgari j gufehis Serigebis axl i sazrunavi gauCina. amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os erovnul ma mTavrobam, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiuma da demokratiul ma kavSirma erTobl ivi dadgenil eba (1932 wl is 5 noemberi) mi iRo. `miendos komisiis- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- mi iRos zomebi mTiul ebSi mTi ianobis aRdgenis xel Sewyobis Sesaxeb... imave komisiis miendos ganumartos mTiel ebs saqmis viTareba kavkasiis konferenciis proeqtis SemuSavebis da miRebis saWi roebaze.~ samwuxarod, dokumenturi masal ebidan ar Cans komisiis mier gatarebul i konkretul i RonisZiebebi. es imi T unda iyos ganpi robebul i, rom komisiis saqmo Canawerebi xSirad `mSral i- da zedapirul i xasiaTis informacias iZl eva. arafers ambobs komisiis warmomadgenel is mier gakeTebul i moxsenebis Sinaarsis Sesaxeb. amis Tval saCinoebis ni muSs, saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis da partiul i del egaciis gaerTi- anebul i sxdomis (1932 wl is 30 noemberi) oqmi warmoadgens. dokumentSi vki- Txul obT: `moismines kavkasiis respublikata warmomadgenl ebis konfere- nciis mowvevis sakiTxi (komisiis saxel iT moxseneba e.gegeWkorma gaakeTa).~ am SemTxvevaSi, moxsenebis Sinaarsis Sesaxeb araferia naTqvami da pir dapi r dadgenil ebis teqstia motanil i, romel ic mxol od komisiis muSaobis for- masa da val debul ebas exeba. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom amierkavkasiis erTa gaerTi anebis mi zni T, Sesabamsi organi zaci ebis daarse- bis xel SewyobaSi: a) `kavkasiis damouki debul obis komitetis- (1926 wel i); b) `promeTes sazogadoebis- (wevrebis: saqarTvel o, azerbaijani, Crdil o kavkasia, ukraina, Turqestasni) SeqmnaSi (1928 wel i) qarTul mxares l o- mis wil i hqonda Cadebul i. saerTo saqmisadmi Tavdadebul i muSaobisa da kavkasiis erTa warmomadgenl ebis pretenziul i, xSirad indi ferentu- l i damokidebul ebis fonze, iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, TiTqos qarTvel o-

ba piradi interesebi saTvis ibrZoda da rusul i monobis sabWouri uRe-
l i kavkasiis sxva erebisTvis probl emas ar warmoadgenda.

saqarTvel os samTavrobo pol itikuri emigraciis mier kavkasiis oTxi re-
publ ikis warmomadgenel Ta SesaTanxmekl ad, sabWouri okupaciis mxil ebi-
sTvis Sesabamisi sakiTxebis mosamzadebl ad da saerTaSoriso konferenci-
ebze, kongresebze da sxva saxis forumbze gasatanad gaweul i muSaobis Se-
saxeb, dawvril ebiTaa saubari ak.Cxenkel is mier 1950 wel s daweril naSrom-
Si_`kavkasiis oTxi respubl ikis warmomadgenel Ta moRvaweoba ucxoetsi.-
es xel naweri gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imiTac iqcevs, rom misi avtori
aRniSnul i procesebis aqtiuri monawil e iyo da safuZvl ianad aRwers qarTu-
l i emigraciis xel mZRvanel obiT gaweul saagitacio- propagandistul saqmi-
anobas. am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul i pol itikuri el itis ZiriTad mizans, ami-
erkavkasiis qveynebis bunebrivi simdidriTa da misi geostrategiul i mniSv-
nel obiT evropis saxel mwi foTa dasainterebeba warmoadgenda. am mimarTu-
l ebiT gadadgmul i yovel i nabiji, amierkavkasiis erebis erovnul - ganma-
Tavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi evropis qveynebi dan mxardaWeris mcdel oba-
ze iyo gaTvl il i. am dauRal av muSaobas, rogorc ak.Cxenkel i wers, `unayo-
fodar Cauvla. kavkasiis erebs gauCndaT mraval i axal i megobrebi, maT
Soris gavlenianic sxvadasxva asparezze... kavkasiis erTa megobrobis sa-
zogadoebani iqna daarsebul i LondonSi, parizSi, romSi, berl inSi, xarbin-
Si. gamoqveynda mraval i wigni da broSura ara mar to kavkasiel i avtoreb-
isa, aramed ucxoel i mwerlebis- kavkasiis erTa mdidari warsulis, ... maTi
saxel mwi foebri vi Semoqmedebis, ... ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZolis da momava-
l i perspeqtivebis Sesaxeb... am gamocemebSi didi adgil i hqonda daTmobil i
kavkasiis bunebriv simdidres da mis mniSvnel obas msofli o ekonomikisa-
Tvis, kavkasiis strategiul da pol itikur rols did saxel mwi foTa urTi-
erTobaSi da sayovel Tao dazavebis saqmeSi... Znel ia Camowera interpol a-
ciebisa da si tyebisa, romel ic warmoiTqva sxvadasxva qveynis parl amenteb-
Si kavkasiis erTa ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZolis mxardasaWerad. xSirad
mTavrobaTa warmomadgenel nic izul ebul ni iyvnen simpaTi iT Sexvedrodnen
am si tyebis.-⁵

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom am amonawerSi CamoTvl il RonisZiebebSi
da mis SedegebSi, l omis wil i qarTul pol itikur emigracias miuzroda.
isic angariSgasawevia, rom es muSaoba finansebTan iyo dakavSirebul i.
am mxriv, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba da misi mxardamWerebi, `wel ze
fexsidgamda- da zemoaRniSnul i mimarTul ebiT gasatarebel i RonisZie-
bebis maqsimal urad dafinansebas cdil obda. am faqtorebis gaTval iswi ne-
bidan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis el itarul i warmomadgenl obisadmi
da saerTod, saqarTvel osadmi kavkasiis sxva erebis (azerbaij anel ebi,
somxebi, Crdil o kavkasiel ebi) mxridan gamorCenis princi pebze dafuZneb-
ul i pretenziebi, eTikisa da pol itikuri zneobis aranair CarCoSi ar
j deboda. maTi aseTi qmedebis miuxedavad, qarTul i mxare maTTan Tanam-
Sroml obis gagrZel ebas cdil obda, radgan kargad hqonda gacnobiere-
bul i, rom erTiani kavkasiuri Zal ebis gareSe, sabWouri monobisgan Tavis
daRweva SeuZl ebel i iyo. am prinsips efuZneboda saqarTvel os pol i-
tikuri emigraciis samTavrobo nawilis mxridan, SemuSavebul i `kavkasi-
is saqmeTa komisiis- wesdeba. igi kavkasiis erebis Zal Ta gaerTianebas

da erTiani pol itikuri kursisTvis Sesabamisi gegmis Sedgenas iTval - iswinebda. dasaxul i mi znis mi saRwevad, igive wesdeba Semdegi RonisZie- bebis gatarebas isaxavda mi znad: 1)kavkasi is erebis pasuxismgebel i war- momadgenl ebis bazaze, kavkasi is erebis konferenci is mowvevas; 2)kavkasi - is konfederaciis aRiarebas da yvel asTvis saval debul o pol itikis SemuSavebas; 3)dipl omatiuri urTierTobis sferoSi erTobl ivi muSao- bis gasaRrmavebl ad, konsesusze dafuznebul i saerTo sakiTxebis Sedge- nas; 4)dasaxul i mi znis popul arizaciisTvis gaerTianebul i sapropagan- do Zal ebis amoqmedebas da ucxo qveynebtan kavSiris damyarebas; 5)saer- To kavkasiuri organoebis mowyobas.

imave dokumentis mixedviT, konferenci is yvel a dadgenil ebis aRsrul eba, kavkasi is komitets da mis samdivnos hqonda mindobil i. ramdenadac kavkasi - is komitets aRmasrul ebl is funqciis Sesrul eba ekisreboda, igi mTel i misi saqmi anobiT kavkasi is erebis nebis gamomxatvel i unda yofil iyo. am faqtoris gaTval iswinebiT momxdariyo misi Semadgenl obis dakompl eqteba. aqedan gamomdinare, kavkasi is erebis erovnul i centrebi komitetSi maT- Tvis sasurvel sam warmomadgenel s agzavni da. reglamentis mixedviT, am organos Sekreba wel iwadSi orjel iyo SesaZl ebel i. komitetisa da samdivnos gaerTianebul i `araCveul ebrivi- krebebis mowvevas, imave sam- divnos an erovnul i seqciebis moTxovniT axorciel ebdnen. krebebis Tavmj - domaris funqciis Sesrul eba, erovnul i centris erT- erTi warmomadge- nel is mxridan morigeobiT iyo daSvebul i. aRniSnul komitetSi yovel i sakiTxis ganxil va an gadawyveta SeTanxmebiT unda momxdariyo. komite- tis samoqmedo gegmiT gaTval iswinebul samuSaos, aRmasrul ebel i orga- no asrul ebda. rac Seexeba dipl omatiursa da saorganizacio seqciebs, igi komitetis sam- sami wevrit kompl eqtdeboda, roml ebsac Sesabamisi samuSaos Sesrul eba erTi wl iT hqonda mindobil i. imave komitetis sam- divnos aRmasrul ebel i organos funqcia ekisreboda. es organo, mudmi v mdivansa da or moadgil es erTi wl is vadiT irCevda. samdivno, komite- tis momdevno wl is muSaobis gegmas da misadmi Sesabamis xarj TaRricx- vas adgenda. igi komitetis winaSe iyo angariSval debul i. kavkasi is ere- bis erovnul i centrebi samdivnosgan miRebul i daval ebebebis Sesrul e- bas im SemTxvevaSi axdenda Tuki komitetis direktivebtan da saerTa- Soriso xaziT aRebul kursTan winaaRmdegobaSi ar movidoda.

Cems mier motanil i es ZiriTadi debul ebebi, im organos ufl ebamosil eba- sa da saqmi anobis mimarTul ebas gansazRvravda, romel is ZiriTad funqcias, kavkasi is erebis SemakavSirebel i konferenciis mosawvevad, Sesabamisi safex- uris momzadeba hqonda daval ebul i. am sapauxismgebl o misiis Sesrul eba, urTul esi winaaRmdegobebis daZl evas ukavSirddeboda. pirvel rigSi iyo gasaTval iswinebel i kavkasi is erebis specifiuri ganmasxvavebel i tradici- ul i faqtorebi da rac mTavaria, maTi darwmuneba regi onis Zal Ta gaerTi- anebis aucil ebl obaSi. mi Tumetes, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, saqa- rTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba da pol itikuri speqtri, kavkasi is erebis mTI ianobaSi xedavda Tavisufl ebis mopovebisa da SenarCunebis garants. igi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda gamarTI ebul i, Tuki kavkasi is erebi 1918 wel s daSvebul Secdomebs gaiTval iswinebda da winaaRmdegobebiT aR- savse im barrierebs daZl evda, romel mac amierkavkasi is federaciis daSl a

daaCqara. am mi marTul ebiT muSaobis gaaqti ureba, azerbaij anel Ta emigraci ul pol itikur seqciebSi warmomqnil i winaaRmdegobebis_ gancal kevebi sken swrafvis SeCerebis aucil ebl obiTiyo ganpi robebul i. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obis did nawil s, igi erTian kavkasiur sivrceSi `pol itikur aTqvefas- ver urigdeboda da damoukidebl obis tendenciis SenarCunebas aniWebda upiratesobas. kavkasiis pol itikuri emigraciis warmomadgenl ebs Soris warmomqnil ma winaaRmdegobebma da saerTo saqmi sadmi `fexis Trevis- pol itikurma kurssma, saerTo kavkasiur erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel moZraobaSi, saqarTvel os samTavrobo emigracias fl agmanis funcia daakargvina. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri el ita, Seqmnil i mdgomareobi dan gamosaval gzebs eZebda da ruseTis imperiisadmi, kavkasiis erebis dasapirispirebl ad momzadebas cdil obda. `saqarTvel os pol itika- vkiTxul obTerT- erT gancxadebaSi- dRes am saerTo moZraobis xazze unda mi diodes. misi ZiriTadi mi zani - kavkasi aa, romelic ukavSirdeba ukrainis da Turqestanis nac.moZraobas. xol o sabol oo mizania ruseTis Cagrul erTa brZolis gaerTianeba, misi Semokreba da dakavSireba kavkasiis, ukrainis da Turqestanis moZraobasTan da ase darazmul i nacional uri Zal ebis mimarTva saerTo mtris- moskovis winaaRmdeg damoukidebl obis aRsadgenad. bevria damokidebul i... saqarTvel os aqtivobaze da energiaze, misi val ia, erebis urTierToba win wamoayenos, nacional uri moZraobis gaerTianebis da winamZRol obis iniciativa xel TaiRos.-⁶

am mZime tvirtis tarebis pretenzi a qarTul mxares rom gaaCnda da Sesabamis pasuxismgebl obasac Tavistavze iRebda, es kargad Cans saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidumis wevrebis da damoukidebel i kavSiris del egaciis gaerTianebul i sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi dan. dokumenti dan irkveva, rom kavkasiis warmomadgenl obiTi konferenciis mosawvevad, komisiis mier gaweul i muSaobis Sesaxeb vrcel i informacia sxdomis monawil eebis s.menaRariSvil ma miawoda. aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, imave sxdomaze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi xazgasmi Tiqna miTitebul i, rom aucil ebel i iyo: 1)mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis gaTval - iswineba, kavkasiis erebis mTel i pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidacia da brZolis erT xazze darazmva; 2)azerbaij anis, saqarTvel os da mTis respublikebis erovnul i organizaciebis mier kavkasiis konfederaciis Sesaxeb erTobl ivad miRebul i proeqtis ZiriTadi debul ebebi, kavkasiis respublikebis erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel brZol as dadeboda safuZvl ad; 3)kavkasiis erebis erTiani pol itikuri kursis SesamuSavebl ad, saqarTvel os erovnul centrs, sami respublikis pasuxismgebel i moqmedi organoebis warmomadgenel Ta konferencia moewvia da konsesusze dafuZnebul i, yvel asaTvis saval debul o xazi SeemuSavebina; 4)kavkasiis pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianebis mizniT, erovnul i centrebis bazis gafarToe bis safuZvel ze, konferenciis mier kavkasiis mTlianobis oficial urad gacxadebis damadasturebel i konfederatiul i paqti mieRoT da igi samoqmedo programad eRiarebinaT; 5)SeeqmnaTerTiani kavkasiuri pol itikuri centri, roml is moval eoba iqneboda ucxoetsi da kavkasi aSi saerTo kavkasiis saqmeebis xel mZRvanel oba, adgil ebze TiToeul i erovnul i centrebis gamagreba da gafarToe ba.

dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT gadawyvetis aucil ebel pi robad, kavkasiis

sabWos Seqmna i qna mi Cneul i. i mave dokumenti s mi xedvi T: 1)kavkasi is sabWo, erovnul i centrebidan wargzavni i 3- 3 warmomadgenel iT erTi wl is vadiT unda arCeul iyo; 2)sabWos Sekreba Sesabamisi regl amentiT unda gansazRvrul iyo; 3)sabWo irCeveda prezidioms, roml is moval eobas sabWos dadgenil ebis Sesrul ebisadmi zedamxedvel oba warmoadgenda; 4)sabWos funqcia, saerTo kavkasiuri pol itikuri sakiTxebis gadawyvetiT, pol itikuri xazis SemuSavebiT da aRmasrul ebel i organoebis meSveobiT, misi ganaxl ebis uzrunvel yofiT ifargl eboda; 5)sabWo qmni da `kavkasi is damouki debel komi tets- da saerTo dipl omatiur seqcias, roml is muSaoba sabWos xel mZRvanel obiT xorciel deboda. maTi muSaobis regl aments igive sabWo amtkicebda; 6)sabWoSi pol itikuri sakiTxebis gadawyveta SeTanxmebiT, xol o teqnukuris- xmebis umravl esobiT xdeboda.

es dokumenti `kavkasi is saqmeTa komisi is- wesdebaze darTul i `ganmar tebiTi baraTis- gadamuSavebul da Sekvecil variants warmoadgenda. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom `ganmar tebiT baraTs- im etapze gansakuTrebul i dativeTvis funqcia hqonda dakisrebul i. mas kavkasiel i emigrantebisa da kavkasi is adgil obrivi mosaxl eobisaTvis unda eCveneбина, sabWoTa imperi isadmi dapi rispirebis fonze Tu ra gziT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i Tavisufl ebis mopoveba. `ganmar tebiTi baraTis,- ZiriTadi debul ebebi, kavkasi is erebigan mTel i sasicocxl o Zal ebis erT organoSi gaerTianebas, sabWoTa imperi isadmi dasapi rispirebl ad momzadebas da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi aqti urad Cabmas isaxavda mi znad. es Canafiqri, i mave dokumentSi Semdegi foemiTaa gacxadebul i: `mTl iani pol itika, mTl iani moqmedeba da amis Sesaferisi organizacia... unda i qnas dRes kavkasi is droSa. am mi znis misaRwevad, saqarTvel os erovnul centrs miucil ebel saWi roebad mi aCni a sami respubl ikis pasuxismgebel i moqmedi organoebis mier mowveul i i qnas farTe konferencia. es mi T ufro saSuria, rom dRemdis ar momxdara kavkasi is moRvaweTa erTi farTe Sexvedra, sadac SesaZl ebel i iqneboda mi mdi nare momentis aspeqtSi kavkasiuri sakiTxis dasma, gaSuqeba da saTanado saorganizacio daskvnebis gakeTeba, roml is mi zania: 1)kavkasi is masStabiT saqmi anobis gaerTianeba da erTi yvel asaTvis saval debul o xazis SemuSaveba. 2)konferencia axdens sabWos wevrTa axal arCevebs. saTanado erovnul i seqciebis rekomendaci iT swyvets mTavar pol itikur da organizaciul sakiTxebis da imuSavebs momavl is samoqmedo direqtivebs erovnul i centrebis gafarToe bis,... kavkasiuri Zal ebis koordinaci isa da kavkasiuri brZol is kal apotSi mosaqcevad. 3)mtrisa da moyvris winaSe kavkasiuri mTl ianobis demonstra cia, raic gamoixateba konfederaci is paqtis... mi RebaSi da kavkasi is brZol is droSad gamocxadebaSi. 4)iseTi pol itikuri centris Seqmna, romel ic kavkasiuri Zal ebis xel mZRvanel obas moaxdens ucxoETSi da kavkasi aSi. i mave dros xel s Seuwyobs saerTaSoriso asparezze mopovebul i poziciebis ganmtki cebas.

saqarTvel os erovnul i centris azriT, am amocanebis ganaRdebas SeZl ebs kavkasi is erTa warmomadgenl obis aRniSnul i konferencia, sadac SesaZl ebel i iqneba mi mdi nare momentis aspeqtSi kavkasiuri sakiTxebis dasma, gaSuqeba da saTanado saorganizacio daskvnebis gakeTeba, raic sabol oo angari SiT uTuod gaaZl ierebs da moamagrebs kavkasi is erTa brZol is unars da maT mi scems i median per speqtivebs.-

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri, gadamwyvet mniSvel obas kavkasiis (azerbajani, mTa, saqarTvel o) erovnul i Zal ebis bazaze saerTo konferenciis mowvevas, kavkasiis respubl ikebis TanamSroml obis mizniT samarTI ebrivad dakanonebul i erTiani makoor-dinirebel i organos Seqmnas aniWebda. am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul i nabij is pirvel mcdel obas, zemoaRniSnul i `ganmarTEbiTi baraTis- is ZiriTadi debul ebebi warmoadgenda, sadac kavkasiuri erebis bazaze Sesaqm-nel i axal i organos organizaciul i mowjobis zogadi principi be iyo warmodgenil i. 1)kavkasiuri sabWo, 2)prezidiumi, 3)dipl omatiuri seqcia, 4)`kavkasiis komiteti.- es vrcel i dokumenti 18 muxl isgan Sedgeboda da dawvril ebiT gansazRvravda dasaxel ebul i seqciebis wevrTa Semadgen- l obisa da ufl ebebis samarTI ebriv mxares.⁷

zemoaRniSnul i gaerTianebul i sxdomis gansakuTrebul i mniSvel oba ima- Siac mdgomareobs, rom man airCia da daamtkica ruseTis Cagrul erebTan kavSiris komisia (e.gegeWkori- mTavrobis warmomadgenel i, g.gvazava, s.fircxa- l ava, iv.zurabiSvili, al .asaTiani da s.menaRariSvili). rac Seexeba komisiis funqciebs, igi Semdegi formul irebiTi qna gansazRvrul i: `komisia iRebs zomebs ruseTis fargl ebSi moqceul Cagrul erebTan dasaxl oeb ad. aw- yobs maT warmomadgenl ebTan ucxoETSi Sexvedrebs, saubrebs, krebebs, arkvevs moqmedebis pirobebs da imuSavebs gegmebs saerTo gamosvl ebisaTvis.- am sa- pasuxismgebl o misiis Sesasrul ebl ad gatarebul i RonisZiebedan gansa- kuTrebul yuradRebas `prometes- sazogadoebis wesdebis SemuSavebis (mo- mxsenebel i s.mdivani) faqti iqcevs. erovnebaTa komisiis 1934 wl is 26 ian- vris sxdomam sagangebod imsj el a `prometes l igi- daarsebis da am orga- nizaciisaTvis Sesabamisi wesdebis SemuSavebis Sesaxeb. dokumenturi masa- l idn irkveva, rom wesdebis proeqti gansaxil vel ad s.fircxal avas da al .asa- Tians gadaeca. misi safuZvl iani redaqtireba, imave komisiis 1934 wl is 30 ianvris sxdomaze ganxorciel da. misi sabol oo varianti, erovnebaTa komi- siis 1934 wl is 6 Tebervl is sxdomam daamtkica. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `proeqti SesworebebiT komisi as mi sa- RebaT mi aCnia varSavis sazogadoebisaTvis. rac Seexeba msgavsi organi- zaciis Seqmnas sxva qveynebsi, komisia saWi rod sTvl is am SemTxvevaSi mi Re- bul i iqnas mxedvel obaSi adgil obrivi pirobebi da am organizaciisaTvis wesdebac amis mixedvit unda SemuSavdes.-

dasaxul i miznis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebis erT- erT safexurad, ruse- Tis Cagrul i erebis mdgomareobis safuZvl i anad Seswavl a da adgil ze mu- SaobisTvis saWi ro pirobebis momzadeba iqna aucil ebl obad miCneul i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT miRebul dadgenil ebaSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebu- l i: `komisi as saWi rod mi aCnia damatebiT gaecnos kavkasiuri muSaobis Si na- arss da mis damokidebul ebas sxva erebTan. amis Semdeg Seudgeba praqtiku- l i gegmis Sedgenas.-⁸ imave saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTve- l os pol itikuri emigraciis el itarul ma nawil ma, kavkasiis konfederaci- is paqtis teqtis proeqtis SemuSaveba Tavis Tavze aiRo. amis damadasture- bl ad, saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis da pol itikur partiaTa del egaciis 1931 wl is 7 martis gaerTianebul i sxdomis saomqo Canawerebi gamodgeba. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom imave sxdomaze IV sakiTxad `kavkasiis konfederaciis paqtis proeqti- ganixil es.

sxdomis monawil eTa (e.gegeWkori, s.fircxal ava, iv.zurabiSvil i, n.Jordania, ak.Cxenkel i) mier gamoTqmul i Seni Svnebi dan irkveva: 1)proeqti Sveicariis federaciis dubl ikats warmoadgenda da konfederaciis prinsips ar pasu-xobda; 2)Riad tovebda amierkavkasiis respubl ikebis ful is sakiTxs; 3)Seni Svnebis avtorTa mtkicebiT, amierkavkasiis konfederaciisaTvis saerTo unda yofil iyo: a)samxedro saqme. mtris Tavdasxmis SemTxvevaSi konfederantebis erTobl ivad moqmedeba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. mSvidobianobis periodSi, respubl ikebis erovnul i l aSqari damoukidebel i sardl ebiT cal - cal ke iqneboda gadaj gufebul i; b)saerTo sabaJo; g)saerTo rkinigza, fosta- tel egrafi; d)saerTo sagareo pol itika. dipl omatiuri korpusis Sema- dgenl oba yvel a eris warmomadgenl iT unda Sevsebul iyo. xol o kavkasiis saxiT erTi saerTo warmomadgenel i yofil iyo am organoSi. anal ogiuri principi unda yofil iyo dacul i erTa l igaSiac; 4)amierkavkasiis centra- l ur organoSi TiToeul i respubl iki dan 25- 25 deputati pirdapiri xmiT iqneboda wardgenil i da respubl ikaTa mTavrobebis warmomadgenl ebis zega- vl eni sagan Tavisufalni; 5)konfederaciis proeqts safuZvl ad oTxTa SeT- anxmeba unda dadeboda. mudmivad arCeul i central uri organoebis eko- nomi kuri urTierTobebi, kavSiris niadagis gaTval iswinebas daefuZneboda; 6)garkveul iyo respubl ikaTa Soris sakomunikacio enis sakiTxi; 7)Tbil is- Si ganTavsebul i konfederaciis mmarTvel obiTi organosadmi farTo funq- ciebis miniWebas, dauSvebel i iyo, radgan igi saqarTvel osTvis iqneboda sazi- ano; 8)kavkasiis konfederaciis Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi, mxedvel obaSi iyo mi sa- Rebi osmal eTis da somxeTis interesTa dapirispirebis faqtori; 9)ramdena- dac konfederacia suverenul respubl ikaTa kavSirs gul isxmobda, proeqt- Si upiratesoba unutarul i saxel mwi fosTvis unda miecaT.

kavkasiis konfederaciis proeqtTan mimarTebaSi gamoTqmul i es Seni Svnebi, diskusiaSi monawil eebis mxridan dasabuTebul i formiT iyo warmodgenil i. maTgan gansxvavebiT, gansakuTrebul i radikal izmiT ias.gobeCi a gamoir- Ceoda. misi azrit, `kavkasiis komitetisa- da `samTa sabWos,- arsebobis fo- nze, kavkasiis axal i organos Seqmna dauSvebel i iyo, mi Tumetes, rogorc Tvi- Ton ambobda `konfederacia dRes arsad ar aris, is odesRac iyo da moispo. exl a Tqven gi ndaT igi SeqmnaT, magram vfiqrob es SeuZl ebel ia da saqarTvel os intereseb sar egueba.- am SemTxvevaSi ias.gobeCi a warsul is gamocdil e- bas da saqarTvel os mezobel i erebis mxridan, qarTvel Ta teritoriis CamoW- ra- misakuTrebis dauokebel survil siTval iswinebda.

aRni Snul i sakiTxi kidev ufro gamokveTil i formiTaa dasmul i al .asaTi- anis mier imave komisi sadmi mogvi anebiT wardgenil moxsenebaSi. masSi kri- tikiis qarcecxl Si a gatarebul i `kavkasiuri komitetis- da `samTa sabWos- mier kavkasiis gaerTianebasTan mimarTebaSi gaweul i muSaobis dabal i done_ kavkasiaSi da emigraciaSi. al .asaTianis safuZvl iani mtkicebiT, `momaval i kavkasiuri erTobis umTavresi safuZvel i unda iyos kavkasiel erTa Soris arsebul i interesTa sol idarobis Segneba. samwuxarod, es principi ar ar- is gatarebul i kavkasiuri organos muSaobaSi da xSirad aqvs adgil i gan- sakuTrebul ad saqarTvel os mimarT udierad moqcevas da aramc Tu Zvel i davebis mogonebas, aramed axal i sado saqmeebis aRZvrasac (saqarTvel os teritoriis Tavis rukebze gadatanas da sxva).- es tendencia, imave sxdomis monawil eTaTvisac dResavit naTel i iyo. magram, Seqmnil i pol itikuri situ-

acia da erovnul i Tavisufl ebis xorcSesxmis idea, kavkasiis erTa konesusze dafuznebul i saerTo moqmedebis gegmis SemuSavebis garda sxval ternativas ar tovebda. miuxedavad amisa, warmodgenil i proeqtis im saxiT miReba, sxdomis monawil eebma mi zanSeuwonl ad mi iCnies. amasTan dakavSirebiT miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `warmodgenil i proeqti gadaecis komisiis sxdomaze gamoTqmul i azrebis mxedvel obaSi miRebiT. konfederaciis ZiriTadi debul eebis SesamuSavebl ad da krebisTvis warmosadgenad. komisiaSi arCeul ni arian: e.gegeWkori, k.kandelaki, ak.Cxenkel i. g.gvazava da iv.zurabiSvil i.⁹ dokumenturi masaliT irkveva, rom am komisiis seriozul i samuSao Caatara da kavkasiis konfederaciis paqtis teqtis sabol oo varianti moamzada. igi azerbaij anisa da Crdil o kavkasiis erovnul i centrebistvisac misaRebi aRmoCnda. miuxedavad amisa, Semdgom etapze imave dokumentSi garkveul i cvl il eebi iqna Setanili.

kavkasiis erebis gamaerTianebel moZraobaSi dasabWoTa ruseTis winaaRmdeg RonisZieebis SemuSavebaSi monawil eobis miRebaze, kavkasiis meoTxe respublikis somxetis warmomadgenel ebma uari ganaxada. am qmedebiT isini faqtobrivad konfederaciis ideas daupirispirdnen. TavianTi poziciis qmedebis `gasamarTlebel ~ argumentad, kavkasiis konfederacia, panTurani zmis dapaniami zmis gaZl ierebis xel Semwyobad gamoacxades. somexTa es Sexedul eba, a.TobCibaSevma propagandistul xrikad, xol o maTi praqtikul qmedeba, kavkasiel xal xTa damouki debul obisaTvis brZolis dasasustebl ad gadadgmul nabij ad mi iCnia.¹⁰

ertiani kavkasiuri ideisadmi somexTa negaturi damokidebul ebis miuxedavad, qarTul i emigraciul i pol itikuri el ita dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad dros ar kargavda da muxl Cauxrel ad muSaobda. amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuznebul i krebis prezidumis wevTa da damouki debul i kavSiris del egaciis 1934 wl is 28 april is gaerTianebul i sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. dokumentidan irkveva, rom mexuTe sakiTxad sxdomam kavkasiis saqmeebi gani xil a. komisiis mier Sedgenil i muSaobis gegmis Sesaxeb moxseneba s.mdivanma gaakeTa. miRebul dadgenil ebaSi xazgasmiT iqna miTitebul i: 1) samive respublikis warmomadgenel Ta konferenciis mowvevis aucil ebl oba; 2) kavkasiis paqtis, rogorc kavkasiis respublikis ideur- organizaciul i mTlianobis bazis_ saCqarod miereba da gamoeqveyneba; 3) iseti organos Seqmna, romelic xel s Seuwyobda kavkasiis revol uciuri da dipl omatiuri saqmanobis gaerTianebas, ar moaxdenda cal keul i respublikisa da saerTo kavkasiis interesebis dapirispirebas. xel s Seuwyobda revol uciur da dipl omatiur saqmanobaSi kavkasiis xal xebis TanamSroml obas; 4) kavkasiis sazRvrebTan Seqmni da kavkasiis centris vil aieTs; 5) saprogramo da beWdviT gamocemebSi cal keul i seqciebis koordinacias moaxdenda; 6) kavkasiis erebTan urTierTobis gasaRrmavebl ad da nacional ur seqciaTa Soris mWidro kavSiris dasamyarebl ad, sistematurad mawyobda l eqciebs, gamosvl ebs da saubrebs.

imave dokumentis mixedv iT, erovnebaTa kolegia val debul i iyo: 1) dasaxul i gegmit gaTval iswinebul i sakiTxebis praqtikul ad ganxorciel ebis Sesaxeb informacia erovnul i centris sxdomebze gaeketebina; 2) ezruna kavkasiis erebis SesaTanxmebel i safexuris Sesaqmnel ad. dokumentSi warmodgenil i debul eebis dasabuTebul i formiT kavkasiis erebisadmi misawodebl ad;

3)saagi tacio- propagandistul i saSual ebebiT gamoyenebiT erovnul i kol egi- is winaSe dasmul i sakiTxebis popul arizacia moexdina. kavkasiis sabWos muSaobis Sesaxeb sakiTxi, saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobisa da partiaTa warmomadgenl obis gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1935 wl is 7 dekemberi) sagangebod iqna ganxil ul i. sxdomis masal ebidan irkveva, rom sabWom Sesabamisi dadgenil eba miRo konfederaciis rusul enovani organos `znamia kavkazas- gamosacemad. Jurnal `prometes- redaqqiis Semadgenl obaSi ukrainisa da Turqestanis warmomadgenel Ta Seyvanis mizanSewonil ebis sakiTxis dasmam, mwvave diskusia gamoiwvia. Seqmnil i daZabul i situaciidan gamomdinare, sxdomam Jurnal i `prometes- Sesaxeb konkretul i gadawyvetil eba ver miRo da dadgenil ebaSi kompromisul i Sexedul eba gaatara. `miendos sabWos gamonaxos saerTo ena ukrainisa da Turqestanis warmomadgenl ebTan da SeTanxmebiT moagvaros am organos xel mZRvanel obis sakiTxi.~ im periodis saarqivo masal is monacemebiT iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom sabWoTa imperiis Cagrul i erebis emigraciaTa Soris urTierTobis dasaregul irebl ad, Suamavl is funqcia mxol od qarTul mxares ekisreboda. im etapze Seqmnil i politikuri situacia, Tavisufl ebaze mofiqral i erebis emigraciis l iderebisgan kompromisul i gadawyvetil ebis miRebas da Zal - Ta konsolidaciis SenarCunebas moiTxovda. es el ementarul i politikuri Segneba, qarTvel Ta mezobl ebs samwuxarodar aRmoacnda. qarTvel ebTan mi mar TebaSi maTi yovel i qmedeba, rogorc zemoTac mqonda arni Snul i, `politikur gamozal vaze- da misakuTrebis tendenciaze iyo dafuznebul i. sabednierod, qarTul i emigraciis l iderebs, qarTvel Ta mezobel i erebi da misi emigraciis l iderebi, politikur niuansebsi hyavdaT Seswavl il i. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i emigracia izul ebul i iyo `mtacebl uri cnobierebiT- Sepyrobil mezobl ebTan garkveul i doziT saerTo ena gamoeZebna da konsesusze dafuznebul i erTobl ivi moqmedebis gegmis Sedgenaze ezruna. amis aucil ebl obas, mi mdinare politikuri procesebis dros, xel sayrel i situaciis Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi, mis gamosayenebl ad mzadyofnis saWiroeba ganapirobebda. am SemTxvevaSi, gansakuTrebul politikur datvirTvas, amerkavkasiis erebis erTobl ivi moqmedeba izenda. es faqtori, qarTul i politikuri elitis mesveurT maRal doneze hqondaT gacnobierebul i. amitom iyo, rom kavkasiis erebis gaerTianebis Sesaxeb Seqmnil i proeqtebis avtorebi da mxardamWerebi, ZiriTadad qarTvel ebi iyvnen. maTgan momdinareobda kavkasiis erebis erTianobis sakiTXTan mi mar TebaSi SemuSavebul i mTel i rigi winadadebebi. am principi T ganixil avdnen kavkasiis konfederaciis zemoar ni Snul paqtis proeqtsac. amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuznebel i krebis del egaciis 1934 wl is 13_20 ianvris gaerTianebul i sxdomebis masal ebi warmoadgens. komisiis saxel iT imave sxdomaze moxseneba k.kandel akma gaakeTa. kavkasiis konfederaciis paqtis teqstis garSemo gamarTul i diskusiis Sedegad, dokumentSi garkveul i cvl il ebebi erTxel kidev iqna Setanil i. imave sxdomam misi amis Semdeg ganaxorciel a `paqtis- proeqtis teqstis damtkicebis procedura. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `paqtis proeqtis teqstis sabol oo redaqqia ecnoba sami piri sagan Semdgar komisiis- ak.Cxenkel is, g.gvazavas da s.mdivanis Semadgenl obi T.~

es dokumenti preambul is da eqvsi muxl isgan Sedgeba. preambul aSi garkvevi-Taa mocemul i amierkavkasiis konfederaciis aucil ebl obis (pol itikuri, geografiul i, ekonomikuri faqtorebis gaTval iswi nebi T) ganmapirobebel i mizezebi. misi mosal odnel i dadebiTi Sedegebi, romel ic am erebis damouki debl obis mi RwevasTan da yovel mxriv ganvi TarebasTan iqneboda dakavSi rebul i. am fonze, zogadi formul irebebiTiyo Camoyal ibebl i amierkavkasiis erebis axal i saxel mwifoebri vi gaerTiane bis mowyobis, masSi Semaval i erebis ufl ebebi sa da urTier Tobebis Ziri Tadi princi pebi. 1.kavkasiis konfederacia- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- uzrunvel yofs ra Signi T erovnul i xasiaTs da suvereni tets TiToeul i respubl ikis as, imoqmedebs sagareoT yve l a respubl ikebis saxel iT, rogorc saerTaSoriso erTeul i umaRI esi wyobisa. konfederacias eqneba saerTo sazRvari pol itikuri da sabaJo; 2.konfederaciaSi Semaval i respubl ikebis sagareo pol itikas uxel mZRvanel ebs saerTo organoebi konfederaciisa; 3.konfederaciis sazRvarTa dacva mi endoba konfederaciis armias, Semdgars konfederaciaSi Semaval armi ebi sgan erTi mTavarsardl obi T, romel ic eqvemdebareba konfederaciis xel mZRvanel organoebis; 4.yovel i dava, rac SeiZl eba atydes konfederaciaSi Semaval respubl ikaTa Soris da roml is mogvareba pirdapiri mol aparakebis saSual ebi T SeuZl ebel i aRmoCndeba, unda gadaeces saval debul o arbitraJs, an konfederaciis uzenaes samsj avros. konfederaciaSi Sesul i respubl ikebi kisrul oben val debul ebas ucvl el ad mi iRon da aRasrul on maTi yovel i dadgenil ebani; 5.eqspertTa komisia SeimuSavebs uaxl oes droSi kavkasiis konfederaciis konstituciis proeqts zemoT Camoyal ibebl i princi pebis saxesi miRebi T. es proeqti gaxdeba bazaT TiToeul i respubl ikis pirlvel i damfuZnebel i krebis muSaobisaTvis; 6.am paqtSi datovebul ia adgil i somexTa respubl ikisaTvis.-

1934 wl is 14 ivl iss, am dokumentis sami respubl ikis warmomadgenl ebma moaweres xel i: azerbaijanis erovnul i sabWos yofil ma Tavmj domarem da azerbaijanis erovnul i centris Tavmj domarem emin rasul zadem, azerbaijanis respubl ikis del egaciis Tavmj domarem da mTavrobis yofil ma Tavmj domarem al i mardan TobCibaSma. Crdil o kavkasiis saxel iT giri sunSim, ibrahim Cul ikma da tausul Tan Sakmanma. saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobis yofil ma Tavmj domarem da saqarvel os erovnul i centris Tavmj domarem noe Jordani am, saqarTvel os srul ufl ebianma yofil ma el Cma safrangeT-Si ak.Cxenkel ma.¹¹

marTalia, `paqtis- meeqvse muxl i, `kavkasiis konfederaciis sabWoSi- somxebisTvis gaTval iswi nebul i adgil is Senaxvas da warmomadgenel is gagzavnisTvis l odins 1937 wl is bol omde iTval iswi nebdam, magram, am sakiTxTan dakavSi rebi T k.gvarjal aZis, r.gabaSvil isa da ak.Cxenkel is somxuri emigraciis warmomadgenl ebTan mol aparakebebi uSedegod damTavrda. saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis da partiaTa kol egiis 1937 wl is 20 martis sxdomam, es sakiTxi sagangebod ganixil a da Sesabamisi dadgenil ebac mi iRo. dokumentidan irkveva, rom centris wevrebis mier somxebisadmi oficial urad dasmul i SekiTxva: daTanxmdebodnen Tu ara konfederaciaSi Sesvl aze, upasuxod darCa. `konfederaciis sabWosadmi- aseTi indiferentul i damokidebul eba somxebma bol omde SeinarCunes.

rac Seexeba kavkasiis konfederaciis paqts, igi zogadi xasiaTis debul e-
 bebs Sei cavda. ZiriTadad iseT mi marTul ebaze akeTebda orientacias, romel ic
 konsesuze dafuZnebul i erTiani samoqmedo konkretul i gegmis SemuSavebas
 daedeboda safuZvl ad. am princi piT moqmedebda amierkavkasiis erebis kon-
 ferenciis momwvevi j gufi. konferenciam muSaoba 1935 wl is 14 ianvars dai-
 wyo. sul 4 sxdoma (14, 15, 16 ianvari da 23 Teberval i) Catar da. am erTobl iv
 forumSi aqturad monawil eobdnen: azerbaij anidan: m.e.rasul zade, m.i.mextievi,
 m.mageramovi, a.b.atam- al ibekovi, a.m.TobCibaSi; Crdil o kavkasiidan: m.g.sunSi,
 i.Cul iki, t.s.Saxmani, xuraSi; saqarTvel odan: n.Jordania, ak.Cxenkel i, egegeWkori,
 g.gvazava, s.mdivani, sam.fircxalava, al .asaTiani, sar.menaRariSvil i.

kavkasiis damouki debl obis komitetis saxel iT konferencia s.mdivanma gaxsna.
 konferenciis Tavmj domared arCeul iqnen: m.e.rasul - zade (azerbaij ani),
 m.g.sunSi (Crdil o kavkasia) da n.Jordania (saqarTvel o). mdi vnebad: a.b.atam-
 al ibekovi (azerbaij ani), i.Cul iki (Crdil o kavkasia) da sar.menaRariSvil i
 (saqarTvel o). imave konferenciis mier, kavkasiis konfederaciis sabWos Se-
 madgenl oba sami respublikis Semdegi warmomadgenl ebiTi qna damtkicebu-
 l i: m.e.rasul - zade, m.i.mextievi, m.b.vekil i, m.mageramovi (azerbaij ani); m.g.sunSi,
 t.s.Saxmani, i.Cul iki, xuraSi (Crdil o kavkasia); n.Jordania, ak.Cxenkel i, s.mdivani,
 al .asaTiani (saqarTvel o).

sabWos ZiriTad amocanas, amierkavkasiis xal xTa erovnul - ganmaTavisu-
 fl ebel i moZraobis xel mZRvanel oba da dakargul i saxel mwifoebriobis
 aRsadgenad Zal Ta konsol idaciis koordinacia warmoadgenda. aqedan gamo-
 mdi nare, ufl eba eni Weboda kavkasiis xel mZRvanel i organosa da amierkavkasiis
 respublikaTa saxel iT emoqmeda, mieRo Sesabamisi gadawyvetil ebebi. imave
 konferenciis 4 punqtian dadgenol ebaSi konkretul ad iyo gaweril i sab-
 Wos mi zani da amocanebi. am dokumentis mixedviT, sabWoTavis Tavze iRebda:
 a)rusul i saokupacio xel isufl ebis wi naaRmdeg brZol isTvis amierkavkasiis
 xal xebis momzadebas; b)ssrk- is Semadgenl obaSi myofi damonebul i xal x-
 ebis Sesabamis organizaciebTan kavSiris damyarebas. dasaxul i amocanis
 Sesrul ebas sakuTar Zal ebze dayrdnobiT fiqrobda. imavdroul ad, iseTi
 pol itikuri kursis SemuSavebas cdil obda, romel ic kavkasiis xal xebis
 interesebze iqneboda dafuZebul i.¹²

es idea, garkveul i formiT imave konferenciaz e `kavkasiis sakiTxi da
 ruseTi-- Sesaxeb miRebul TezisebSi a Cadebul i. es 10 muxl iani dokumenti
 pirobiTad 4 nawil ad SeiZl eba daiyos: 1) sabWoTa ruseTis Sida saxel mwif-
 oebrivi pol itikuri kursisadmi adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis mtrul i
 ganwyobis warmocena; 2) msofl io zesaxel mwifod gadaqcevisatvis sabWo-
 Ta imperiis miswrafeba, romel ic mefis ruseTs didmpyrobel ur pol i-
 tikur kurss axal ideol ogiur formebSi asaxierebda. 3) ruseTs samxedro
 saxel mwifod Camoyal ibebisTvis, qveyanaSi mil itarizmi sa da imperial -
 izmis ideol ogiis gabatonebis mmdinare procesebi; 4) sabWota ruseTis-
 gan Cagrul i xal xebis erovnul i saxel mwifos aRsadgenad da Tavisu-
 fl ebis mosapovebl ad miswrafeba. es bol o debul eba, imave TezisebSi Se-
 mdegi formiTaa dasabuTebul i: `9. erovnul i moZaoba arsebiTad aris xal xu-
 ri moZraoba da misi gamarj vebani Snavs xal xis suvereni tetis gamarj vebas.
 erovnul i idea,... aris matarebel i progresis, demokratiis, saerTaSoriso
 sol idarobis da sayovel Tao Tavisufl ebis. sabWoTa kavSiriSi mxol od is

aris yvel a ukmayofil o el ementebis damrazmvel i Zal a da saZi rkvel i, raze-
dac unda aRmocendes xel axal i ruka agebul i erisa da xal xis nebi syofis
safuZvel ze. 10. damonebul xal xTa erovnul i moZraoba... araviTar saSiS-
roebas ar uqmnis... ruisis xal xis interesebs. ruisis da ararusi xal xebis
interesebi erTnairad moiTxoven sabWoTa weswyobil ebis damxobas da mis
nangrevebze saerTaSoriso xasiaTis axal urTierTobaTa damyarebas. erovnu-
l i damoukidebel i respubl ikebis warmoSobas, am respubl ikebi xal xis
xel isufli ebis damyarebas da maT Soris keTil mezobl uri damokidebul eb-
is Camogdebas.^{~13}

aRniSnul i princi pebi daedo safuZvl ad kavkasiis konfederaciis sabWos
Seqmnas. dasaxul i amocanebi da Sesasrul ebel i val debul ebebi, pragmatu-
l i saxis RonisZiebebis gatarebas saWi roebda da udid es finansebs moiTx-
ovda. imave konferenciis dadgenil ebebSi arsad ar figurirebs: a) finansuri
saxsrebi moZidvis meqanizms SemuSavebis mcdel oba; b) arc imis Sesaxebaa
miniSnebul i, amierkavkasiis konfederaciis mmarTvel obiTi organoebis (1.kon-
federaciis sabWo; 2.mudmi vmoqmedi samdivno; 3.sakonfederacio sasamarT-
l o) wevrebi da finansebi Ti qnebodnen uzrunvel yofil i Tu, maTi saqmi anoba
enTuziazms daefuZneboda. am SemTxvevaSi gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba Sesas-
rul ebel i samusaos xarisxs eZl eoda. uTierTsawinaaRmdego Sexedul ebeb-
is konferenciis dadgenil ebebTan TanxvedraSi momyvani s pasuxismgebl obis
sakiTxi gaurkvevel i rCeboda. kavkasiis konfederaciis axl adarCeul orga-
noSi yvel aferi wesrigSi rom ar iyo, amas saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavro-
bis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiums da partiata warmomadgenl ebis gaer-
Tianebul i sxdomis (1935 wl is 29 ivnisi) stenografiul angariSi motani-
l i masal ebi adasturebs. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom sxdomis Tavmj dom-
reis_ n.Jordani as, iv.WavWani Zem SekiTxva dausva- `konfederaciis sabWosa-
da `ofisis sabWos- saqmi anobis Sesaxeb. `sakmao xani gavi da mas Semdeg, rac
kavkasiis sabWo iqna arCeul i. sainteresoavi codeT_ ganacxada iv.WavWani Zem_
ra nabij ebi gadadga am sabWom da raSi gamoi xata misi saqmi anoba.~ sakiTxis
aseTi formiT dasma savsebiT gamarTl ebul i iyo, radgan `konfederaciis
sabWos- arCevi dan 4 Tve iyo gasul i da bunebrivia, misi saqmi anobis Sesaxeb
informacia garkveul interesti wvevda. imave dokumentis mi xedvi T, n.Jordani as
pasuxidan irkveva, rom sabWos srul yofil ad Camoyal ibeba Seafterxa mTis
respubl ikis mier warmomadgenl is droul ad argagzavnam. misive Tqmi T, 4
Tvis ganmavl obaSi sabWom mxol od erTi sxdoma Caatara, romelic gan-
sakuTrebul i dapirispirebis fonze warimarTa. diskusia dipl omatiuri
komisiis ufl ebamosi ebis sakiTxebze verSeTanxmebam ganapiroba. azerbaij an-
el Ta da mTis respubl ikis warmomadgenel Ta azriT, komisiis ufl ebebSi
notebis Sedgenis paral el urad, dipl omatiuri nabij ebis damoukidebl ad
gadadgma da am notebis daniSnul ebisamebr gadacemis ufl ebebic unda Se-
sul iyo. aseTi moqmedeba, azerbaij anisa da mTis musl iman warmomadgen-
l obas xel saZl evda, radgan dipl omatiur komisiaSi xmebis umravl eso-
ba gaaCndaT da didi al baToba iqneboda, rom nebi smieri dokumentis
Seqmnas, mxol od TavianTi qveynebis speci fiuroba daedeboda safuZvl ad.
mezobel Ta es `politikuri eSmakoba,~ qarTul i emigraciis el itarul i
speqtris mesveurT mxedvel obis miRma ar darCenia da kategoriul i formiT
moiTxova: nebi smieri dokumenti `konfederaciis sabWos- prezidiums ga-

nxil vis sagani gamxdariyo, xol o dani Snul ebi samebr misi gadacema, kavkasi-
is konfederaciis sabWos saxel iT ganxorciel ebul iyo. `Cvenis azriT-
ambobda n.Jordania- komisiis mier Sedgenil i notebi Tu sxva ganzraxu-
l i nabij ebi, winaswar unda ecnobos mosawonebl ad da dasamtkicebl ad
sabWos prezidioms, rogorc notebis gadacema, ise sxva nabij ebis gada-
dgma unda xdebodes konfederaciis sabWos saxel iT. swarmoebis mol a-
parakeba am uTanxmoebis amosawuravad da mis Sedegs Tavis droze vac-
nobeb erovnul centr.-

qarTul i mxaris es pozicia, sakiTxisadmi saxel mwifoebrivad midgo-
mas Seicavda da samarTI ebriv CarCoSi srul ad j deboda. miTumetes,
amierkavkasiis warmomadgenel Ta konferenciisgan arCeul i konfederaciis
sabWo da misi prezidumi, mmarTvel obis umaRI es organod iyo gamocx-
adebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, nebi smier probl emasTan mimarTebaSi mi Re-
bul i gadawyvetil ebebis warmatebi T Tu warumatebl ad ganxorciel ebis
Sedegebze, pasuxismgebl oba ara sabWos qvemdebare komisi ebs, aramed, kon-
federaciis sabWos da mis prezidioms ekisreboda.

yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebi danL gamomdinare, dabej iTebi T
SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom azerbaij anisa da mTis respubl ikis warmomadgenel Ta
moTxovnebi, samomavl od qarTvel Ta interesebis sawinaaRmdegod gadas-
adgmel Sefarvit nabij ebze iyo gaTvl il i. aqedan gamomdinare, `kavkasi-
uri erTobis- ideisadmi srul ad dayrdnoba da Tval daxuWul i svl a,
pol itikur umecrebas, qarTul i erovnul i saxel mwifos samomavl o dRis
ufskrul Si gadaCexas warmoadgenda. sabednierod, qarTul pol itikur
emigracias im etapze j er kidev iseTi moRvaweni hyavda SemorCenil i,
roml ebic nebi smieri pol itikuri eSmakobis amoxsnas SeZl ebda da mezo-
bel i respubl ikebis Sefarviti antiqarTul i ideebi T `gapoxierebul
pol itikur dakrul ze- ar acundrukdeboda. imavdroul ad, mowi naaRmde-
ges dasabuTebul i formiT Rirseul pasuxs gascemda.

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi da misi anal izi, imaze migvani Snebs, rom azer-
baj anel ebi da mTiel ebi, somexTa msgavsad, erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwif-
fos Sesaqmnel ad ar gamodgebodnen. warsul i istoriis gamocdil eba adas-
turebs, rom sxvisi sakuTrebis gaTavisebis da mi tacebis kodi, am erebSi ma-
Ral doneze moqmedebda. es fsiqol ogiuri da genetikuri faqtorebi, sabWo-
Ta ruseTis imperiis mesveurT maRal doneze hqondaT Seswavl il i. aqedan
gamomdinare savsebit swor gancxadebas akeTebdnen: `amierkavkasiis erTa
saxel mwifoebrivi dacema, urTierTdapirispirebis Sedegad warmoqmnil ma
dasustebam ganapiroba, rom isini momaval Siac ver gamoiCendnen erTmaneTis
mimarT Tanadgomas.- amierkavkasiis erTa Soris dapirispirebis am formis
gasarRmavebl ad, sabWota xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwyebebi maRal doneze
muSaobdnen. es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi ak.Cxenkel s, 1931 wel s dawer-
il sagazeTo weril Si_ `kavkasiis sadaraj oze- xazgasmi T rom mi uTi Tebda:
`imdeni RvarZl i da undobl obaa daTesil i kavkasiis erTa Soris rogorc
wineT, ise gasabWoebis Semdeg, rom Cveni didi energia dagvWirdeba momaval Si,
am naTesda damRupvel i nayofi ar gamoiRos.- am mosal odnel i safrTxis da
amierkavkasiis konfederaciis sabWos komisi ebsi arsebul i winaaRmdego-
brivi gamovl inebebis daregul irebas, kavkasiis xal xTa Soris anti sabWouri
ganwyobis gaRrmavebas, kavkasiis xal xTa erTianobis ideis propagandas emsa-

xureboda kavkasiis konfederaciis sabWos saxel iT gamoqveynebul i mowodeba_`kavkasiis yvel a xal xebs.-

am dokumentis mniSvneoba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom igi kavkasiis erebis pasuxismgebel i pirebis garegnul i erTianobis paTosiTaa datvirTul i. amiT isini kavkasiis xal xebs erTxel kidev mianiSnebdnen, rom pol itikuri emigraciis rigebsi erTianoba sufevda da maTi l iderebi, am principze dafuznebul i programiT moqmedebdanen aqedan gamomdinare, igive dokumenti kavkasiis xal xebs Seaxsenebda: 1)kavkasiis konfederaciis sabWos amocanas, patriotul i Zal ebis gaerTianeba, sabWoTa imperiisadmi dapirispireba da dakargul i Tavisufl ebis aRdgena warmoadgen- da; 2)dasaxul i gegmis warmatebiT ganxorciel eba, kavkasiis konfederaciis ideisadmi mxardaWeriT da kavkasiis erebis saerTo brZol iT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i; 3)mimdinare daZabul i pol itikuri procesebis gaTval iswineba, kavkasiis erebis ideur- pol itikuri gaerTianebis aucil ebl obas da xe- l sayrel i situaciis Seqmnis gamoyenebisatvis mzadyofnas moiTxovda. `Cveni amocana- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- metad rTul ia,... ar unda dave- ceT sul iT, ar unda avyveT provokacias, mTel i Cveni SesaZl ebl obiT unda vimuSaoT Cveni erovnul i Zal ebis mosawyobad, Cveni revol uciuri energiis erT muStad dasagrovebl ad, romel ic mzad iqneba saWi ro dros dahkras mtris fronts sust adgil ebSi.-¹⁴

es dokumenti, mkiTxvel Si amierkavkasiis erebis SeTanxmebul i moqmedebis STabeWdil ebas tovebda. sinamdvil eSi, Si da urTierTobebis procesebi daZabu- l ad mi mdinareobda. Sesabami si saarqivo dokumentebiT irkveva, rom sabWoTa imperiis uRI is mocil ebamde da damoukidebl obis mopovebamde, amierkavkasiis respublikebis zogierTi warmomadgenl ebi, antiqarTul propagandistul saqmi anobas daufaravd eweoda. am samarcxvino saqmeSi, qarTvel i moRvawen- ic hyavdaT CarTul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os samxreT- dasavl e- Tis teritoriebis, maT Soris baTumis kuTvnil ebis sakiTxis isev win wamow- eva da ucxo qveynebis sasargebl od, Sesabamisi mtkicebul ebebis Seqmnis mcdel oba. am SemTxvevaSi, amierkavkasiis emigraciis pol itikosebis erTi j gufi, `pol itikuri mumi is- funqciis rol Si evl ineboda qarTul samTavro- bo pol itikur el itas. im etapze, saqarTvel os teritoriul i sazRvrebis sakiTxi imdenad mwvave xasiaTs atarebda, rom igi saqarTvel os erovnu- l i mTavrobis, damfuznebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebis da partiata kol egiis 1937 wl is 13 noembris gaerTianebul i sxdomis sagangebo ganx- il vis sagani gaxda. stenografiul i Canawerebidan irkveva, rom aRniS- nul sakiTxze moxseneba n.Jordani am gaakeTa. man xazgasmiT miuTiTa im mosal odnel safrTxeze, romel ic saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan dakavSire- biT warmoiSva da roml is Sesaxebac, evropasi ingl isur, frangul , rusul da Turqul enebze gamomaval Jurnal `kavkasiaSi- antiqarTul i saagit- acio- propagandistul i xasiaTis publ ikaciebi ibeWdeboda. am fonze, n.Jordani am ZiriTadad ori mimarTul eba gamoyo: 1)mTiel Ta yofil i sa- gareo saqmeTa ministris haidar bamatis j gufi. misi wevrebi Turqul i orientaciis gamtarebl ebi iyvnen. maTive iniciativiT ganxorciel da na- cional isturi organizacia `kavkasiis- Seqmna (1934_ 1939 ww). masSi azer- baij anel ebTan, l ekebTan, CerqezebTan da sxvebTan erTad, sxvadasxva dros qarTvel ebic (S.amirej ibi, z.aval i Svil i, v.axmetel i, d.saRiraSvil i,

g.kvini taZe, m.kedia...) iyvnen gaerTianebul ni. organizaciã didi dafin-
anseba iaponi idan miRo. igi qarTul enaze gamoscemda antiqarTul i mi-
mdi nareobis Jurnal `kavkasiã.~ zemoT CamoTvl il i qarTvel ebis es qmedeba,
qarTul i emigraciis erovnul sawyisebze mdgomi da mousyidvel i pirovnebe-
bis samarTlian gul iswyrõmas iwvevda.¹⁵ 2)italiel ebis dafinansebiT Se-
qmnil i `somex- qarTvel Ta uniõni- ZiriTadad ruseTze iyo orientire-
bul i da Tavisi samomavl õ gegmis ganxorciel ebis imedebis masze amya-
rebda.

am or mi mdi nareobaTa anal izis fonze, n.Jordania sxdõmis monawil eebis mi-
marTavda: `amrigad, irkveva ori xazi: erTia bamatis, romel ic osmal eTisken
gvewiweba da saqarTvel os samxreT teritoriebs mas uTmobs, xol õ meorea
`uniõni,~ romel ic qadagebs osmal eTis mTavar mtrad gamocxadebas, mi sgan
teritoriebis amogebas da mermed damouki debl obaze zrõvas. ai am or pol-
itikaSia gaCxeril i qarTvel ebi, rac aris yvel aze metad damafiqrebel i
da samwuxarõ. gared myof j gufebTan mosal aparakebl ad saWiroa centrma..
airCios 2- 3 kaci... rom am tal Ris winaaRmdeg erTad davirazmoT.¹⁶

ramdenadac am ori mi mdi nareobi dan qarTvel ebisTvis misaRebi arcer-
Ti ar iyo, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis warmomadgenl ebs n.Jordania
gamosaval i gzebis Ziebas sTavazõbda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul interess,
imave sxdõmisadmi mis mier wardgenil i Tezisebi iqcevs. masSi uary-
ofiTadaa Sefasebul i: 1) bamatisa da misi momxre qarTvel ebis mxridan
yarsis xel Sekrul ebis aRiarebis safuZvel ze, samxreT- dasavl eTi
saqarTvel os teritoriebis (arTvini, ol Tisis, ardaganis okrugebis)
TurqeTisadmi dakanõnebis mxardaWera; 2) baTumis sakiTxis i sev sadaõd
gamocxadeba da misi kuTvnil ebis Sesaxeb axal i saerTaSoriso `kombi-
naciebi s- Seqmniis moTxõvniis mcdel oba; 3) `somex- qarTvel Ta uniõni s- pol-
itikuri xazis_ Crdil õ kavkasiis musl imanebisgan gaTiSvis, osmal eTTan
dapi rispi rebis da kavkasiãze sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebis gavlenis
SenarCunebis mi zanSewõnil eba.

Tu ramdenad saxifaTo da miuRebel i iyo qarTul i emigraciisaTvis
h.bamatisa da `uniõni s- pol itikuri kursi, es kargad Cans imave n.Jordaniã
zemoaRni Snul i Tezisebi dan. `vinai dan pirvel mi mdi nareobas- vkiTxul obT
dokumentSi- mi vyevarT samxreTisken, xol õ meores Crdil õeTisken, ami tom
erovnul i centri mimarTavs yvel a pol itikurad moazrovne emigraciã s
Semõ-
krben erTi partiul i da mebrZõl i droSis qveS, savsebiT gaemij non, rogorc
`kavkazi s- ise `uniõni s- banaks, dadgñen uryevad kavkasiis mTlianõbis da
Tavisufl ebis niadagze. xol õ sazRvrebis Sesaxeb SigniT Tu gareT sadaõ
sakiTxebi gadadebul i iqnas mTavari amõcanis gadawyvetis Semdeg... mTel i
muSaõba mi marTul i iqnas mxõl õd erTi mxriT, ruseTis batõnõbis amõgde-
bisken kavkasiãze. ai batõnebo is Tezisebi, roml is niadagze unda moxdes
qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis ideuri gaerTianeba.~

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amõnaweri, garkveul i formiT saprogra-
mo debul ebebsac Seicavs. imavdroul ad, misi avtoris pol itikuri mr-
wamsis, saqarTvel os da qarTvel i eris mtkivneul sakiTxebTan mi marTe-
baSi mtkice da Seuval i poziciis demonstrirebasac warmoadgens. am
qmedebi T, n.Jordaniã da mi sma samTavrobo garõmocvam, qarTul i emigraciis
sxvadasxva mi mdi nareõbebs erTxel ki dev aCvena: a) isini qarTvel Ta dauZine-

bel i mtrebisgan mousyidvel ni; b) qarTul i saqmiasadmi bol omde erT-
gul ni darCnen da emigraciis Rirseul i winamZRol ebi iyvnen. es aris
dokumenturad dasabuTebul i real oba da misi aRiareba, saarqivo masal ebi-
sadmi pativiscemiT gamsWval ul i istorikosis val debul ebaa.

samwuxaro is aris, rom h.bamatis j gufis antiqarTul i ideebis propa-
gandas, zogierT qarTvel emigrantTan erTad zurab aval iSvil ic rom
miemxro. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mis mier rusul enovan Jurnal `kavkazSi-
saqarTvel os teritoriul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi gamoqveynebul i pub-
likacia. amis Sesaxeb imave sxdomaze n.Jordaniam xazgasmiT miuTita:
`erTma cnobil maj gufma aval iSvil is saxiT rusul `kavkazSi- ganacxa-
da, rom saqarTvel os samxreTis sazRvari... ise unda darCes, rogorc es
ruseTma gadawyvi tao. amas isic daumata, rom artaan- arTvinis rai onebSi
qarTul adac ar l aparakobeno da is arqeol ogiis sagnad gamoacxada.
yvel aferi es iwereba ucxo enaze. es pirdapir dauSvebel i ambavia.
dakveTil ia sinamdvil is dasamaxinj ebl ad rom daamtikon, es terito-
rie bi ar aris saqarTvel osio.~¹⁷

Cems mier motani l i es faqtebi, qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo nawil -
istvis gansakuTrebiT mtkivneul i iyo. Tundac im Tval sazrisiT, rom
saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi wamoWril yvel a mniSvnel ovan sakiTxze,
igi samarTI ebrivad iyo pasuxismgebel i momaval i Taobebisa da istori-
is winaSe. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki qarTul i samTavrobo pol itikuri el ita,
h.bamatisa da misi j gufis winaaRmdeg Sesabamis adeqvatur RonisZiebebs
ar gaatarebda, gamoricxul i ar iyo, rom farTo sazogadoebaSi h.bamatisgan
mosyidvis Wori agorebul iyo. miTumetes, rogorc s.mdivani ambobda, h.bamatis
siZi iere maRal i donis damfinansebl is (parizSi iaponiis samxedro
ataSe- maiori iamacu ciciaCi) povnaSi mdgomareobda. imave s.mdivnis
mtkicebiT, farTo sazogadoebaze garkveul i ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis
mizniT, h.bamati sxvadasxva organizaciebidan misadmi mxardamWerebs
agrovebda. didi raodenobis ful is SovniTa da mosyidul i mxardamWere-
bis simravl iT gaTamamebul ma h.bamatma, rogorc s.mdivani ambobda, `iseTi
sakiTxebi daayena sadaod, roml ebi c udao iyo dRemdis da amiT provoka-
cia gaswia. aq saWiroa gansakuTrebul i sifrTxil e, rom moufiqrebel i
nabij iT mas kapital i ar SevZinoT. saWiroa aq wamoyenebul i debul ebeb-
is fonze gawwi oT agitacia am xal xis winaaRmdeg da SevecadoT yvel a
pol itikuri daj gufebebi gavaerTianoT am ni adagze.~ rogorc Cans, s.mdivans
saWiro mtkicebul ebebi gaaCnda h.bamatis Sesaxeb, roca sakiTxs bral de-
bis aseTi formiT ayenebda.

zemoaRni Snul i sxdomis stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom h.bamatis
daj gufebis antiqarTul i saqmi anoba, saqarTvel os sazRvris sakiTxTan mi ma-
rTebaSi gansakuTrebul i safrTxis Semcvl el i iyo. amis Sesaxeb, imave sxdom-
maze si tyviT gamosul i ak.Cxenkel i, e.gegeWkori, e.TayaiSvil i, s.fircxal ava,
k.gvarjal aZe, iv.zurabiSvil i, il .nucubiZe da iv.WavWaniZe erTxmad miuTiTebd-
nen. imavdroul ad ayenebdnen sakiTxs saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmi-
anobis gaZl ierebis_ zepiri (saj aro krebebi, moxsenebebi) da presis saSua-
l ebiT. ZiriTadi saqmi anoba, h.bamatisa da misi mxardamWeri j gufis mxil eb-
istvis sazogadoebrivi azris Sesaqmnel adac unda yofil iyo mimarTul i.

dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis, da-

mfuZnebel i krebi s prezidi umi s wevrebis a da parti aTa kol egi i s warmomadgenl ebis mxridan, zemoaRni Snul saki TxebTan dakavSi rebiT, farTo saagi t-acio- propagandistul i muSaoba iqna gaweul i. rogorc Cans, es saqmianoba imdenad maRal doneze warimarTa, rom z.aval iSvil i iZul ebul i gaxda Tavis marTI ebis mi zniT Jurnal `kavkasiaSi- 1937 wel s ori publ ikacia gamoeqveynebina: 1) `zogierTi pol emiki s gamo- (# 6. gv. 9- 15) da 2) `damatebiTi SeniSvnebi mazrebis gacemaze- # 7. gv. 12- 14). am publ ikaciebSi igi Tavis ZiriTad sayrden argumentad sam umniSvnel ovanes faqts iSvel iebda: 1) brestis sazavo xel sekrul ebas, roml is Zal iTac osmal eTs saqarTvel os kuTvnil i samxreT- dasavl eTi teritoriebi gadaeca; 2) yarsis 1921 wl is 13 oqtombris xel Sekrul ebas da 3) baTumis 1918 wl is 4 ivnisis xel Sekrul abas. arafers ambobda maT samarTI ebriv xasiaTze. gverds uvl ida 1920 wl is 7 maisis ruseT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul ebiT aRiarebul i sazRvrebis samarTI ebriv mniSvnel obas. ignori rebas ukeTebda 1921 wl is moskovis 16 martis ruseT- osmal eTis xel Sekrul ebiT gaTval iswinebul moTxovnebs. aRni Snul i sakiTxebis srul fasovnad warmocena da misi samarTI ebrivi poziciidan Sefaseba, z.aval iSvil is `mtkicebul ebebis- mcdarobas aSkarad adasturebs.

ramdenadac zemoT dasaxel ebul i xel Sekrul ebebis Sesaxeb Sesabamisi samecniero gamokvl evebi arsebobs, maTze dayrdnobiT Sevecdebi saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi TiToeul i xel Sekrul ebiT gaTval iswinebul i ZiriTadi moTxovnebi s kanonzomi ereba warmovaCino. 1) brestis sazavo xel Sekrul eba, romel sac saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan mimarTebaSi z.aval iSvil i Tavis poziciis gasamagrebl adiyenebda, samarTI ebriv CarCos scil deboda Semdegi garemoebebis gamo: a) brestis sazavo konferenciis qvekomisiis im sxdomaze, romel mac amerikavkasiis erebis istoriul i teritoriebis, maT Soris saqarTvel os teritoriis osmal eTisadmi gadacemis sakiTxi ganiXil a, saqarTvel os oficial uri warmomadgenel i ar eswreboda. aqedan gamomdinare, imave qvekomisiis sxdomis mier miRebul gadawyvetil ebasTan dakavSi rebiT Sedgenil oqmze, qarTul i mxaris Tanxmobis xel mawera ar figurirebs, ris gamoc, es dokumenti samarTI ebrivi CarCos miRma dgas; b) amerikavkasiis komisariat is da sei mis mier, sabWoTa ruseTis oficial urad arcnobis miuxedavad, sabWoTa ruseTis sazavo del egaciam, saqarTvel os teritoriebis osmal eTisadmi gadacema cal mxrivad moaxdina; g) amerikavkasiis sei mis mier brestis sazavo xel Sekrul eba Sesabamisi rezol uci iT oficial urad iqna uaryofil i da igi xel Sekrul ebis monawil e saxel mwi foebis daegzavna; d) brestis sazavo xel Sekrul ebis mTavarma xel Semkvrel ma mxarem_ sabWoTa ruseTma, es SeTanxmeba 1918 wl is 13 noembers (xel moweridan 8 Tvesa da 10 dReSi) gaauqma.¹⁸

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os teritoriebis osmal eTisadmi samarTI ebrivad dakanonebis sayrden safexurad, brestis sazavo xel Sekrul abar gamodgeba, radgan igi, rogorc zemoTaqm qonda aRni Snul i, samarTI ebrivi CarCos miRma idga. es xarvezi, osmal eTis mxares kargad hqonda gacnobi erebul i da amitom iyo, qarTul i mxar is gan misi aRiarebis dadasturebas oficial urad xel moweril i dokumentiT, rom cdil obda (ix. baTumis xel Sekrul ebis meTormete muxli); 2) saqarTvel osmal eTis 1918 wl is 4 ivnisis baTumis xel Sekrul ebis fonze, z.aval iSvil is mxridan yarsis xel Sekrul ebis saqarTvel osTvis sasi keTod gamocxadebis mcdel o-

ba, ususur arguments warmoadgenda: a)1918 wl is 4 ivnisis xel Sekrul eba, saerTaSoriso samarTI is CarCodan iyo amovar dniil i, radgan igi xel mower- idan erTi Tvis vadaSi qveynis sakanonmdebl o organos mier unda yofil iyo ratificirebul i da am dokumentis ormxrivi gacvl is procesi, stambol Si Semdgariyo (ix. xel Sekrul ebis # 13 muxl i). osmal eTis mxaris samgzis kategoriul i moTxovnis miuxedavad, saqarTvel os parl aments misi ratifikacia ar ganuxorciel ebia; b)1920 wl is 7 maisis ruseT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul ebis IV muxl iT, ruseTis yofil i imperiis Semadgenl obaSi Semaval i saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriebi, saqarTvel os kuTvnil ebad iqna aRiarebul i.¹⁹ imave wl is 19 dekembers, sabWoTa ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa saxal xo komisari g.CiCerini, osmal eTis sagareo saqmeTa ministris axmed muxtarisadmi gagzavnil i notiT, kategoriul ad moiTxovda, rom saqarTvel o osmal eTis xel Sekrul ebis teqsti, sazRvrebis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebis safuZvel ze yofil iyo SemuSavebul i.²⁰ isic cnobil ia, rom osmal eTis mxarem aRniSnul moTxovnas- Tan mimarTebaSi Tanxmoba ganacxada.²¹ dokumenturad isic dadasturebul ia, rom 1920 wl is agvistosatvis, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi ol Tisis, artaani sa da arTviniis okrugebs akontrol ebda.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtobrivi masal a, saqarTvel os teritoriis sazRvrebTan mimarTebaSi, 1918 wl idan- 1921 wl is martamde, osmal Ta pretenziebis kanonierebis sakiTxs, saerTaSoriso samarTI is miRma ayenebs. aqedan gamomdinare, 1918 wl is 4 ivnisis baTumis xel Sekrul ebis fonze, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mier saqarTvel os kuTvnil i teritoriebis osmal eTisadmi 1921 wel s gadacemis `ukeTesobis- z.aval iSvil iseul i mtkiceba, masTan mimarTebaSi garkveul kiTxvebs aCens. `samarTli anoba moiTxovs- wers igi iTqvas, rom sazRvrebi osmal eTTan, roml ebiC kavkasiis respubl ikebisatvis yarsis 1921 wl is xel sekrul ebam uzrunvel hyo, gacil ebiT sasikeToni arian, vidre is sazRvrebi, romel zedac xel i moaweres 1918 wel s saqarTvel osTvis.²²

dokumenturadaa dadasturebul i, rom kavkasiis respubl ikebis da maT Soris saqarTvel os teritoriebi (ol Tisis, artaanis, arTviniis okrugebi), yarsis xel Sekrul ebande 6 TviT adre gadaeca osmal eTs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1921 wl is 16 martis moskovis ruseT- osmal eTis xel Sekrul eba. am ori qveynis warmomadgenel Ta komisiebis im sxdomis oqms, sadac saqarTvel os sazRvrebis sakiTxi iqna ganxil ul i, sabWoTa saqarTvel os warmomadgenl is saxel iT xel i mi xa cxakaiam moawera da miRebul gadawyvetil ebas `samarTli ebrivi- saxe SesZina. imave moskovis xel Sekrul ebis I, II, III, VI, XII, XV, XVI muxl ebi da (a), (b), (c) damatebebi daedo safuZvl ad yarsis 1921 wl is 13 oqto- mbris xel Sekrul ebas.²³ am dokumentis ratifikacia, ruseTisgan okupirebul i da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sagangebo sesiam (1922 wl is 14 april i) ganaxorciel a. am faqtiT, dampyrobe- l i qveyansgan, dapyrobil i qveynis teritoriis moskovSi gaCuqebis `l egi timacia- ganxorciel da.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, brestis (1918 wl is 3 marti), baTumis (1918 wl is 4 ivnisi) da yarsis (1921 wl is 13 oqtomberi) xel Sekrul ebebis erT sibrtyeze dadeba, TiToeul i maTganiis samarTli ebrivi CarCos Segnebul ad `miviwyeba- da am fonze yarsis xel Sekrul ebis `gacil ebiT sasike- Tod- gamocxadeba, hai dar bamatis mier saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan mimarTe-

baSi im etapze dawyebul i gaafTrebul i saagitacio- propagandistul i xazisadmi garkveul i formiT mxardaWeras warmoadgenda.

kavkasiis erebis sasicocxl o mniSvnel obis (sazRvrebi) sakiTxebTan mima- rTebaSi gamokveTil i formiT dapi r i spirebis miuxedavad, saqarTvel os so- cial - demokratiul i partiis l iderebi,erTiani kavkasiis ideis ganxorci- el ebisTvis bol omdeibrZodnen. dasaxul i amocanis gamarTl ebis ZiriTad argumentad, Seqmnil pol itikur viTarebas da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi urTierTTanadgomiT ganpirobebul perspeqtivas asaxel ebdnen. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis ucxoETis organizaciebis parizis meore konferenciis (1939 wl is 11 marti) stenografiul i Canawerebi warmoadgens. kavkasiis centrTan da promeTes sazogadoebasTan social - demokratiis damokidebul ebis Sesaxeb, moxseneba s.menaRariSvil ma gaakeTa. gansakuTrebul i yuradReba man erovnul sakiTxze gaamaxvil a da wina pl anze am mimarTul eb iT gaweul i saqmi anoba wamoswia. aqedan gamomdinare, imedi gamoTqva, rom mxol od erTobl ivi Zal isxmeviT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i dasaxul i miznis miRweva. moxsenebis safuZvel ze `kavkasiis nacional uri centris- Sesaxeb miRebul rezol uciaSi vkiTxu- l obT: `konferencia dgas kavkasiis erebis nacional uri respubl ikebis ko- nfederaci iT gaerTiane bis ni adagze, mxars uWers gaerTiane bul i Zal iT ga- nmaTavisufl ebel brZol as da am mizni T Seqmnil ... saerTo fronts... v i n a i d- an frontSi ukanasknel ad aRmoCnda ryeva da zogierTi misi el ementebi ka- vkasiis ni adagidan daqandnen ucxo mosazRvre saxel mwi foebis ni adagze. konferencia acxadebs: Cveni mokavSire da Tanamgzavri SeiZl eba iyos mxo- l od is kavkasiel ni, romel nic mtkiced dganan kavkasiis orientaciaze, uary- ofen rogorc Crdil oetis, ise samxreTis gabatonebas da uryevad dai caven kavkasiis arsebul sazRvrebs yovel gvare Semotevebi sagan.-

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, erTiani kavkasiuri frontisadmi emigraciul i qarTul i social - demokratiul i partiis dadebiTi damokidebul eba da me- ore mxriv, mtris banakSi gadabargebul Tanamemamul eebTan mimarTebaSi Camoy- al ibe bul i mkacri pozicia. imave dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom Crdil oetisa da samxreTisadmi zurgSeqceva, kavkasiis erTianobis orienta- ciaz e dgomas ni Snavda, da am mimarTul eb iT aRebul i kursi, Semotevebi sagan kavkasiis sazRvris dacvis garantias iZl eoda. stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom imave konferenciis monawil eebma, erTsul ovani mxardaWera gamoucxad es promeTes fronts, romel ic sabWoTa kavSirSi Semaval i erebis erovnul _ ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis organizaciaze acxadebda prete- nzias. es imis damadasturebel ia, rom saqarTvel os emigraciul i social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebi, im etapze upiratesobas erovnul - ganma- Tavisufl ebel moZraobas aniWebda da ara momaval i reJimis pol itikur xa- siaTs, an social ur sakiTxs. am ZiriTad mimarTul ebas eyrdnoboda imave konferenciis dadgenil e bac, sadac garkveviT iyo miTiTebul i: `part orga- nizaciebSi unda keTdebodes sainformacio xasiaTis moxsenebebi qarTul i erovnul i centris, kavkasiis gaerTiane bis da promeTeul i moZraobis saqmi- anobis Sesaxeb... unda moewyos am centrSi Semaval i organizaciebis Tu sxva gaerTiane baTa wevre bis saerTo krebebi sainiciativo kiTxvebis gasarCevad da sazogadoebrivi azris Sesaqmnel ad.-

amrigad, 1) sabWoTa ruseTis ganTavisufl ebis gasaRebs, qarTul i pol i-

tikuri emigracia kavkasiis gaerTianebaSi, erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebaSi da sabWouri rejimisadmi erToblivi Zal ebiT dapi r i spirebaSi xedavda. kavkasiis erebis warsulis gamocdil eba (ambiciuroba, somex-azerbaijanel Ta gacemul i pirobis Seusrul ebl oba, orientaciis sxvadasaxvaoba) dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebas kiTxvis qveS ayenebda. mdgomareobas, qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi mtacebl uri meTodebis amoqmedeba arTul ebda. am fonze, qarTul mxares, srul iad kavkasiis konferenciis mowveva, sadao sakiTxebis konsesusis, an arbi traJis gziT gadawyveta erTaderT gamosaval saSual ebad miacnda.

2)saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis da damfuZnebel i krebis preziduis erTobliv sxdomaze (1934 wl is 13- 20 ianvari), kavkasiis konfederaciis paqtis teqtis proeqtis damtkicebiT, amierkavkasiis erTa gaerTianebi saTvis ideol ogiuri safexuri momzadda. dokumentis, amierkavkasiis erTa konfederaciul i saxel mwifos Seqmnis idea edo safuZvl ad. kavkasiis erebis konferenciis (1934 wl is 14, 15, 16 ianvari, 23 Teberval i) mier damtkicebul i makoordinerebel i organos_ `konfederaciis sabWos- Zir iTad daniSnul ebas warmoadgenda: a)kavkasiis erebis Zal Ta konsol idacia; b)erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xel mZRvanel oba; g)saxel mwifoebriobis aRdgenisTvis Sesabamisi safexuris momzadeba. imave konferenciaze miRebul i meore dokumenti_ `kavkasiis xal xi da ruseTi, ~ Cagrul i erebis Tavisufl ebisa da erovnul i saxel mwifoebis Seqmnis mimarTul ebeps akonkretebda.

3)saqarTvel os teritoriisadmi azerbaijanel Ta da Crdil o kavkasiel - Ta pretenziEBis presis furcl ebze oficial urad gacxadebam, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi `pol itikuri gamoZal vis- da misakuTrebis tendencia warmoaCina. qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo wreebis gan SeTavazebul i winadadebisadmi_ sadao sakiTxebis arbi traJiT gadawyvetaze uaris TqmiT, kavkasiis erebis erT konfederaciul saxel mwifoSi nebayofl obiti gaerTianebis SeuZl ebl oba dadasturda.

DEM

Tavi VI. orientaciis sakiTxi da qarTil i emigraci omis Semdeg wl ebSi (1945- 1950)

meore msofil io omis Semdeg Zal Ta Tanafardobis cval ebadobiT ganpi robebul ma mkveTrma dapirispirebam, ZiriTadad ideol ogiur frontze hpova gamovl ineba. am sferoSi arbitris rol s ori zesaxel mwi fo- aSS- i da sSR kavSiri asrul ebda. TiToeul i maTgani, sakuTari qveynebis interesebis maqsimal urd gatarebiT iyvnen dai nteresebul ni. am mimarTul ebiT gansakuTrebul warmatebas sabWoTa ruseTma miaRwia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs dasavl eT evropis qveynebis faSi zmisgan `ganmaTavisufl ebel i misi iT- da sxal xo demokratiis wamosasxamis ni RbiT `gasocial isteba- da komunisturi reJimis (pol oneTi, ungreTi, bul gareTi, Cexosl ovakia, rumineTi, al baneTi) damyareba. zemoaRni Snul i qveynebis umetesobaSi sabWoTa j arebis Seyvana da TiToeul i maTganis garkveul i formiT okupacia. momxdari faqtiT, sabWoTa ruseTma dasavl eT evropisken ramdenime nabij iT win waiwia, riTac evropisa da SeerTebul i Statebis winaSe Tavisi Zal ebis Sesazl ebl obebis oficial uri demonstrireba moaxdina. am fonze, gansakuTrebiT gaaqtiurda sabWoTa specsamsaxurebi. maT mizns, sazRvargareT arsebul i antisabWouri organizaci ebis, sabWoTa xel isufl ebisadmi mtrul ad ganwyobil i emigraciul i daj gufebebis ganadgureba warmoadgenda. am mimarTul ebiT gatarebul i Roni sZiebebis aucil ebl obas imiT asabuTebdnen, rom sabWoTa ruseTi dan devnil i da evropis qveynebsi im etapze moqmedi emigracia, ideol ogiur frontze komunistur reJims garkveul dabrkol ebebs uqmnida. mxedvel obaSi maqvs evropis qveynebis zemoaRni Snul i `ganmaTavisufl ebel i misi is- Sesaxeb, sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan xel ovnurad SeTxzul i mitis argumentirebul ad mxil ebis faqtebi. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT qarTul i emigracia gamoirCeoda. aRni Snul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTis uSiSroebis uwyebis gansakuTrebul i interesis sferoSi qarTul i emigracia rom moeqca_ gakvirvebas ar iwvevs. sabWoTa specsamsaxurebis mier maTdami dasapirispirebl ad Catarebul i muSaobi dan, Tavis SedegianobiT, safrangeTSi 1945 wel s Seqmnil i `qarTvel patriotTa kavSiri- gamoirCeoda. mis Semadgenl obaSi im etapze sabWouri orientaciis adami anebi (ameunargia, b.samxaraZe, sj anj Rava, o.Cij avaZe, g.gegel ia, i.endel aZe, k.kobaxiZe, v.farava) iyvnen gaerTianebul i. aRni Snul i organizaciis ZiriTad amocanas warmoadgenda: `1) sSR kavSiris kul turul , ekonomnikuri da pol itikur moRvaweobaze qarTul i emigraciis informireba; 2) qarTvel i emigrantebi dan wesieri patriotebis samSobl oSi dasabrunebl ad piobebis momzadeba; 3) qarTul emigraciaSi antisabWoTa el ementebis winaaRmdeg brZol a da maT mimarT Sesabamisi Roni sZiebebis gatareba; 4) prosabWoTa pozici aze mdgar emigrantul wreebTan kontaktsi damyareba.-¹ dasaxul i miznis warmatebiT gansaxorciel ebl ad, sabWoTa ruseTis uSiSroebis samsaxuri Zal as, energiasa da finansებს ar zogavda. maTi warmomadgenl ebi dasavl eT evropaSi aqtiurad moqmedebdnen da qarTul i emigraciis rigebSi fexis myarad moki debas cdi l obdnen.

Seqmnil i urTul esi pol itikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis winaSe principul ad daisva kiTxva_ orientaciis garkvevis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. misi droul i gadawyveta im etapze imdenad aqTual urad

mi aCndaT, rom qarTvel emigrantTa ZiriTad nawil Si, mi si ganxil vis gadadeba danaSaul ebriv faqtad aRiqmeboda. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom am sakiTxze social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biuros da parizis organizaciis komitetis gaerTianebul ma krebam (1945 wl is 15 april i) sagangebod imsj el a. mis muSaobaSi monawil eobdnen: n.Jordania, e.gegeWkori, ak.Cxenkel i, k.gvarj al aZe, gr.urataZe, vaso wul aZe, pr.inwki rvel i, tarasi wul aZe, griSa wereTel i, Teofane muxaSavria.

aRniSnul i krebis stenografiul i angariSis safuZvl iani Seswavl is Sedegad irkveva, rom orientaciasTan mimarTebaSi, social - demokratiul i partiisa da emigraciul i mTavrobis wevrebs Soris pol itikur xazTan mimarTebaSi, sami urTierTdapi rispirebul i Sexedul eba gamoikveTa: **1)prorusul i, 2)Sual eduri da 3)proevropul i.** TiToeul i maTgani s mxardamWerebs, Tavis poziciis gasamagrebl ad garkveul i argumentebi gaaCnda. dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT Sevecdebi mkiTxvel sazogadoebas sami ve poziciis ZiriTadi debul ebebi gavacno.

1)prorusul i orientaciis momxreTagan gansakuTrebul i interest, imave sxdomaze k.gvarj al aZis gamosvl a iqcevs. mi si mtkicebiT, saqarTvel os emigraciis warmomadgenl obis mier dasaxul i mi znis_ qveynis saxel mwi foebri vi damouki debl obis aRsadgenad, arsebul i pol itikuri situacia maqsimal urad unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. `veZebdiT da viyenebdiT- ambobda igi- yvel a Seqmnil pirobebs, konfli qtebs saxel mwi foTa Soris, erTa l i gas, internacional s. droSa rCeba ucvl el i. dgeba taqtikis sakiTxi, rogor movumzadot niadagi Cveni damouki debl obis aRdgenas. evropaSi dRes amis niadagi ar aris, ruseTSi ki es iqneba damokidebul i imaze, ganaxorciel ebs Tu ara mis konstitucias. ami tom, Cveni moqmedebac unda gani sazRvros ruseTis fargl ebiT da masTan mWi dro kavSiriT.~ igive pozicia gai zira k.sarj vel aZemac. mi si TqmiT, `evropaSi niadagi ar gvaqvs, ami tom unda iqnas gamonaxul i axal i formebi ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZol isa saqarTvel osTan kavSiriSi da ruseTis fargl ebSi.~²

qarTul i emigraciis garkveul wreebSi aRmocenebul i prorusul i mimarTul eba, evropis saxel mwi foebis meTaurTa uprincipo pol itikur ma kursma da sabWoTa imperiis Zl evamosil ebam ganapiroba. am faqtorma sxdomis mimdinareobis procesSi kidev ufro gamokveTil i formiT iCina Tavi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs pr.inwki rvel is ukmayofil o toniT gakeTebul i gancxadeba: `mTel i Cveni energia movandomeT mi znis mi Rwevas, magram, samwuxarod unda vaRiaroT, rom ar amc Tu mi zans ver mi vaRwieT, aramed momavl isTvis es asparezi daxsul ad da ararsebul ad unda CaiTval os. amis magal i Tebi sakmaod gvaqvs. ingl isma gagvyi da, amerikas ar vainteresebT. **daskvna_** evropis orientacia unda moixsnas, unda SevideT mWi dro kavSiriSi Cvens bedSi myof yvel a mezobel da maT Soris ruis erebTan. ase iqceva dRes yvel a_ avstria, iugosl avia, Cexosl ovakia, igive pol oneTi. es ar aris droSis Camoxsna, aramed real obaa.~ anal ogiuri pozicia iqna gamoTqmul i erT dros optimizmiT aRsavse vaso wul aZisganac. `Tu kidev gvinda gamovadget Cvens qveyanas- ganacxada man- saWi roa viyoT real istebi, rac unda arasasi amovno da mware iyos, sinamdvil is aRiarebis ar unda SegveSi ndes. sinamdvil e ki aseTia, viyaviT separatistebi, aq evropaSi Camosvl isas gvyavda megobrebi, niadagi c gvqonda samuSao, magram nel - nel a es niadagi gamogvecal a. damo-

uki debl obaze zrunva dRes Tavis motyuebaa, ami tom, ruseTisgan gamoyofaze uari unda vTqvaT da davrcet ruseTis federaciis niadagze.-

dabey iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom arcerTi saarqivo dokumentiT ar dasturdeba zemoaRniSnul i pirovnebebis raime kavSiri sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufI ebis mesveurebTan. Tuki im etapze isini prorusul i orientaciis Sexedul ebibs gamoTqvamden, maTi mosazrebis yovel i debul eba 1921 -1945 wl ebSi evropis qveynebi sgan miRebul i zedapirul i dapi rebibis Seusrul ebl obis mware gamocdil ebis siRmiseul i anal iziT iyo ganpi robebul i. ganvl il ma istoriul ma procesebma naTl ad warmoaCina, rom sabWoTa ruseTTan dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi fos meTaurTa pol itikurad gameZavebul i kursi_ uprincipobaze iyo agebul i. es momenti, noe Jordani am jer ki dev 1923 wl is april Si SeniSna da Tavis pozicia Semdegi formul irebiT Camoyal iba: `bol Sevikur ruseTs saarSiyod Semoadga mTel i evropa. is modaSi Semovi da da saerTaSoriso dipl omatiis sagnad iqca.- dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom 1921- 1940 wl ebSi, sabWoTa ruseTTan evropis saxel mwi foebis meTaurTa `pol itikuri arSiyoba,- TandaTanobiT mZafr `pol itikur kekl ucobaSi- gadai zar da. meore mxriv, rogorc zemoTac moqonda aRniSnul i, omisSemdgom etapze, sabWoTa ruseTi ara Tu dasustebul i, aramed Zl evamosil i da dasavl eT evropis kontinentze mdebare qveynebi sol iseburad SeWril i aRmoCnda. am faqtorma garkveul i formiT uaryofiTi zemoqmedeba moaxdina qarTul i emigraciis wevrebze da xel i Seuwyo maT Sinagan cnobierebaSi prorusul i orientaciis Camoyal ibebas, romel ic evropisadmi undobl obaze iyo dafuznebul i.

2)rac Seexeba `Sual edur mimdinareobas,- imave sxdomis stenografiul CanawerebSi es formac dadasturebul ia. dokumentidan irkveva, rom krebis monawil eTa ramdenime warmomadgenel i Zvel i taqtikuri xazis Secvl as da ruseTis imedad darCenas miuRebl ad Tvl ida. maTi samarTl iani mtkicebiT, sabWoTa ruseTSi gamefebul i diqtaturis evol ucia SeuZl ebel i iyo. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, g.bol qvaZe principul ad ayenebda sakiTxs_ emigraci aSi myofi saqarTvel os pol itikuri speqtris moqmedebis taqtika, omis Sedegebi dan gamomdinare, pol itikuri situaciis SesabamisobaSi moeyvanaT. miTumetes, misive TqmiT, evropaSi faSizmisa da nacizmis damarcxebis Semdeg, evropa- amerikis mTl iani demokratiul i frontis saqmi anobaSi ruseTis Cambas arsebiTi mniSvnel oba eniWeboda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, igi savsebiT l ogikurad svamda kiTxvas: `sakiTxavia Caebmeba Tu ara ruseTi am demokratiul ferxul Si. ra Tqma unda es sasurvel ia da am SemTxvevaSi saqarTvel o sxva patara erebTan moawyobs mis cxovrebas ruseTis demokratiis fargl ebSi. magram, survil i erTia, sinamdvil e ki meore. social ististvis cxadia erTi, rom diqtaturis evol ucia SeuZl ebel ia da am SemTxvevaSi **Cveni adgil i iqneba saerTo demokratiul l agerSi,** romel ic miznad daisaxavs demokratizacias saerTaSoriso masStabiT_ esaa garanti patara erebis arsebobisa.-

am amonaweris mixedvit Tuki vimsel ebT, mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis da evropisadmi didi imedebis gacruebis gamo, sxva patara erebTan erTad, demokratiul ruseTSi saqarTvel os mowyobas, g.bol qvaZe sasurvel l ad Tvl ida. magram, bol Sevikuri diqtaturis evol uciis gziT gardaqmni SeuZl ebl obidan gamomdinare, patara erebis gadarCenis erTaderT saSu-

al ebas_ `saerTo demokratiul I agerSi~ eZebda. am pozici as v.Cubi ni Zec iziarebda da qarTul pol itikur speqtrs ruseTTan mi marTebaSi gansakuTrebul i sifrTxil isken mouwodebda. samwuxarod, `saerTo demokratiul I ageris~ Semqmnel qveynebsa da adgil samyofel s vercerTi maTgani ver asaxel ebda. mis Semadgenl obaSi saqarTvel os moxvedris real ur gzebsa da ganmapi robebel Sesazl ebl obebsac ver akonkretebda. da rac mTavaria, gaurkvevel i rCeboda `saerTo demokratiul i I ageris~ cneba.

ramdenadac evropis pol itikur sivrceSi sabWoTa ruseTis interesebi da gavlenakveTrad gajzar da, qarTul i emigraciis taqtika, rogorc n.Jordania ambobda, Seqmnil i mdgomareobis da mi zanSewonil ebis mi xedvi T unda agebul iyo. aseTi poziciis mi xedavad, social - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi warmomadgenel i, axal i pol itikuri vitarebi dan gamomdinare, Zvel i kursis Sevl as da mis safuzvl ian ganaxl ebas moiTxovda. samwuxarod, im periodis dokumentur masal ebSi arsadar figurirebs maTi mxridan konkretul i moTxovnebi. isini zogadi frazebiTa da SeniSvnebiT kmayofil debodnen da am qmedebiT, garkveul i formiT pol itikuri partiebSi SigniT wi naaRmdgobriv atmosferos qmnidnen. arada, arsebul i saerTasoriso vitareba gansakuTrebul sifrTxil es da sworad gaazrebul i gadawyvetil ebis mi Rebas saWi roebda. mi Tumetes, meore msofil io omis damTavrebis Semdeg, sabWoTa ruseTi kidev ufrozl evamosil i warmocnda saerTasoriso arenaze. am faqtor ma, sabWoTa ruseTSi sl avianofil uri ideol ogi iT gaTval iswinebul i RonisZiebebis- mkvidri erebis asaxl ebis da mis sacxovrisze sl avebis Casaxl ebis `gacocxl ebis~ procesi daacqara. mi mdinare pol itikis Sesaxeb momzadebul dokumentSi, am sakiTxs Tval saCino adgil i aqvs daTmobil i. `qarTvel i eris uwmindesi moval eobaa- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- aseTi zomebis mi Rebas ar misces mi zezi, araviTari sababi. aseT i araRad SeiZl eba iqnas gamoyenebul i raime saomar avanturaSi qarTvel ebis Cabma.- es gafrTxil eba garkveul i formiT sabWoTa kavSiris ganapira erebis mi marT sadamsjel o RonisZiebebis mosal odnel gatarebaze miani Snebda. am moaxl oebul safrTxesTan mi marTebaSi, qarTvel i eris gadasarCenad, qarTul emigracias garkveul i zomebi unda mi eRo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs nebi smieri saxis provocirebis gamocnoba da mZime Sedegebis asacil ebel i RonisZiebebi sadmi wi naswari Tadarigis daWera. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT, imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `saqarTvel os soc. demokratiul i partia... inaxavs qarTvel i eris didebul tradicias. ar Caereva araviTar saegebio konfliqtebsi da dakmayofil deba Zvel i nacadi taqtikiT. awarmoeb... muSaobas sabWoTa wyobil ebis demokratiul i wyobil ebiT gardasaqmnel ad, xal xis da eris Tavisufli ebis dasamyarebl ad. Dam mi zniT Cven vukavSirdebiT Zvel eburat sabWoTa kavSiriSiyvel a... demokratiul da... social istur mebrZol daj gufebebs da maTTan erTad vawarmoebT brZol as Cveni droSis gasamarjvebl ad.-

am amonaweris pirvel i nawil is debul eba, gamafrTxil ebel i formiT garkveul i dapi rebis gacemas Seicavs. xol o meore nawil i, bundovnebiTaa mocul i im Tval sazrisiT, rom arc am da arc sxva dokumentebidan ar Cans, Tu ra saSual ebebiT cdil obda saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biuros zogierTi wevri_ sabWouri reJimis demokratiul i wyobil ebiT Sevl as. mi Tumetes, sabWoTa imperiis daCoqeba, kbil ebamde SeiaraRebul ma faSisturma germani amac ver SeZl o. misi siZl i eris gamov-

I inebis Sedegad, evropa orad gaiyo da urTierTdapi ri spirebul i saxe mi-
iRo. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, mimdinare pol itikis sakiTxebTan mi marTeBa-
Si Seqmnil dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `evropa iyofa oraT, dgeba ori mopirda-
pire bl oki: erTi ukve Semdgaria aRmosavl eT evropis sl avianTa kavSiri,
mas exl a upirispirdaba Sesaqmel ad ganzraxul i dasavl eTis bl oki, evro-
pis davardnil i gaerTianeba amerikis daxmarebiT da meTaurobiT.-

aseT urTul es pol itikur situaciaSi, qarTul i emigraciis meTarebs swori
arCevani unda gaeketebina da saqarTvel os momavl is sakiTxi ufskrul Si
ar gadaecexa. Tuki im etapze arsebul probl emas safuzvl ianad gavaanal i-
zebT, aSkarad gamoi kveTeba is udi desi sirTul eebi, romel ic qarTul i emi-
graciis meTaurTa da social - demokratiul i partiis winaSe idga. am fonze,
savsebiT kanonzomierad da l ogikurad moCans maT winaSe ritorikul i fo-
rmiT dasmul i kiTxva: zemoaRniSnul `or bl oks Soris sad aris Cveni (sa-
qarTvel os S.v.) adgil i?- amastan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxu-
l obT: `Cven varT iq sadac viyaviT Tavi danve, ukanasknel i naxevari saukunis
ganmavl obaSi. Cveni droSa rCeba igive, rac gvqonda mudam s.d. partiis aRo-
rZinebidan. es aris: Tavisufl eba xal xs, Tavisufl eba ers, demokratia da
nacia_ aseTi iyo da aris Cveni droSis pol itikuri ideol ogia, xol o misi
social uri Sinaarsi mudam mimdinareobda erT xazze, raica iqna ganxorci-
el ebul i damouki debel saqarTvel oSi. am xazis etapebia: msxvil i sakuTre-
bis gadacema erisTvis, wvril i warmoebis datoveba mis mepatroneTaTvis. am
ori formis sakuTrebas Soris dgeba saerTo social uri bl oki warmoeba-
Ta da aReb- micemobis sferoSi. myardeba xal xuri demokratia, xal xuri
social izmi.-

Cems mier motanil i amonaweris mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, sazRvargareTis
qarTul i social - demokratiis da misi l iderebis ZiriTad mi marTul ebas,
saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis aRdgena, demokratiul princi pebze dam-
yarebul i qveynis wvril burJuaziul i xaziT ganviTareba warmoadgenda. imave
dokumentSi araferia naTqvami Tu ra gziT iyo SasaZl ebel i maT mier da-
saxul i miznis ganxorciel eba. miuxedavad amisa, iqve gansakuTrebul i yura-
dReba dasavl eTisa da aRmosavl eTis bl okebis dapi ri spirebazea gadatani-
l i. am fonze konkretul adaa dasmul i sakiTxi qarTul i emigraciis, misi xe-
l mZRvanel obis orientaciis Sesaxeb. ese igi, sakiTxi idga_ dasavl eTi Tu
aRmosavl eTi. amastan dakavSirebiT, imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `ram-
denadac dasavl eTis bl oks kapital istebi, msxvil i mesakuTreni, simdid-
risa da gamorCenis maZiebel ni xel mZRvanel oben, Cven mastan ar varT, mis
social ur xazs ar viziarebT. xol o Tu is cnobs erTa da xal xTa Ta-vi-
sufl ebas, mas amyarebs da icavs Tavis nacional ur sazRvrebSi... maSin vuax-
l ovdebiT da mis pol itikur droSas vemxrobiT.- miuxedavad imisa, rom
msxvil i kapital isturi sistemi sTvis damaxasiaTebel i princi pebis mi marT
aq uaryofiTi poziciaa dadasturebul i, maTTan TanamSroml oba mxol od im
SemTxvevaSi a mi saRebad mi Cneul i, Tuki erebis damouki debl obis da misi Ta-
visufl ebis garantia iqneboda aRiarebul i. dasavl eTisadmi aseTi gamokve-
Til i pretenziis miuxedavad, sabWoTa saxel mwi fosadmi maTi mxridan l oi-
al uri an keTil ganwyobil i damokidebul eba srul ebi Tac ar Seini Sneboda.
amis udao dadasturebas igive dokumenti warmoadgens, sadac vkiTxul obT:
`ramdenadac aRmosavl eTis bl oks meTaurobs sabWoTa ruseTi, am pol iti-

kur, social ur da nacional ur despotiasTan, saerTo araferi gvaqvs. mis momxred da damcvel ad veraviTar SemTxvevaSi ver gamoval T. saWiroa erTi didi progresul i reforma_msvil i sakuTrebis eris sakuTrebada gamocxadeba. maT did regresul movl enad aqcies misi patronobis da damuSavebis wesebi. aseTive zomebis wvrii sakuTrebaze gavr cel ebiT, mTel i erisTvis yvel a formis sakuTrebis warmarTviT da saerTo iZul ebiTi kol eqtiuri damuSavebis SemoRebiT, adami ani da xal xi maTTvis araferia, xol o saxel m-wifo da misi aparati yvel aferia.-

am masal ebis gacnobis Semdeg, i smeba kiTxva: garkveul i mi zezebi dan gamomdinare, emigranti qarTvel i social - demokratebi ZiriTad dasayrdens Tuki dasavl eTis kapital istur an aRmosavl eTis komunistur bl okSi ver xedavdnen, maSin ra mimarTul ebis pol itikur kurss unda dafuZneboda qarTvel emigrantTa saqmianoba da romel qveyanas moi azrebdnen im etapze saqarTvel os emigraciis gul Sematki vrad? am sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT imave dokumentSi **pol itikuri romantizmiT**- Sezavebul i debul ebaa wamoyenebul i. `Cveni droSaa- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- am ori bl okis erT saerTo ni adagze dayeneba_ xal xis da eris Tavisufl ebis da msxvil i sakuTrebis nacional izaciis safuZvel ze gadayvana. es ver moxdeba omiT, erTi meores awi okebiT da rbeviT_ aseTi saSual eba... erTxel da samudamod unda iqnas amogdebul i adami anTa arsebobis saSodan. orive bl okis gadayvana xal xuri demokratiis da xal xuri social izmis ni adagze unda moxdes TiToeul i amaTganis Sinagani procesiT, evol uci iT, msgavs aT yvel a winandel i saSinao cvl il ebebi sa.-

am amonaweris mixedviT, ori urTierTdapi rispirebul i dasavl eTis (kapital isturi) da aRmosavl eTis (komunisturi) bl okebis mSvidobiani evol uciis gziT erTmaneTSi Serwymis debul eba_ romantizmis CarCoSi Tavsdeba. savaraudoa, rom zemoT aRniSnul i **saerTo demokratiul i l ageris**- cnebaSi, Sual eduri pol itikuri orientaciis momxreebi am ori bl okis sinTezs rom gul isxmobdnen. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom es debul eba social - demokratiul i partiisa da parizis organizaciis komitetis 1945 wl is 15 april is erTobl ivi sxdomis mier sabWouri ruseTis diqtatorul i reJimis evol uciuri gziT Secvl is SeuZl ebl obis Sesaxeb miRebul dadgenil ebas ewi naaRmdegeba. es gasakviri araa imdenad, ramdenadac **meore msofl io omis damTavrebi sa da sabWoTa ruseTis Zl evamosil ad saerTaSoriso asparezze gamosvl is Semdeg, qarTul i emigracia agoniaSi Cavarda. sabWoTa ruseTis ngrevis Sesaxeb maT mier SemuSavebul ma yvel a proeqtma srul i kraxi gani cada. gasbWoebul i ruseTi, sabWouri kol onial izmis uZl ieres sayrdenad moevl imna kacobriobas, romel ic pirvandel i sazRvrebiT ar kmayofil deboda, social izmisa da demokratiis ni RbiT, evropis dasavl eTis mimarTul ebiT obobas qsel s xl arTavda da Sua evropaSi wiTel i sasazRvro zol is gavl ebas cdil obda. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, SefarviTi sabWouri agresiis SesaCerebl ad, evropis qveynebi uZl uri aRmoCnda. am fonze, sabWoTa ruseTis wi naaRmdeg qarTul i emigraciis nebi smieri RoniZieba nakl ebad efeqturi iqneboda.**

3)proevropul i orientacia. social - demokratiul i partiis zemoaRniSnul i zogierTi wevris prorusul i orientaciisa da gaurkvevel i Sual eduri poziciis miuxedavad, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis Tavmj do-

mare n.Jordania, saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebis momaval s optimisturi pozici- idan afasebda. imavdroul ad, prorusul i orientaciis mxardamWerebis mi marT principul ad svamda kiTxvas: `sWirdeba Tu ara Cvens partiul xazs revizia am omiT Seqmnil i mdgomareobis gamo?- da iqve ganvl il i istoriis anal izis fonze dasZenda: `Cveni damouki debl obis dros, partiam aRmarTa droSa demokratiis principi beze erovnul i Tavisufl ebis da social uri Tanasworobis. aseTive droSiT wamovediT sazRvargareT Cveni dapyrobis Semdeg da ganvagrZobdiT muSaobas Cveni dakargul i damouki debl obis aRsa- dgenad da Cvens moqmedebas vukavSirebdiT konkretul SemTxvevebSi ama Tu im movl enebiT Seqmnil mdgomareobas. xSirad am iTvis gvesmoda sayvedure- bi internacional idan, rom Cven mil itaristebTan viyaviT. amasve gvisayve- durebda seiT devdariani, magram es ar iyo swori... Cveni xazi iyo demokra- tiul i da oms ar vukavSirebdiT eris ganTavisufl ebis imeds. es Cveni Zi- riTadi debul ebebi daadastures ial tis konferenciaze_ eris Tavisufl e- ba da Tavisufal erTa kavSiri demokratizmis principi beze_ es iyo mudam Cveni da mas revizia ar sWirdeba. aris ki imedebebi rom es gatardeba ruse- Tis fargl ebSi? ara, sabWoTa mTavrobis mtkiceba rom iq aris 14 Tavisufa- l i respublika kamufli aJia da ara sinamdvil e. ami tom, Cven ganvagrZobT mu- Saobas am uryevi principis mixedviT_ eris Tavisufl eba da erTa kavSiri. am miznebis misaRwevaT... CvenTvis mTavaria, rom es principi bebi omma aqtu- al uri gaxada da dadgeba dro Cveni droSis isev afrial ebis da am momen- tisaTvis unda viyot mzad.-

Cems mier n.Jordanas gamosvl idan motanil i am vrcel i amonaweridan kar- gad Cans: 1)emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i parti- isa da mTavrobis ZiriTadi saqmi anoba, saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aR- sadgenad iyo mimarTul i da dasaxul i mizani_ demokratiul i principi bebiT unda ganxorciel ebul iyo da ara omiTa da sxva saxis katakl izmebiT; 2)eris Tavisufl eba da Tavisufal i erebis kavSiri, demokratizmis fundaments unda dafuzneboda, roml is praqtikul i real izacia sabWoTa ruseTis Sema- dgenl obaSi SeuZl ebel i iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, n.Jordanas samarTl i ani mtkicebiT, eris Tavisufl eba isev dRis wesrigSi idga da evropis qveynebis mxadaWerit, saqarTvel os politikuri Zal ebi xel sayrel i momentisaTvis mzadyofnaSi unda yofil iyo.

mTavrobis Tavmj domaris es gamosvl a, marTal ia ukompromiso xasiaTs ata- rebda, magram misi ZiriTadi debul ebebi simarTl iT iyo datvirTul i da ka- mufli aJiT SeniRbul i sabWouri sinamdvil is gaSi Svl ebis mcdel obas Sei- cavda. postsabWouri orientaciis momxreTa wi naaRmdeg iyo mimarTul i gr.ura- taZis gamosvl ac. misi samarTl i ani mtkicebiT, saerTaSoriso asparezze mi- mdinare didi movl enebis dros, ama Tu im politikuri partiis an mTavrobis politikura unda gadasi nj ul iyo, magram daCqarebul i tempiT ar unda ganxor- ciel ebul iyo da taqtikur SecdomebSi ar gadazrdil iyo. `saqarTvel oSi- ambobda igi- saxel mZRvanel od gvqonda arc marcxniv, arc marj vni v. aq ki saWi roa arc dagvi aneba, arc aCqareba. omis gamocxadebis da desantis dros davigvi aneT, exl a ki Zal ze vi CqariT. ami tom unda gavCer deT da organi zaci- ul ad SekavSirebul i viyot. Cveni sakiTxis Casma zogad, erTa TviTgamorkve- vis principis CarCoSi dauSvebel ia, vinai dan Cven aRsadgeni gvaqvs Cveni dakargul i damouki debl oba, droebi T ki es ki Txva rCeba RiaT, vinai dan ar

gvaqvs ami sTvis Sesafeeri asparezi.-

erTi SexedviT sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i, radgan omis damTavrebis Semdgom etapze, saerTaSoriso asparezze dagrovil i probl emebi dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel o da miTumetes emigraciaSi myofi misi mTavrobis `namsxvrevebi,- evropis qveynebisatvis nakl ebad mimzidvel i Canda. swored es faqtori hqonda mxedvel obaSi gr.urataZes, roca TavSekavebasa da l odinis taqtikaze amaxvil ebda yuradRebas. am kursis Secvl is real uri pirobemis momzadeba, dasavl eT evropis an sxva romel ime Zl ieri saxel mwifos warmomadgenl obis Tanadgomas moiTxovda. es aucil ebl oba, qarTul i emigraciis mesveurT kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs iseTi anti-sabWouri organizaciis Seqmnis mcdel oba, roml is saqmianoba garkveul i formiT ssr kavSiris mowinaaRmdege saxel mwifoTa interesebSiac j deboda. am mimarTul ebiT r.al Sibaiasa da g.gabl ianis mier pirvel i qmediTi nabij i 1946 wel s gadaidga da `saqarTvel os nacional uri komiteti- daarsda. pirvel etapze am organizaciis ZiriTad mizans, misi arsebobiT aSS- is Sesabamisi uwyebebis daiintereseba warmoadgenda. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom aRniSnul i komitetis xel mZRvanel ebi, aSS- is dazvervis mesveurebTan Sesabamis mol aparakebebs awarmoebden. es urTierToba 1948 wl i- dan ki dev ufro gaRrmavda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs aSS- is da ingl isis dazvervis xel mZRvanel Ta erTobl ivi iniciativiT, l ondonis maxl obl ad qal aq narvicSi anti-sabWouri saqmianobis Stabis- `nel sonis- Seqmna, romel sac 5 damoukidebel i ganyofil eba daeqvemdebara. ssrk- Tan mimarTebaSi sadazvervo saqmianobas me- 4 ganyofil eba awarmoebda. rac Seexeba me- 5 ganyofil ebas, n.dadeSqel iani xel mZRvanel obda. mis daniSnul ebas anti-sabWourad moazrovne qarTvel ebis SerCeva, sadazvervo saqmianobiT daspecial izeba da Turqetis gavliT saqarTvel oSi Segzavna warmoadgenda.³

Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul i dokumenturi masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel o- Turqetis sasazRvro perimetri, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis Sesabamis uwyebes sagangebod hqonda dacul i. amis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari im saangariSo moxsenebaSi, romel ic `mogzaurobis istoriis- saxel l wodebiTaa dasaTaurebul i. es dokumenti A- 4 formatis 5 gverdiani xel - naweria da uaRresad saintereso informacias Seicavs. misi avtorebi im si- Znel eebze amaxvil eben yuradRebas, romel ic sazRvris gadakveTas ukavSirdeba. iqve garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom droTa ganmavl obaSi saqarTvel oSi, Turqetidan Serweva da adgil obriv mosaxl eobasTan dakontaqteba safexurebrivad rTul deboda. omis damTavrebis Semdeg, ssrk- Si represiebis axal i tal Ris dawyebam, tyved Cavar dni l Ta oj axebi da emigraciaSi myofTa naTe- savebi umZimes mdgomareobaSi Caayena. Tavis gadarCenis miZniT, isini sabWo- Ta imperiis datovebas cdil obden. es procesi gansakuTrebiT saqarTvel o- Turqetis sasazRvro monakveTze SeiniSneboda. am xazis gaZl ierebul i meTval yureoba aRniSnul i faqtoriTac iyo ganpirorebul i.

qarTul i emigraciis optimisturi SemarTebis axal i safexuri Crdil oET atl antikis organizaciis samxedro- pol itikuri bl okis (nato) Seqmni dan (1949 wel i) iwyeba. ramdenadac, or urTierTdapi rispirebul sistemas Soris `civi omis- qariSxal i garduval i Canda, es faqti qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri speqtrisaTvis SeumCnevel i ar darCenil a. man garkveul i formiT asaxva saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komite-

tisadmi gagzavnil n.Jordani as mi marTvaSi ac hpova. es dokumenti imdenad mni Svel ovani iyo, rom mis Sesaxeb saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedma social - demokratiul i partiis central uri komitetis pl enumma (1949 wl is 9 da 10 seqtemberi) sagangebod imsj el a. `mimdinare momenti da Cveni taqtika- Sesaxeb miRebul dadgenil ebaSi, ruseTsa da evropa- amerikas Soris warmoqmnil i dapirispireba Semdegi formiTaa warmodgenil i: `omis dros SeuRI ebul i demokratia da sabWoTa tirania gaiyvnen. moxda is, rac bunebis kanoni T unda momxdariyo. evropa- amerika irazmeba, moskovi martovdeba. konfliqti am or banakTa Soris atarebs `civi omis- saxes da mesame `cxeli i omis- aCrdil i msofilios Tavs dastrial ebs. am mdgomareobis didi xniT damagreba SeuZI ebel ia, is ukve gacda mopirdapireTa neba survil ebis sazRvarebs, xol o am konfliqtTa gadaWra ni Snavs bol Sevizmis damarcxebas, mis gaqrobas da ruseTis xal xTa ganTavisufl ebas.-

am amonawerSi warmodgenil i debul ebis mixedvit, meore msofilio omis Semdeg Seqmnil i daZabul i urTierTobis daregul irebas, bol Sevizmis marcxida sabWoTa imperiis sazRvrebSi moqceul i erebis ganTavisufl eba moyoloda. am saqmeSi erT- erTi mniSvel ovani roli, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul partias unda Seesrul ebina. mi Tumetes, rogorc dokumentSi aRniSnul i, `saqarTvel oSi mebrZol i social - demokratiul i partia, j o j o xeTuri pirobebis miuxedavad, uryevad dgas Tavis Zvel nacad gzaze da kvl avindeburad ganagrZobs brZol as saqarTvel os suverenitetis da demokratiul i wyobil ebis aRsadgenad. partiam saxel mZRvanel od mi iRo sazRvargareTul i biuros da nacional uri mTavrobis taqtika, roml is wyal obiTacacda bevr umizezo msxverpls da darCa erTgul i Tavisi nacadi taqtikisa.~ es imis damadasturebel ia, rom sbWoTa saqarTvel oSi, aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebi, im kurss iziarebdnen, romel ic sazRvargareT myofi qarTul i social - demokratiisa da mTavrobis mier iyo SemuSavebul i. imave dokumentis momdevno nawil Si, garkvevi Taa miTitebul i im mosal odnel i Sidakonfliqtebis ganmapirobebel mi zezebze, romel ic sabWoTa imperiaSi unda warmoqmnil iyo da am imperiis damonebul i xal xebis ganTavisufl ebis safexuri gamxdariyo. mi Tumetes, rogorc dokumentSi aRniSnul i, ssrk- i orpol usian saxel mwifod Camoyal ibda; 1) gaRatakebul i, adami anur ufl ebebs mokl ebul i moqal aqeebi da 2) am xal xis mCagvrel i xel isufl eba. maT Soris dapirispireba imdenad Tval Si sacemi iyo, rom zemoaRniSnul i dokumentis Semdgenl ebi am faqtorSi sabWoTa sistemis ngrevis myar safexurs xedavda. sabWoTa kavSi rSi `xal xi ekonomurad da polititurad ufro gaRatakebul ia- vkiTxul obT imave dokumentSi- vinem es TviT omis dros iyo. qveynis mTel i avl adideba saxel mwifos xel Sia. xal xis isic waarTves rac omis dros ubozes, saSinel i si Ratake da adami anis ufl ebebis fexqves gaTel va xal xis xvedri Sei qmna. dRes erT mxarezed dgas daCoqil i, dabeCavebul i sabWoTa adami anebi, Tavisufl ebis da adami anobis maZiebel ni, xol o meore mxarezed dgas xel isufl eba_ am xal xebis mCagvrel ni da sixl is mwovel ni. maT Soris gamarTul ia samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol a, rac istoriul perspeqtivaSi sabWoTa rejimis erT- erT damangrevel pirobas warmoadgens. es saSinao konfliqti- xal xisadmi undobl oba da SiSi- badebs sagareo konfliqtis SesaZl ebl obas. Sinauri konfliqtebis dasafaravad xel isufl eba daadga aSkara agresiul gzas.-

am dokumentis gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba imaSiac mdgomareobs, rom me-
ore msofl io omis dros ingl is- ameriki s mTavrobis mier ganxorciel ebu-
l i pol itikuri kursi Secdomad, sabWoTa ruseTis teritoriul ad gafar-
Toebis da axal i komunisturi qveynebis aRmocenebis safuZvl adaa gamocx-
adebul i. `ingl is- ameriki s becuri saomari pol itiki s Sedegad- vkiTxu-
l obT dokumentSi- ruseTi daepatrona aRmosavl eT da samxreT evropis
did nawil s. Tavisi sazRvari miitana Setin- triestis Soris mdebare xazze,
amTavrebs CineTis gakomunistebas da miemarTeba mTel i aziis Tavis morCi-
l ebaSi dasayenebl ad.-

evropisa da SeerTebul i Statebis xel isufal Ta mxridan Tavisi droze
daSvebul i Secdomebis miuxedavad, sabWoTa ruseTTan dapi rispirebis axa-
l i safexuris Seqmnam, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraci isa da saqarTvel oSi
aral egal urad moqmedi antisabWouri Zal ebis rigebSi qveynis ganTavisu-
fl ebis imedi garkveul i doziT gaaRviZa. miuxedavad amisa, evropisa da
aSS- is samTavrobo wreebis gameZavebul i pol itikuri kursis gamo, maTdami
ndobis faqtori dabal i iyo. amitom, aral egal urad moqmedi antisabWouri
Zal ebis taqtika gansakuTrebul TavdaWeraze da si frTxil eze iyo dafuZneb-
ul i. amis utyuar dadasturebas imave dadgenil ebis daskvniTi nawil i war-
moadgens. `amdenad, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis taqtika-
vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- damyarebul ia istoriul aucil ebl obazed- sab-
WoTa wyobil ebis ueWvel dangrevazed, misi axal i Tavisufal i wyobil ebiT
Secvl azed. saqarTvel os dRevandel pi robebSi, sadac mcxovreba 80% so-
cial - demokratiis ideuri da moral uri gavlenis qveS imyofeba- Cveni
partiis taqtika erTia- xal xis damagreba social - demokratiis ideur sfe-
roSi, misi rigebis pol itikurad dawyoba, mi mdinare sakiTxebSi garkveva da
acil eba yovel gvარი umizezo da udrovo msxverpl is. am gziT momzadebul i
xal xi, gadamwyvet momentSi gamova asparezze da TavisiTavs daepatroneba im
saSual ebebiT romel sac im dros aucil ebl oba ukarnaxebs. erTi si tyviT,
Cveni taqtika reJimis gardatexis xanaSi daeqvemdebareba Cvens uaxl oes mi-
znebs da saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenas.-

am amonaweris mi xedviT, pol itikuri Zal ebis konsol idacia da erTobl ivi
moqmedeba, saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos aRsadgenad xal xis yovel mxrivi mom-
zadebis ZiriTad safexuradaa gamocxadebul i. amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os
social - demokratiul i partiis 1949 wl is 10 seqtembris pl enumis sxdomaze
miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `sazRvargareTis biurom naciona-
l ur mTavrobasTan erTad gadadgas saWi ro nabiji ucxoetSi erovnul i
frontis Sesaqmnel ad nacional uri mTavrobis irgvl iv da misi meTaur-
biT. es iqneba saqarTvel oSi arsebul i erTobis gagrZel eba da gamoxat-
ul eba, sadac yvel a saRi erovnul i Zal ebi gaerTianebul i arian erT anti-
komunistur da nacional uri Tavisuflebis frontSi.-

zemoaRniSnul i dadgenil ebis miuxedavad, emigraci aSi myofi pol itikuri
Zal ebi urTierTdapi rispirebiT iyvnen qarTul ni da pirvel obis mosapove-
bl ad Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebas cdil obdnen. am Sida brZol ebidan
gamomdinare, pol itikuri procesebis yvel aze aqtual uri sakiTxebi maTi
mxridan yuradRebis miRma da reagirebis gareSe rCeboda. maTi aseTi qmede-
ba, saqarTvel oSi iatakqveSeTSi moqmed organizaciebze da mis wevrebze
uaryofiT fsiqol ogiur zemoqmedebas axdenda. arada, umZimes cxovrebi se-

ul pirobebSi myofi antisabWoTa saqmi anobaSi Cabmul i adami anebi, met yura-
dRebas moiTxovda. maTdami finansur daxmarebas Tuki ver SeZl ebdnen, er-
Tobl ivi Zal ebiT sabWoTa xel isufli ebiS winaaRmdeg brZol aSi erTmane-
Tis gverdiT yofna formal urad mainc unda eCveni naT. es faqtori, garkveul i
doziT maTdami stimulatoris rols Seasrul ebda. saarqivo masal ebiT
irkveva, rom am mimarTul ebiT warmatebul i nabij is gadadgma SeuZl ebel i
gaxda. omis Semdgomi periodi pol itikur Zal Ta Soris uazro dapirispri-
rebiTa da urTierT pol itikuri ganqiqebiT aRiniSna. es saval alo garemo-
eba qonda mxedvel obaSi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cen-
tral uri komitetis 1950 wl is 2 oqtombris aral egal ur sxdomas, romel -
mac am sakiTxs sagangebo yuradReba dauTmo da Sesabamisi dadgenil ebac
mi iRo. `Seqmnil i saerTasoris mdgomareoba- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- pa-
rtiasa damis xel mZRvanel organoebS aval ebs gansakuTrebul i yuradReba
mi aqci os n.Jordani as meTaurobiT ucxoETSi arsebul i erovnul i mTavro-
bis saqmi anobas da mas aRmouCinos yovel gvari daxmareba. cekas aucil ebel
saWi roebad mi aCnia ucxoETSi gaxiznul i yvel a WeSmariti patriotis mTavro-
bis irgvl iv darazmva ganurCevl ad maTi pol itikuri mimarTul ebisa. am mi-
zniT, sazRvargareTis biuros eval eba mi iRos yovel gvari zomebi romel ic
am erTobas migvaaxl oebS... Cveni partiis sazRvargareTul i biuro da ucx-
oeTSi arsebul i sxva daj gufebebi unda TamaSobdnen mTavrobis damxmara
da xel is Semwyob rols, iq sdac maT es exerxebaT. am saxiT darazmul emi-
gracias SeuZl ia saqarTvel os interesebs gauwios didi samsaxuri da aaci-
l os mosal odnel i katastrofa da xifaTi. ceka saWi rod Tvl is... emigraci-
is Sinauri kinkl aobis ni adagze dayofa, saqarTvel os zianis mets ucxoET-
Si arafers moutans. droa emigracia gons moegos, Rmad Caukvi rdes Tavis
saqciel s da Seafasos momentis simZime. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi is pasuxs
agebs erisa da istoriis winase. nuravin nu fiqrobs, rom is gaeqceva ganTa-
visufli ebul i eris samsj avros.-

amrigad, 1)meore msofil io omis damamTavrebel etapze, sbWoTa ruseTis-
gan `ganmatavisufli ebel i misiiTa- da `saxal xo demokratiis- niRbiT ev-
ropis qveynebis okupaciis sakiTxi, bol Sevi kebi sgan devnil ma da emigra-
ciaSi myofma kanonierma mTavrobema, ideol ogi ur frontze gansjis Ziri-
Tad sagnad aqcia. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom am sakiT-
Tan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i emigracia gansakuTrebiT aqtiurobda. sabWo-
Ta ruseTis specsamsaxurebis mier, 1945 wel s safrangeTSi Seqmnil i `qarT-
vel patriotTa kavSiri,~ qarTvel i emigrantebis gadabirebas, sabWoTa
pl atformaze gadayvanas da ideol ogi ur frontze qarTul i emigraciis
neutralizebas iTval iswinebda.

2)evropis saxel mwi foTa l iderebis mxridan qarTul i emigraciisadmi
1921- 1945 wl ebSi micemul i dapirebebis Seusrul ebl obam, gameZavebul ma
pol itikurma kursma da sabWoTa ruseTan `pol itikurma arSiyobam- (n.Jo-
rdania), qarTvel emigrantTa Soris evropisadmi nihil izmi daamkvidra
damisi orientaciis sami mimarTul ebiT (a)prorusul i, b)Sual eduri da
g)dasavl eT evropul i] Camoyal ibebas Seuwyo xel i. a)saarqivo masal ebiT
irkveva, rom qarTul i emigraciis erTij gufi, warsul is anal izidan ga-
momdinare, evropis qveynebsi saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgeni sad-
mi real uri mxardaWeris ni adags da resursebs ver xedavda. evropisadmi

nihil izmi maTSi imdenad ZI ierad iyo Cakirul i, rom ruseTi dan gamoyo-
 faze uars acxadebdnen da saqarTvel os damouki debl obis sakiTxis wi na
 pl anze wamowevas Tavis motyuebad Tvl idnen; b) sabWoTa ruseTSi gamefe-
 bul i diqtaturis evol uciuri gziT Secvl is SeuZI ebl obidan gamom-
 dinare, qarTvel i emigrantebis meore daj gufeba, ruseTis imedad darCe-
 nas miuRebl ad mi iCnevda. imavdroul ad, evropis qveynebtan mimarTebaSi-
 ac nihil izms amJRavnebdad da saqarTvel os gadarCenis real ur saSual e-
 bad_ `saerTo demokratiul l agers- moiazrebda. `politikuri roman-
 tizmiT- damZimebul i es Sexedul eba, dasavl eTis kapital isturi da aR-
 mosavl eTis komunisturi bl okebis mSvidobiani evol uciis gziT erTma-
 neTSi Serwymas iTval iswinebda; g) saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis
 Tavmj domare da misi mxardamWerebi, saqarTvel os momaval s evropis qvey-
 nebis TanadgomaSi da demokrtizmSi xedavda. qarTul i emigraciis cno-
 bierebaSi dasavl eTis gan mxardaWeris gaRrmavebas ori faqtori daedo
 safuZvl ad: a) `saqarTvel os nacional uri komitetisa- da aSS- is dazve-
 rvis warmomadgenl ebis saqmiani kontaktebi da b) 1949 wels Crdil o atl a-
 ntikuri samxedro -politikuri bl okis (nato) Seqmna.

3) saarqivo masal ebSi motanil i monacemebis mi xedviT, evropis qveynebi sa
 da aSS- is xel isufal Ta mxridan im etapze sabWoTa imperiis sawinaaRm-
 degod gatarebul ma pragmatul ma RonisZiebebma, qarTul i politikuri
 emigraciisa da saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi antisabWouri Zal eb-
 is Semadgenl obaSi, qveynis ganTavisufl ebis imedebi gaacocxl a. amis
 real ur safuZvel s, mimdinare politikuri procesebis cval ebadobidan
 da mosal odnel i xel sayrel i pirobebis Seqmni dan gamomdinare, dasavl
 eT evropaSi arsebul i qarTul i politikuri speqtris mier, saqarTve-
 l os kanonieri mTavrobis garSemo gaerTianebis sakiTxis principul ad
 dasma iZl eoda. miTumetes, maTi mxridan konsesusze dafuZnebul i er-
 Tobl ivi samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebis dadebiTad gadawyveta, eris Tavisu-
 fl ebisTvis mosamzadebel wi na pirobad iqna gamocxadebul i.

Y

Tavi VII. saerTaSoriso organizaciebi da saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis sakiTxi (1951- 1955 ww.)

\$1. saqarTvel os damouki debl obis sakiTxi da visbadenis konferencia

meore msofil io omis Semdgomma pol itikurma procesebma da sabWoTa imperiis ZI evamosil ebam, evropis qarTul i emigracia sagonebel Si Caagdo. maT winaSe konkretul ad daisva sakiTxi_ ra formiTa da saSual ebebiT SeiZl eboda monobis uRI isgan saqarTvel os ganTavisufli eba. am kiTxvaze dasabuTebul i pasuxis gacema im Tval sazrisiTac iyo aucil ebel i, rom emigraciaSi aRzrdil qarTvel axal gazrdobas, erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis saprogramo mimarTul ebebi esaWi roeboda. TaobaTa cvl is Sedegad, pol itikur sarbiel ze darCenil i udidesi gamocdil ebis mqone TiTo- orol a pirovnebisgan SemoqmedebiT naazrevze dafuZnebul i, saprogramo debul ebebis droul ad Seqmna, saSur saqmes warmoadgernda. emigraciaSi myofma qarTul ma pol itikurma el itam, aseTi saxis dokumenti TavianT axal gazrda memkvidreebs im etapze ver SesTavaza. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os Tavisufli ebis samomavl o SesaZl ebl obebze da perspeqtivebze, individual ur Sexedul ebebs sTavazobdnen mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT e.gegeWkoris mosazrebebi gamoirCeva. igi dasabuTebul i formiT Seaxsenebda qarTul i emigraciis axal gazrda Taobas: 1)bol Sevikebis winaaRmdag brZol a, rusul emigraciasTan erTd ganxorciel ebina; 2)bol Sevikuri reJimisgan Tavis daRweva mxol od erTobl ivi moqmedebiT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i. rac Seexeba rusul i emigraciis mxridan Zvel i memkvidreobis Tundac nawil obrivad SenarCunebisadmi swrafvas, amasTan dakavSirebiT igive e.gegeWkori garkveviT miuTitebda: `amas gadawyvets ara survil i, aramed is Zal Ta ganwyobil eba, romelic Seiqmneba kremli s batonta damarcxebis Semdeg. es Zal Ta ganwyobil eba Cvens sasargebl od rom moewyos, Tavidanve unda iqnes aRebul i iseTi xazi, romelic mWidrod dagvakavSirebs am brZol aSi monawil e da meTaur Zal ebTan.¹ amave pozicias iziarebda n.Jordaniac. igi Seqmnil vitarebas mefis TviTmpyrobel obis periods adarebda da dasZenda: `qarTvel - TamabrZol i nawil i iRebda monawil eobas rusebTan erTad saerTo brZol aSi mefis reJimis winaaRmdag, axl a ismeba Cvens winaSe igive sakiTxi: miviRoT monawil eoba axl acarsebul i wyobil ebis dangrevaSi, Tu vuyuroT Soridan gamefebul despotias, vitom Cven es ar gvexeba.² aseTi qmedeba, n.Jordani as Secdomad miacnda. am fonze, igi qarTul i emigraciis mesveurt, rusul i pol itikuri speqtris kl asifikaciis aucil ebl obaze miuTitebda. mxol od amis Semdeg miicnevda SesaZl ebl ad saqarTvel osTvis misaRebrusul pol itikur mimdinareobasTan TanamSroml obas. anal ogiuri pozicia eWira n.cincaZesac. mxedvel obaSi maqvs pol itikuri partieb is erTobl ivyiril obaze (1950 wl is oqtomberi) misi mxridan yril obisadmi SeTavazebul i formul ireba. masSi Setanil i mcireodeni cvl il ebis Semdeg, n.cincaZi seul debul ebas mxari epatarizem, r.gabaSvil ma da iv.zurabiSvil ma dauWira. sbWouri rkinis kedl is rkal Si moqceul i erebis ganTavisufli ebis Sesaxeb, erTobl ivad SemuSavebul dokumentSi garkveviT iyo miuTitebul i: `uSual o mi za-

ni unda iyos l ikvidacia reJimi sa, rogorc pirvel i da aucil ebel i pi roba erTa ganTavisufl ebi sa.~ dasaxul i mi znis- saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis SesaZl ebl obas, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri speqtri mxol od sabWoTa reJimis l ikvidaciaSi xedavda. mis warmomadgenl ebs kargad hqondaT gacnobi erebul i, rom a) amis mi Rweva, mxol od rusul da saerTaSoriso pol itikur Zal ebTan erTobl ivi muSaobiT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i; b) pol itikuri pasuxismgebl obis mTel i simZime qarTul i emigraciis gamWri axobaze da mis SorismWvretel obaze iqneboda damokidebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs am ideis qarTvel i eris mi swrafebis SesatyvisobaSi moyvanis aucil ebl oba da misi pragmatul oba. am pol itikuri tvirtis Rirseul ad tarebas qarTul i emigracia mxol od im SemTxvevaSi SeZl ebda, Tuki erTiani fronti T imoqmedebda, maTi mxridan gadadgmul i yovel i pol itikuri nabij i brZnul da gaazrebul gadawyvetil ebas daefuZneboda. am sasicocxl o mniSvnel obis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `dRevandel i mdgomareoba da Cveni sakiTxi~ sasaTiani garkveiT werda: `saqarTvel os ufl ebebis sakiTxi xorcs Seisxams damouki debl obisa da Tavisufl ebi saxiT, mxol od Semotanil i reJimis da mis SemontanTa dangrevi T... am SemTxvevisaTvis unda vemzadoT da ar gavuSvaT arcerTi SemTxveva kavSirebis Tu sxva saxiT, rac Cvens brZol as gaacocxl ebs da gaaZl ierebs. amistvis ki uwinares yovl isa saWiroa qarTul i emigraciis gamTI i aneba- gaerTianeba. am mxriT qarTul i emigracia mxol od erT organizacias unda warmoadgendes, vinda dan yvel as erTi mi zani gvaqvs, rac sakmarisi unda iyos imistvis, rom erTsul ovnad vibrZol oT tanj ul i samSobl os gasanTavisufl ebl ad.~ imave sasaTianis samarTI i ani mtkicebiT, oruzl ieres dapirispirebul mxareeb_ bol Sevizmsa da demokratias Soris mimdinare pol itikuri, ideol ogiuri da ekonomikuri brZola, saqarTvel os sasargebl od unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. mi Tumetes, am dapirispirebis Sedegad i badeboda `epoqa srul i ad axal i, mTel i Tavis i SinaarsiT azrovnebi sa da moral is mxriT, saTanado pol itikiT da ekonomik iT. mSobi aroba mimdinareobs didi tanj va wamebiT, roml is msgavsi SeiZl eba arasodes ar gaevl os kacobri obas.-³

saerTaSoriso pol itikuri situacia da mimdinare rTul i pol itikuri procesebi, qarTul i emigraciis winaSe sabWoTa imperiis winaaRmdag brZol is iseTi formis SemuSavebas moitxovda, romel ic sabWoTa ruseTisadmi dapirispirebul i qveynebis interesTa CarCoSi Caj deboda, qarTvel Ta Tavisufl ebi sken swrafvas, srul ad Tu ara garkveul i formiT upasuxebda. am urTul esi pol itikuri l abirinTebidan swori mimarTul ebiT gzis gakvl eva, ki dev ufro did sirtul eebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. mcir-eodeni pol itikuri cdomil eba, warsul is mTel i saqmianobis nul ovan safexuramde dayvanis safuZvel i SeiZl eba gamxdariyo. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis, gansakuTrebiT samTavrobo Stos SemorCeni l `nam-sxvevebs-, didi si frTxil isa da pasuxismgebl obis winaSe ayenebda.

aset rTul vitarebaSi myofi qarTul i emigraciis el itarul i frTis warmomadgenel Ta yuradReba, pol itikur asparezze gamosul ma amerikul ma komitetma mi iqcia. im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebis mixedvit Tuki vimsj el ebT, axl adSeqmnil i amerikul i komitetisa da qarTul i emigraciis interesebi Ziritadad erTmaneTs daemTx-

va. aqedan gamomdinare, pol itikurma aucil ebl obam, am komitetTan TanamSroml oba da qarTul i saqmiSTvis sasi keTod gamoyeneba moiTxova. pirvel i rigis amocanas, amerikis sazogadoebaSi gzis gakafva da qarTul i saqmiT pol itikuri speqtris daintereseba warmoadgenda. meore mxriv, sakiTxi exeboda finansebs da presis saSual ebebs. Tuki qarTul i pol itikuri emigracia am komitetTan TanamSroml obas aawyobda, mas garkveul i formiT daxmarebis real uri Sansebi gauCndeboda. miTumetes, aRniSnul komitets aSS- is sagareo saqmeTa saministro l obirebda. am komitetis oficial uri miwvevis safuZvel ze moxda qarTul i del egaciis gagzavna visbadenis TaTbirze. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `aRmasrul ebel i komitetis pol itikuri Sedegebi-- giorgi keresel iZe werda: `amerikul ma komitetma gvTxova visbadenSi Cveni del egacia wargvegZavna. Txovna Sevasrul eT... Cven rom ganzed gavgomil iyaviT, amerikel ebi am sakiTxis Sesaxeb mar to rusebisgan miRebdenen cnobebis da maTi prorusul oba ufro gaRrmavdeboda, radgan pasuxismgebl oba SeTanxmebis cdis miuxedavad Cven dagvawveboda. SemdegSi amerikel ebisken gzis gamonaxva didad gagviZnel deboda da moqmedebisTvis asparezs davkargavdiT.- amave sakiTxis Seexo imave Jurnal Si agiaZis fsevdoni miT gamoqveynebul i weril i `mudam Tavsatexi sakiTxi.- weril is avtori gaktivrebas gamoTqvamda visbadenSi del egaciis gagzavnis faqtis arapatriotul aqtad opoziciis mier gamocxadebis gamoda iqve dasZenda: `qarTvel ebi kargad vichobT rusebs da viciT, ra Zal aqvs maT mier mocemul dapi rebebs, magram visbadenSi Cveni del egatebi ar wasul an raimes saTxovnel ad, aramed, wavidnen amerikul i komitetis miwveviT, da rogorc viciT, aramc Tu qarTvel del egatebs, aramed sxvebsac saqarTvel os damouki debl obis sakiTxi sadaod ar gauxdiaT.-

Cems mier motanil i amonawerebi adasturebs, rom visbadenSi qarTvel - Ta wasvl a, rusul i emigraciis kaprizebis dasakmayofil ebl ad ki ar iyo gakeTebul i, aramed, aq aSS- is xel isufl ebis mxridan l obirebadi komitetis `mi patiJeba- gansazRvravda am nabij is gadadgmas. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki qarTvel oba komitets uariT upasuxebda, igi im cixe- simagres dakargavda, romel sac zurgi unda gaemagrebi na qarTul i emigraciisaTvis sabWoTa imperiis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi. meore mxriv, qarTvel Ta am TavSekavebas, rusul i emigracia, qarTul i emigraciis sawinaaRmdego propagandisTvis gamoiyenebda. sworad Seni Snavda g.keresel iZe, roca werda: `Cven rom sakiTxis arapopul arobas SeveCerebineT, amerikel Ta Tval Si rusebi iqnebodnen marTal ni. propagandasac gaswevdenen, rom mxol od rusebsa hsurT bol Sevikebis winaaRmdeg Zal Ta darazmva, sxva erebs ki arao. amerikis komiteti gaagrZel ebda rusebTan TanamSroml obas `tete a tete- da rogorc mis centrSi, agreTve presaSi da saministroebSi dagrovdeboda masal a rusTa sasargebl od da Cven sawinaaRmdegod. mxol od amerikis komitetis saSual ebiT SegviZl i an vimoqmedoT presazed, romel ic qmnis azrs da sazogadoebrivi azri ki erTi im umTavres faqtorTagania, romel nic mTavrobis pol itikasa hqmni an.-⁴

zemoaRniSnul i faqtebiT Tu vixel mZRvanel ebT, visbadenSi qarTul i del egaciis warmomadgenl ebis gagzavna aucil ebl obiT da Seqmnil i pol itikuri koni unqtur is gaTval i swinebiT iyo ganpi robebul i. miuxedavad amisa, `cen-

tral uri evropis qarTul i pol itikuri komitetis- saxel iT, qarTul i emigraciis erTma nawil ma (mixeil wereTel i, daviT vaCnaZe, dimi tri Sal ikaSvil i, niko nakaSiZe, al .kobaiZe) qarTul i emigraciisadmi sagangebo mimarTva gavr cel a. am 11 gverdian dokumentSi saubar ia StudgartSi gaerTianebul i 5 rusul i organizaciis (COHP) 1951 wl is 19 agvistos erovnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi SemuSavebul poziciaze. miTiTebul ia, rom am axal i gaerTianebis mizans romanovebis imperiis fargl ebSi ruseTis aRdgena warmoadgenda. imave dokumentSi xazgasmiT weria, rom aseT gaerTianebasTan, romel ic erovnul sakiTxs uaryofda, Tavisufl ebisaTvis mebrZol qarTvel obas araferi esaqmeboda. Studgartis dekl araciaze dayrdnobiT, am dokumentSi 5 punktadaa CamoTvl il i Turatom ar SeiZl eboda qarTvel Tamonawil eobis miReba visbadenis konferenciis muSaobaSi.⁵ am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, k.gvarjal aZe miuTiTebda, rom visbadenis konferenci am gadaWriT uaryo rusul i organizaciebis StudgartSi miRebul i dadgenil ebebi. aqedan gamomdi nare, igi dauSvebl ad mi iCnevda Studgartisa da visbadenis erTmaneTTan gai givebas. am sakiTxis Sesaxeb r.arseniZis mier gamoqveynebul publ ikaciaSi `mimoxil va- vkiTxul obT: `Studgartis debul ebebi gadaabes visbadenis TaTbirs da ase warmoSves azrTa srul i arev- dareva. verafriT ver daaj erebT zogierT am aRrevaSi dainteresebul T, rom visbadenis TaTbirze es ukanasknel i savsebiT uaryofil i iqna da gauqmebul ad gamocxadda, rogorc erovnul - pol itikur sakiTxebis, ise saorganizacio wyobis sakiTxSi.⁶ amave publ ikaciaSi dasabuTebul i formiTa warmodgenil i `central uri evropis qarTul i pol itikuri komitetis- mier qarTul i emigraciisadmi gakeTebul i mimarTvis kritika da aRniSnul ia, rom mis wevrebs `ver gaurCeviaT erTmaneTisagan ori TaTbiris- Studgartis da visbadenis ZiriTadi winaaRmdogobani... ori Tvis Semdeg visbadenis TaTbiridan, verc weril obiTi dokumentebiT, verc si tyvieri ganmar tebebiT ver SeeCvivnen azrs am ori TaTbiris sxvadasxvaobis sas. Tavis mowodebaSi ac ise ureven am or movl enas erTmaneTSi, ... rom Zal a uneburad eWvi gvpareba, maTi gza- kval is dasabnevad xom ar gamoaqveynes rusis zogierTma wreebma Studgartis `nacodvil evi!-

am SemTxvevaSi r.arseniZe savsebiT martal ia, Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom simarTl is damdgenel s, rogorc TviTon ambobs, pirvel rigSi unda miemarTa parizis qarTvel Ta erovnul i sabWosTvis an mTavrobi-sTvis Sesabamisi dokumentaciis misaRebad. ramdenadac es el ementarul i procedura iqna darRveuli, `central uri evropis qarTul i komitetis- mxridan gavr cel ebul ma bral debebma, mizanimarTul i forma mi iRo. amis dadasturebas is faqtic warmoadgenda, rom visbadeni miRebul i dadgenil ebis nacvl ad, maTi mxridan mxol od dekl aracia iqna gamoqveynebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mi unxenSi gamomaval i Turqul i orientaciis Jurnal `kavkazSi- dabeWdil i publ ikacia. am SemTxvevaSi mkiTxvel sazogadoebas pirvel adi dokumenti ar miawodes da manipul ireba dekl araciiT daiwyes. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gansakuTrebul yuradRebas `qarTul i pol itikuri centris- mier 1952 wl is oqtomberSi gavr cel ebul i `ganmar teba da gafrTxil eba- iqcevs. am dokumentSi SedarebiTi mcdel obaa mocemul i visbadeni da mi unxenSi miRebul dokumentebs Soris. visbadenis (1951 wl is 16 oqtomberi) mol aparakebaSi 5 rusul i demokratiul i da social isturi orga-

nizacia i Rebda monawil eobas. am forumSi miwweul i iyo: qarTvel ebis, bel orusebis, azerbaijanel ebis, Crdil o kavkasiel ebis, Turqestanis sabWoebisa da komitetebis warmomadgenl ebi. aRniSnul i mol aparakeba mal eve datova erTma rusul ma organizaciama da bel orusiis warmomadgenl ebma. bel orusiis xma, 4 rusul organizacias daumates. visbadenis mol aparakebas somxuri j gufi SeuerTda. mol aparakebaSi monawil eTa warmomadgenl ebis bazaze Seqmnil i sakoordinacio centri 5 rusis da 5 ararusis (nacional is) Semadgenl obiT dakompl eqtda. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gamoqveynebul i masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom daCagrul i erebis warmomadgenl ebi dan gansakuTrebul i pativiscema qarTvel i del egatebis mimarT iqna gamoCeni i da misi erT-erTi warmomadgenel i n.cincaZe TaTbiris Tavmj domared air-Cies. rac Seexeba visbadenis mol aparakebaze miRebul statuts, `sakoordinacio centri- farTo polititur bazas unda dafuzneboda. mis Semadgenl obaSi gaerTiane bis SesaZl ebl oba ssrk- Si mosaxl e yvel a erebis demokratiul organizaciebs eZl eoda. miuxedavad amisa, orive dokumenti `sakoordinacio centrSi- daSvebas ukrZal avda yvel a im organizaciebsa da daj gufebes, roml ebiC revol uci amde arsebul i wyobil ebis restavracias, total itarul i diqtaturis raim e formiT danyarebas uWerda mxars. aRniSnul i organos karebi daxurul i iyo imaTTvisac, vinc nacional uri siZul - vil is propagandas eweoda.

sayuradReboais faqti, rom visbadenis TaTbirma, sagangebo msjel obis sagnad Studgartis TaTbirze miRebul i prorusul i orientaciis programa aqcia, radgan am dokumentis mixedvit: a) Studgartis programaSi, sabWoTa xel isuflebis damxoba prioritad iyo gamocxadebul i; b) Tebervl is revol uci amdel i rusul i mmarTvel obis yvel a formis uaryofis fonze, kerenskis droindel i rusul i xel isuflebis SenarCunebamizan Sewonil ad iyo miCneuli. am debulebas, `mimarTva- gafrTxil ebis- avtorebi, visbadenSi miRebul ad warudgendnen mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. `visbadenis daj gufebam- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- kerenskis restavracia daisaxa Tavisi ideal ad da miznad.- imavdroul ad xazgasmit miuTitebdnen, rom erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebebis `ganxorciel ebisTvis iseT ipirobebi SeimuSaves miunxenis statutSi, rom yovel ive es cariel i dapi- rebebis saxes Rebul obs.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom `mimarTva- gafrTxil ebis- Semdgenl ebi, TavianT msjel obas miunxenSi miRebul dokumentze agebdnen da rogorc zemoTac aRvniSne, visbadenSi miRebul ad warudgendnen sazogadoebas. misi mecxre muxl i mkacrad il aSqrebda qarTul i social - demokratiis mier visbadenSi rusebTan vitomda `garigebis- faqtze, sadac maTi `mtkicebit-, qarTul ma social - demokrati am erovnul i sakiTxis `uaryofit- xazi gadausva 1918 wl idan 1951 wl amde saqarTvel os suverenitetis Sesaxeb maTi iniciativiT miRebul sakanonmdebl o aqtebs. `srul i ad moul odnel i iyo- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- qarTvel i social - istebis aqtiuri monawil eoba iseT polititur muSaobaSi, romelic mTel i Tavisi bunebit ewinaaRmdegeba saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aqts, misi mTavrobis yovel gvar namoqmedars 1921, 1922 da 1924 wl is aj anyebaTa wmin da miznisa da droSis, ucxoetsi... qarTul i muSaobis yvel a aqtebs da konvenciebs wardgenil s naciaTa ligi splenumSi... rodesac saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis emigracia TiTqmis mTlianad stovebs im erovnul -

pozicias, romel zedac es partia muSaobda da i brZoda 34 wl is manZil ze, rodesac damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis yofil i wevri Caudgeba saTaveSi aseT saqmes, xol o sxvebi... amoudgebi an mas gver dSi, rodesac am partiis sxva aqtiuri wevrebic am xazze dadgebi an da mxurval e muSaobas gaCaReben, rom sxva qarTul i Zal ebic am saqmeSi... CaiTrion... aseTi ambavi ukve veRar Tavsdeba didi pol itikis Secdomisa da marcxis fargl ebSi. is erovnul i katastrofis saxes Rebul obs. is mZime Wril obas ayenebs saqarTvel os ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZol is saqmes. is saxel s utexs Cveni brZol is ideas. maxl obel Ta da Sorebel Ta Tval Si... aseTi moqmedeba mZimed azi anebs ara marto qarTul emigracias, aramed mTel i eris zneobriv saxes ara mxol od sadReisod, aramed xangrZl ivad.⁷

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amonaweri, safuZvl ian bral debas Seicavs emigraciis social - demokratiul i partiisa da misi l iderebi sadmi. meore mxriv, igi social - demokratebis mxridan erovnul i sakiTxis uaryofaze da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi xazis gadasmaze akeTebda gansakuTrebul aqcentirebas. anal ogiuri saxis bral debaa gamoTqmul i qarTul i demokratiul i kavSiris mier al eqsandresadmi gagzavnil weril Si, romel ic 1953 wl is 20 noembriTaa daTariRebul i. am dokumentSi motanil i umZimesi bral debebidan gamomdinare, aucil ebl obas mi sadmi dasabuTebul i pasuxis gacema warmoadgernda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul i interest Jurn. `me-brZol i saqarTvel o-- Si gamoqveynebul i sasaTianis srtatia `dRevandel i mdgomareoba da Cveni sakiTxi - iqcevs. masSi gansakuTrebul i yuradReba 200 mil ioniani ruseTisadmi 3 mil ioniani qarTvel obis dapi r i spi rebazea gadatani l i da savsebiT kanonzomieradaa dasmul i sakiTxi: SeZl ebda Tu ara didi saxel mwi foebis gareSe, patara saqarTvel o, ruseTis damarcxebas? ramdenadac es SeuZl ebel i iyo, maSin ra formiT unda momxdariyo saerTaSoriso Zal ebTan erTad, sabWoTa ruseTisadmi qarTvel Ta dapi r i spi reba? am SemTxvevaSi weril is avtors savsebiT swori pasuxi gaaCnia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saerTaSoriso konferenciebze da TaTbi rebze SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze SemuSavebul i erTobl ivi programiT moqmedeba. am fonze igi visbadenis TaTbi rsac Seexo da iqve xazgasmi T mi uTi Ta: `am TaTbirze, romel zedac rusTa saukeTeso warmomadgenl ebi iyvnen, pirvel i rol i qarTvel i emigraciis wrmomadgenl ebma iTamaSes. maT xel Si gadavida TaTbiris mTel i xel mZRVanel oba. araviTar daTmobaze erovnul i sakiTxis Sesaxeb isini ar wasul an da saqarTvel os damouki deb l obis avtomaturad aRdgenis dasturi mi i Res. Cven rad unda viyoT amis wi naarmdegi? bol os da bol os Cven xom sabWoebma gvicnes da ara imaT, visTanac Cven exl a kavSirSi SevediT (rusTa emigrantebis memarcxene seqtori). ras vkargavT imiT, rom maT aRiaron... Cveni qveynis damouki deb l oba? maT dapi rebas gana Cveni muSaobis pol itikis bazad vxdi T? maTTan kavSiri Cveni brZol is erTi formaTagania da sxva araferi... dRes CvenTan aris bunebrivad kavSirSi mTel i antibol Sevikuri msofl io. am ocdaaTi wl is winad marto viyavi T... amas gamoyeneba unda.~ Tuki aq motanil i informacia simarTl es Seesabameba da qarTul i del egacia visbadenSi erovnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi daTmobaze marTl ac ar wasul a, maSin sasayveduro araferi eTqmis. aRni Snul i TaTbiriT qarTul mxares, qveynis damouki deb l obis winaswari garantiis miRebasTan erTad, rusul i emigraciis 5 pol itikur Zal asTan antisabWouri saqmianobisTvis TanamSrom-

I oba ganuaxl ebia da rac mTavaria, amerikul i komitetisgan garkveul i simpaTia da mxardaWera daumsaxurebia. es sakiTxi qarTul i erovnul i sabWos meore sesiis 1952 wl is 4 oqtombris meore sxdomis msj el obis sagan warmoadgenda. aRniSnul sakiTxze smenaRariSvil i garkveviT miuTitebda: `rusebi visbadenSi movidnen Studgartis programiT, maT iq daxvda Cveni komiteti, roml is erovnul i pozicia garkveul i iyo, ris Sedegadac rusebis pozicia daingra, moixsna; es aris didi damsaxureba.~ Tu ramdenad sworia aq motanil i informacia, amasTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba miipyro Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil ma statiam `visbadeni~. masSi motanil i monacemebiT, visbadenSi miRebul i gadawyvetil eba or safexurs Seicavs da misi erTmaneTisgan gancal keveba aucil ebl obas warmoadgens. sakiTxi exeba: 1)ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi Semaval im erebs, roml ebsac damoukidebl oba ar hqondaT gamocxadebul i. aseTi erebis mimarT visbadenSi miRebul i gadawyvetil eba miuTitebda, rom ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi myof `yvel a ers aqvs ufl eba TviT gadaWras Tavisi bedi an pl ebiscitiT, an erovnul i damfuZnebel i krebis gziT.~ 2)im erebs, roml ebsac hqondaT damoukidebel i saxel mwifo, visbadenis dadgenil ebaSi miTitebul i iqna, rom `imaTTvis, romel Tac hqondaT saxel mwifoebri vi arseboba, magram bol Sevikibisgan iqnen dapyrobi ni, ufl eba eZl eodaT uSual od aRedginaT Tavisi saxel mwifo.~ es formul ireba TaTbiris monawil e 5 rusul ma pol i tikurma partiebma scno saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi.⁸

amave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Jur. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si r.arseniZis mier dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi- `mimoxil va- vkiTxul obT: `Cvenma del egaciam visbadenis yril obaze Seitana winadadeba yvel a iq damswreTa TanxmobiT: erTi- TviTgamorkveva saerTod yvel a erTaTvis; meore- uSual od aRdgena damoukidebl obis im erTagan, romel Tac is ukve hqondaT mopovebul i da bol Sevikurma xel isufl ebam warstaca.~ qarTul i del egaciis principul - ma poziciam ganapiroba is faqti, rom visbadenis TaTbirze miRebul i rezol uciis meore nawil is me- 6 muxl i Semdegi formul irebiT iqna damtkicebul i: `bol Sevikibisgan ganTavisufl ebis Semdeg... saWiroa, pirvel yovl isa... mieces ararus erebs Tavisi damoukidebel i saxel mwifos aRdgenisa eTnografiul sazRvrebSi. xol o, romel Tac aseTi saxel mwifo ar SeuqmniaT, mieces ufl eba Tavisi nebi syofis Tavisufl ad gamoTqmisa da Cven mZad varT viTanamSroml oT im ruis emigrantebTan, romel nic gul wrfel ad icnoben Cveni erebis ufl ebas zemo aRniSnul safuZvel ze.~⁹

imave Jurnal Si dabeWdil erT- erT sapol emiko weril Si, visbadenSi TaTbirze erovnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi miRebul i rezol uciis amonaweria motanil i: `cnobil i iqnas ufl eba damoukidebl obis avtomaturad aRdgenisa erTaTvis, romel Tac hqondaT damoukidebl oba ama Tu im periodSi 1917 wl is 25 oqtombris Semdeg.~ am dokuments Semdegi saxis komentari aqvs gakeTebul i: `amis Semdeg, yvel a imaT vinc ki dev xmas amoiRebs Cvengan eris ufl ebaTa daTmobaze, suverenobis uaryofasa da sxva aseTebze, gana ar gveqneba ufl eba Segnebul ad, ganzrax, boroti miznebiT Woris gamavrcel ebel i vuwodoT?~¹⁰

visbadenSi Casul i qarTul i del egaciis principul i poziciis Sesaxeb da rusul i del egaciis warmomadgenl ebTan gamarTul i diskusiis da-

wvriI ebiTi angariSi iyo gadmocemul i qarTul i erovnul i sabWos me-ore sesiis (1952 wl is 4 oqtomberi) pirvel sxdomaze n.cincaZis mox-senebaSi. aRniSnul i sesiis saomqmo Canawerebis mixedviT irkveva, rom visbadenSi erovnul i umciresobebis warmomadgenl ebma, roml is saTaveSi qarTvel ebi iyo, kategoriul i formiT moiTxoves erTa TviTgamorkvevis real uri garantiebi. am sakiTxis gadawyveta (a) da (b) safexurebs Sei-cavda: a)erovnul i TviTgamorkveva pl ebiscitiT an erovnul i damfuZnebel i krebis saSual ebiT unda miscemoda im erebs, roml ebsac 1917 wl is 25 oqtombris Semdeg erovnul i saxel mwifo ar hqondaT Seqmnil i; b)im erebs, roml ebmac erovnul i saxel mwifo Seqmnes da sabWoTa ruseTma mi-si okupacia moaxdina, damouki debl oba unda miecaT upi robod. xangr-ZI ivi diskusiis Semdeg, (a) safexuris formul ireba Semdegnairad iqna Camoyal ibebul i: `erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl eba xorciel deba an pl eb-iscitiT, an erovnul i damfuZnebel i krebis mowveviT, an saerto damfu-Znebel i krebis saSual ebiT.~ es debul eba exeboda im erebs, roml ebic ruseTis federaciis fargl ebSi iqnebodnen moqceul ni. rac Seexeba me-ore (b) safexurs, misi saerto formul ireba 5 rusul i partiisgan samis mier iqna uaryofil i, magram imavdroul ad gamonakl isi iqna daSvebul i saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi. amis Sesaxeb igive n.cincaZe xazgasmi T mi u-TiTe bda: `erTxmad mi iRes gamonakl isi saqarTvel osTvis, rac acnobes Cvens warmomadgenel s, romel ic iyo imave dros konferenciis Tavmj do-mare. Cven ganvaxxadeT amaze, rom maT dadgenil ebas viRebT cnobad, ma-gram vrCebiT zemoxsenebul saerto formul is ni adagze. yvel a es gacxa-debul i iqna ara rus erTa TaTbirze da erTsul ovnad dadasturebul i yvel a erTa warmomadgenl ebisgan aseTive gancxadeba iqna gakeTebul i Semdeg konferenciis oficial ur sxdomaze.¹¹ aq garkveviTaa naTqvami, rom qarTul i mxare ar daeTanxma rusebis SemoTavazebul cvl il ebebs da (b) formul irebis- saxel mwifos mqone erebs, roml ebic rusul i oku-paciis obieqti gaxda, damouki debl oba uprobl emod aRdgenoda, visbade-nis konferenciaze monawil e ararusi erebis TaTbirze iqna gataniI i da damtkicebul i. amis Sesaxeb, konferenciis oficial ur sxdomaze n.cincaZem Sesabamisi gancxadeba gaakeTa. es imas niSnavda, rom rusebi val debul i iyvnen, yovel gvari gamonakl isis gareSe daTanxmebul iyvnen saxel mwifo-ebri oba dakargul i erebis aTvis pirdapiri damouki debl obis miniWebaze. dokumenturi masal iT isic dasturdeba, rom qarTul i sabWos aRmasru-l ebel i komitetisa da amerikul i komitetis srul i Tanxmobis Sedegad, n.cincaZem mTel i pasuxismgebl oba Tavze aiRo, raTa radio- gadacemis sakiTxis praqtikul ad gadasawyvetad winaswari pirobebiT moewviaT Ta-Tbiri. am Roniszibaze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi garkveviT iqna miTiTe-bul i: 1)saerto politikuri centris saxel wodebaSi moxsenebul i ar-yofil iyo arc ruseTi da arc saqarTvel os sabWoTa social isturi re-spublika; 2)dadasturebul iyo erovnul i sakiTxis visbadenSi miRebul i formul a; 3)damateboda kategoriul i dagmoba komunisturi agresiiis Sesaxeb da Nul et non avenue- n.ei. gauqmebul ad eRiarebinaT yvel a is dapyrobebi, romel ic sabWoTa komunisturma xel isufl ebam moaxdina.¹² dokumentidan irkveva, rom aRniSnul i da sxva sakiTxebi visbadenSi gadu-wyvetel i darCa. imave sesiis sxdomaze, visbadenis sakiTxs gr.urataZec Se-

exo. man gansakuTrebul i yuradReba TaTbiris monawil eTa mier erovnul i sakiTxis ganxil vis faqtze gaamaxvil a da iqve mi uTi uTa: `visbadenis udi desi damsaxureba... imaSia, rom aq saj arod iqna gamotani i erovnul i sakiTxi... saj arod daupirispirda erTi meores rusi da ararusi erebis interesebi... romel ic ase aSkarad, ase yvel as dasanaxavad da gasagonad dadga visbadenis polititur arenaze mTel i msofi ios winaSe... visbadenis mol aparakebas marTI ac rom mTel i msofi io adevnebs Tval yurs, radgan swored aq aris Tavmoyril i is, rasac `ruseTis probl emas eZaxian.- aqve imis Sesaxebacaa miTiTebul i, rom visbadenis procesiT aSS- i da evropis qveynebic iyo dainteresebul i. isini rusTa da ararusTa urTierTobebis swavl obdnen da erebis damouki debl obis sabol ood miRwevis sakiTxis gadawyvetaSi umni S- vnel ovanesi rol i maT pozicias unda Seesrul ebina. maTi mxridan daCa- grul erTa sasargebl od gadawyvetil ebis miReba, rogorc gr.urataZe amobda, am erebis mesveurTa SorsmWvretel obaze da Sesatyvis taqtikur qmedebze iqneboda damouki debl i. `roca aseT pi robebSi, am msofi io asparezze, am Cagrul erTa meTauraT gamodian Cveni qveynis warmomadgenel ni- gana erovnul i Tavmoyvareobis dakmayofil eba amaze metad ki dev SeiZl eba!- isic angari Sgasawevia, rom visbadeni T sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufil ebac iyo dainteresebul i, radgan mis interesebSi ararusi da rusi emigrantebis SeTanxmeba da momaval Si erTobl ivad moqmedeba ar Sedioda. `ami tomaa, rom is mTel i Tavisi bnel i Zal ebiT- ambobda gr.urataZe- SemoWril ia sxvadasxva arxebiT emigrantul wreebSi da sxvadasxva l ozungebiT cdil obs mis CaSl as.-¹³

sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal T kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, Tu ra didi saerTaSoriso rezonansi eqneboda visbadeni miRweul SeTanxmebas, miTumetes, am SeTanxmebi T aSS- i iyo dainteresebul i. meore mxriv, Tuki SeTanxmeba moxdeboda, es faqti aSS- is mxridan polititur aRmasvli adiqneboda Sefasebul i da ideologiur frontze misi wrmatebul ad gamoyeneba ganxorciel deboda. am SemTxvevaSi, gadamwyveti rol i qarTuli politituri emigraciis pozicias eniWeboda. amis Sesxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari gazeT `HPC- ivl isis nomerSi dabeWdil b.dal inis weril Si `nacional uri aRreva.- masSi gansakuTrebul i yuradReba, saqarTvel os ufl ebriv mdgomareobaze da rusul i organizaciebis mier am ufl ebebis aRiarebazea gadatani i. weril is avtoris mtkicebi T: a)germaniaSi gamarTul TaTbirze, nacional uri sakiTxi dauZl evel dabrkol ebad iqca; b)ararusi erebis separatul i tendenciebi dan gamomdinare, rusi da ararusi erebis warmomadgenel Ta gaZl ierebul i dapiirispirebis gamo, amerikul i komitetis zewol iT, rusul i emigraciis xel mZRvanel oba daTmobaze wavida. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, imave statiaSi b.dal ini werda: `qarTul i kol onia parizSi, romel sac intel eqtual uris mxrit uWiravs Tval saCino adgil i emigraciaSi, ... qarTul i mTavrobis yofil i wevrebis... uryevi principi... iyo saqarTvel os suverenobis aRdgena; damouki debl ad imisa, eqneboda mas saqme stal inis Tu Tavisufal ruseTTan... maT warmodgenaSi diqtaturis dacema moskovSi, Tu samxedro damarcxeba sabWoTa kavSirisa, gul isxmobs saqarTvel os gamoyofas avtomaturad. sanam ar iqneba miRebul i sxva j gufepis mier es programa, amaT ukrainis separatistebiT ganacxades uari erTi magidis garSemo dasxdomaze. maSin vi Racam, ueWvel ad... winadadeba misca ruseTis j gufis meTaurebs saidumli o polit-

kuri manevri gaekeTebinaT. gamoecxados qarTvel ebs (pariJel ebs) rom qarTvel ebisTvis iqneba gakeTebul i gamonakl isi da araviTari kenWisyra saWiro ar iqneba; saqarTvel o iqneba CamoSorebul i ruseTidan, rogorc ki gaxdeba es SesaZl ebel i fizikurad da pol itikurad. magram es ar unda gamoqveynebul iyo. ruseTis xuTi j gufis meTaurebma aseTi rw-muneba misces qarTvel ebs visbadenis konferenciaze da miT miarWies maT monawil eobas TaTbirSi... mixedes ra qarTvel ebs, magi das Semousxda ki dev xuTi nacional uri organizacia. am val debul ebis aReba ar iyo ga-motanil i saj arod, rom ar aj anyebul iynen ubral o wevrebi rusul i j gufe-bisa Tavisi meTaurebis winaarmdeg.- am vr cel amonawerSi karga-daa warmoceni i is ganmapirobel i faqtori, ramac qarTul i mxaris visbadenis konferenciaSi bol omde monawil eoba ganapiroba. meore mxriv, amerikul i komitetis mxridan rusebze zemoqmedeba garkveul i formiTaa miniSnebul i. imave weril Si qarTul i emigraciul i mTavrobis yofil i wevrebis gansakuTrebul avtoritetze caa yuradReba gadatanil i da gasagebaTaa naTqvami, rom qarTul i mxaris visbadeni arwasvla, ra dartymas miayenebda emigraciis bazaze erTiani antisabWouri centris Seqmnis Canafiqris amerikul i komitetis iniciativas. es saSiSroeba amerikul i komitetis xel mZRvanel obas kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi mxridan qarTul emigraciasTan mimarTebaSi gansakuTrebul i mokrZal ebis da pativiscemis gamovl ineba, romel ic qarTvel Ta erovnul i interesebis angariSis gawevasi gamoixateboda.

visbadenis TaTbiris mniSvnel obasTan mimarTebaSi, Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o- statiaSi- `visbadeni- werda, rom visbadenis TaTbirze miRebul i gadawyvetil ebebi, 30 wl iani emigraciul i daqsqsul obis Semdeg did fsiqol ogiur gardatexas warmoadgenda, `rogorc rusul i, ise erovnul i emigraciisTvis. man gamoaaSkarava erTad brZol is SesaZl ebl oba, romel ic yvel aze mZimedigrZno ...sabWoTa presam... aseTive STabeWdil eba moaxdina am TaTbirma amerikul sazogadoebazedac,... romel Tac rusis da sxva daCagrul erTa SeerTebul i gamosvl is SesaZl ebl oba utopiad eCvenebodyaT.-¹⁴ es winaswari prognozireba, rusi da ararusi emigraciis warmomadgenl ebSi saerToenis gamozebnisa da konsesusze dafuznebul i erTobl ivad moqmedebis dadgenil ebis miRebit dairRva. am faqtma, amerikul i komitetis warmomadgenel Ta Soris maRal i Sefaseba daimsaxura. amis udao dadasturebas, b. e. l aionsis mier amerikul i komitetis saxel iT visbadenis konferenciis monawil eebisadmi gagzavnil i depeSa warmoadgens. masSi garkveviTaa miTitebul i_ rusi da ararusi erebis Tansworobis principi T gaerTianebase. ararusi erebis sabWouri uRl isgan ganTavisufl ebaze da Tanasworufl ebian erTa oj axSi Tavisufl ad Sesvl aze. `demokratiul i el ementebi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- rusis da ararusis emigraciis, romel Tac aqvT gansxvavebul i pol itikuri Sexedul ebani, unda gaerTiandnen absol uturi Tanasworobisa da urTierTis pativiscemis safuzvel ze. kreml is despotiis winaarmdeg saerTo moqmedebisaTvis... es gaerTianeba ganTavisufl ebis imedebs gauRviZebs bol Sevikuri tiraniis yvel a mxsverpl T, xol o maT ganTavisufl ebas moyveba ufl eba da SesaZl ebl oba Tavisi pol itikuri da social uri cxovrebis mowyobisa Tanaxmad Tavisufl ad gamoxatul i nebisyofigisa... komitets gansakuTrebul i survil i aqvs dagarwmunoT, rom is savsebit dauwers mxars

Tqvens saerTo Zal iT moqmedebas. darwmunebul i varT, mTel i kacobriobis Tavisufl eba manamde iqneba saSiSroebis qveS, sanam daCagrul i iqnebian Tqveni samSobl os erebi. isini unda ganTavisufl ebul i iqnan da Sevidnen did oj axSi Tavisufal da Tansworufl ebian erebisa. Dam maRal i miznis miRwevas Cven yvel am, rusma, ararusma da amerikel ebma unda vemsaxuroT mTel i gul iT da mTel i Cveni energi iT.¹⁵ es vrcel i amonaweri, garkveviT miuTiTebis amerikul i komitetis damoukidebul ebas monobaSi myofi erebi-sadmi. igive dokumenti srul mxardaWeras ucxadebda sabWoTa ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi myofi erebis damoukidebl obas da am statutiT moiazrebda Tavisufal da Tanasworufl ebian erTa did oj axSi maT Sesvl as. am SemTxvevaSi saqarTvel oc iyo nagul isxmevi. aRni Snul i da sxva garemoebebi hqonda mxedvel obaSi gr.urataZes, roca qarTul i erovnul i sabWos meore sesi-is meore sxdomaze warmotqmul si tyvaSi, visbadenis TaTbiris gadawyvetil ebebi dadebiTad rom Seafasa. imavdroul ad, ararusi erebis erTiani programmiT gamosvl is aucil ebl obaze gaamaxvil a yuradReba da am mimarTul ebiT warmatebul i nabjis gadadgma, rusul i organizaciebis Semotevebisgan Tavdacva-mogeriebis saukeTeso saSual ebad gamoacxada. am fonze, man qarTul i emigraciis pirvel xarixovan amocanad miicnia: 1)amerikul komitetTan kavSiris ganmtkicebis aucil ebl oba; 2)rusul organizaciebTan TanamSroml oba, antibol Sevikuri brZol is gaZl ierebis saSual ebad eRiarebi naT. imavdroul ad, dacul i yofil iyo sabWos pirvel i yril obis dadgenil ebebis winaswari pirobebi. visbadenis konferenciaze n.cincaZis qmedeba, gr.urataZem Semdegnairad Seafasa: `dasarul s moval ed vTvl i Cems TavS ganvacxado im xmebis winaarmdeg, roml ebsac Cveni mowinaarmdegeebi avrcel eben,... Cveni del egatis b-n. n.cincaZis qceva, moqmedeba iyo iseTi, rogoric es Sehferis qarTvel mamul iSvil s, ristvisac me mas gul wrfel ad madl obas vucxadeb.¹⁶ visbadenis sakiTxs imave sxdomaze s.menaRari Svil i Seexo. misi mtkicebiT, visbadenis xazi iyo qarTul i emigraciis da qarTul i `saqmis gamofxiZl ebis dasawyisi. qarTul i sakiTxi amoRebul i iqna omis wina arqivebi dan. dava saqarTvel osa da ruseTs Soris gadavida saerTaSoriso asparezze.- da rac mTavaria, am davaSi qarTul i emigraciis mxardamWerad amerikul i komiteti gamovida, roml is mizans, sabWoTa rejimis winaarmdeg brZol a da am saqmeSi okupirebul i erebis erTobl ivi Zal ebiT Cabma warmoadgenda.

amrigad: 1)qarTul i emigraciis uxucesi l iderebis gadawyvetil eba_ saerTaSoriso organizaciebisa da progresul ad moazrovne rusul i emigraciis mxardaWerit sabWoTa ruseTis winaarmdeg ebrZol aT, 30 wl ian pol itikur gamocdil ebas efuzneboda. maT kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom qveynis damoukidebl obis miRweva, ruseTisadmi dapirispirebul i saxel mwifoebis interesTa gaTval iswinebiT iyo SesaZl ebel i.

2)qarTul i emigraciis l iderebis mxridan axl adSeqmnil `amerikul komitetTan- TanamSroml oba da imave komitetis miwveviT visbadenis konferenciaSi monawil eoba, swor pol itikur nabjis warmoadgenda. visbadenis konferenciaze warmodgenil i 5 rusul i organizaciis mier, erovnul sakiTxiSi Studgartis dadgenil ebebze (1951 wl is 19 agvisto) uaristqma da 1918- 1921 wl ebSi saxel mwifoebriobis mqone erebisadmi damoukidebl obis micemaze Tanxmoba, emigraciis antisabWouri pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidaciis safexuris momzadebas iTval iswinebda.

3)visbadenis konferenciam, erovnul sakiTxSi rusi da ararusi pol i-
tikuri moRvaweebis dapirispireba gamokveTa. meore mxriv, msofli o sa-
zogadoebas ararusi erebis miswrafebis gza ucvena. amerikul i komite-
tis TanadgomiT, visbadenis konferenciaze miRebul i gadawyvetil ebebi
da saqarTvel ostvis upi robod damoukidebl obis micemaze daTanxmeba,
ideol ogi ur frontze qarTul i emigraciis pol itikur gamarj vebas war-
moadgenda.

\$. 2. amerikul i komiteti da qarTul i emigracia sabWoTa imperiis winaaRmdeg

sabWoTa xel isufli ebisadmi qarTul i emigraciis dapiri epi rebis Zi ri Tadi momentebis wi na pl anze wamowevisas, saerTaSoriso pol itikuri koniunqtura pirvel rigSia gasaTval iswinebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)evropisa da aSS- is sabWoTa ruseTisadmi damoki debul eba; 2)Cagrul i erebis erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobisadmi mxardaWeris oficial urad aRiareba. am rgol is erT- erT nawil s qarTul i emigracia warmoadgenda. isic gasaTval - iswinebel ia, rom TaobaTavul is procesma, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikurad avtoritetul i da el itarul i nawil is SeTxel eba ganapiroba. axal i Taobis umravl esoba, ucxo garemoSi STainTqa da mis saqmianobaSi erovnul ma (qarTul ma) umniSvnel o adgil i daiWira. qarTul i emigraciis Zvel i Taobis pol itikuri `namsxvrevebi-, am fonze brZol as ganagrZobda, magram maT Sema- rTebas axal gazrdul i energia akl da. aseT pi robebSi, Zvel i Taobis warmoadgenl ebma, qarTul i saqmis ideis gansaxorciel ebl ad, mokavSire Zal ad aSS- i mi iCnia. mi Tumetes, XX saukunis 50- iani wl ebidan, ssrk- sa da aSS- s Soris pol itikuri urTierToba daZabul ad mmdinareobda. am procesis gamoyeneba qarTul i emigraciis mxridan aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi k.gvarjal aZes, roca saqarTvel oSi 1953 wl is ma- isSi gagzavnil mimarTvaSi `Zvirfaso amxanagebo!- werda: `amerika dRes aSk- arad gamodis sabWoTa ruseTSi arsebul i tiranul i reJimis winaaRmdeg... sabrZol vel ad... raTa farda Camoxados kreml is diqtaturis borot moqme- debebs... dRes sabWoTa ruseTSi... iseti mdgomareobaa, rom Tu evropis qveyne- bi da amerika ar gaimoreeben warsul Si Cadenil did Secdomebs da ar mi e- cemian mavne il uziebs, stal inis memkvidreTa yovel gvari cdebi diqtaturis dasamagrebl ad unayofodarCeba da es diqtaturac aucil ebl iv daemxoba.¹

i.stal inis gardacval ebis Semdeg, sabWoTa ruseTSi Seqmnil i urTul esi pol itikuri situacia, k.gvarjal aZis mier sworadaa danaxul i da Sefasebu- l i. mis amocanas am SemTxvevaSi arsebul i mdgomareobis saqarTvel os sasarge- bl od gamoyenebis mcdel oba warmoadgenda. am mimarTul ebiT warmatebis perspeqtivas, aSS- is TanadgomaSi xedavda. amis myar garantias, ameriki s Se- erTebul i Statebis sagareo saqmeTa ministris aCesonis mier 1951 wl is 26 maiss `ameriki s xmis- qarTul i seqciis gaxsnasTan dakavSirebi T gamoqveyne- bul i dekl aracia iZl eoda. am dokumentSi aCesoni acxadebda: `bednieri var, rom maqvs SemTxveva mi vmarTo randeni me si tyvi T qarTvel xal xs. me bevri msmenia Tqvens mSvenier qveyanazed... mis gansacvifrebel istoriul ... warsu- l zed da sul ier siZl iereze... xSirad yofil a saqarTvel o dapyrobel i, magram arasodes damorcil ebul i. qarTvel ma xal xma dRemdis Seinarcuna Tavis saxeoba da... mas ar daukargavs nebi syofa adami anur ufl ebaTa dacvis brZol aSi. ami tomac CvenSi aRfrTovanebas iwvevs qarTvel i xal xis uryevi sul ier i simtkice. amerikel xal xSi dauTrgunvel ia rwmena yvel asaTvis Tavisufli ebisa da samarTl i anobisa... `ameriki s xma- am dRidan Tqven qarTve- l ebs gaZl evs saSual ebas sakuTar enaze amcnot qarTvel xal xs WeSmar- iteba, romel sac komunistebi... umal aven. Tqven mas etyvi T rac xdeba ms of- l ioSi; amcnobT mil itaristul i Tavdasxmebis aqtebs, roml is pasuxismge- bel ni mxol od komunistebis meTaurebi arian. am ukanasknel Ta Setqmul eba

da mu-qara aiZul ebs Tavisufal adami ans SeebrZol os despotiis gaRrmavebas da gafarToebas. amerikel i xal xis da misi mTavrobis sabol oo mi zani_saeTo mSvidobianobaa, roca ar iqneba arc Zl ieri da arc susti, arc batoni da arc yma. mxol od aseTi mdgomareoba SesaZl ebel s hyofs Tavisufal da be-dnier Sromas, iZl eva ufl ebas TiToeul ma iwamos is RmerTi, romel ic mas unda. aseTia Cveni warmodgena momaval ze. gi xmobT es gaiziar-oT. Cveni xal xis saxel iT mogmarTavT qarTvel ebo, megobrul i da gul wrfel i sal amiT.-²

Cems mier motanil i am vr cel i amonaweriT, aSkarad dasturdeba aSS- is mTavrobis mxardaWera qarTul i emigraciisa da sabWouri reJimis winaaRmdeg qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi. es unikal uri SesaZl ebl oba qarTul emigracias maqsimal urad unda gamoeyenebina. misi yvel aze didi pol itikuri Secdoma am Sansis gamouyenebl obaSi, msopl ios erT- erTi udidesi saxel mwifosgan SeTavazebul i daxmareba- Tanadgomisadmi zurgSeqcevaSi iqneboda.

qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri speqtris mxridan `amerikul i komitetisa- da misi l obisti xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebisadmi angariSis gawevam, ideol ogiuri da pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT, qarTul i saqme momgebiani perspeqtivis winaSe daayena. aCesoni s zemoaRni Snul dekl araciaSi ZiriTadad yvel aferi iyo naTqvami (Tanadgoma, mi znebi, amocanebi). mxol od misi `wakiTxva- da mimdinare msopl io pol itikur procesebTan SesatyvisobaSi gacnobiereba iyo saWi ro. am sapaSuxismgebl o amocanis amoxsna, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis l iderebma metnakl ebad SesZl o. visbadenSi maTma Casvl am da konferenciis msvl el obis `diriJorobam- (konferenciis Tavmj domare noe cincaZe), amerikel ebSi qarTul i pol itikuri speqtrisadmi simpaTia ki dev ufro gazar da. mi Tumetes, qarTul emigraciaSi sabWoTa reJimis winaaRmdeg muxl Cauxrel ad mebrZol i qarTvel Ta pol itikuri frTa dainaxa. momxdari faqtis gamoZaxil s, aCesoni s zemoaRni Snul i dokumenti warmoadgenda. am sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT Jurn. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil saredaqcio weril Si_ `Cveni mi zani- vkiTxul obT: `amerikul i sazogadoebis dai ntereseba am bol o xanebSi sabWoTa ruseTis sakiTxiT da am gziT saqarTvel os bediTac, Cveni se didaT xel sayrel garemoebaT migvaCnia, rom misi xel idan gaSveba, vfiqrobT qarTvel i xal xis winaSe danaSaul ad CagveTvl eboda. ar unda dagvaviwydes, rom saqarTvel os cnoba ameriki s mier, Cveni saukeTeso mdgomareobis xanaSi ac mi uwvdomel i darCa. gadaWriT vacxadebT: Cveni pol itikuri muSaobis upirvel esi sagania swored am nakl is gamosworeba. ameriki s maRal wreebSi Cveni sakiTxiT dai nteresebis gaZl iereba, mi sTvis Cveni eris moral uri Rirseb is da saxel mwifoebri vi unaris danaxveba, da vis SeuZl ia- Cven es gvi sayveduros? am mTavar mi zans vumorCi l ebT... yvel a sxva sakiTxeb s, romel nic Cveni brZol is procesSi wamoiWreba.-³

qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mxridan im etapze aRebul i es pol itikuri kursi, swor gadawyvetil ebas warmoadgenda da srul ad Seesatyviseboda XX saukunis 50- iani wl ebis umZimes saerTaSoriso pol itikur proceseb s. qarTul i emigraciis erovnul i sabWos es nabij i, opoziciurad ganwyobil i pol itikuri Zal ebisaTvis iyo mxol od mi uRebel i. isini nebsiT Tu unebl i ed iviwyebdnen warsul istorias, roca qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri Tana-

dgomisa da daxmarebi saTvis dasavl eTs evedreboda. maTgan pasuxad qarTul i mxare, zedapirul dapirebebs, an xSir SemTxvevaSi zurgSeqcevas Rebul obda. es procesi aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi grZel deboda. devnil obaSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavroba da erovnul i sabWo, evropul i qveynebi sgan dauxmarebl ad axerxebda arsebobasa da sabWouri xel isufli ebis mxil ebisTvis saerTaSoriso RonisZiebebis gatarebas. TaobaTa cvl am da mimdinare polititurma procesebma, qarTul i politituri emigraciisgan nebi smieri saSual ebebis maqsimal uri gamoyenebis aucil ebl oba moiTxova. am umniSvnel ovanes sakiTxs mieZRvna Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWd- il i e.gegeWkorus publ ikacia- `saRi polititkis cocxal i magal iTi~. mi- si ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi formiT SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)war- sul is gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRd- genas da mis SenarCunebas, saerTaSoriso Zal Ta ganwyobil eba gansazRvrav- da. qarTul i emigraciis saqmianoba warmatebul ad mxol od im SemTxveva- Si CaiTvl eboda, Tuki saerTaSoriso urTierTibebSi saqarTvel o gzis gakafras Seecdeboda da Sesabamisi saerTaSoriso garantiabis miRebas SeiZl ebda; 2)saqarTvel os politituri emigracia val debul i iyo xel - sayrel i situacia maqsimal urad gamoyenebina. amerikul komitetTan urT- ierTobis gaRrmavebis mizniT gadadgmul i pirvel i nabiji, am komitetis xel mZRvanel Ta Sexedul ebebis saqarTvel os saqmisTvis misaRebi mima- rTul ebit Semobrunebas isaxavda miznad; 3)qarTul i emigracia visbaden- Si amerikul i komitetis miwveviT gaemgzavra. komitetis ZiriTadi saqmi- anoba, bol Sevizmis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi rusul i da qarTul i emigra- ciebis SeTanxmehis miRwevaze iyo agebul i. qarTul i del egaciis erT- erT mizans, amerikis sazogadoebrivi azris, erovnebaTa ufl ebebis dakma- yofil ebis aucil ebl obisaken yuradRebis gadatana warmoadgenda. am fonze, antisabWour saqmianobaSi rusul emigraciasTan TanamSroml oba- ze uaris Tqma, politituri Secdoma iqneboda. bol Sevizmis daumarce- bl ad, rusi Tavisufli ebas ver miRebda. am procesTan iyo gadaj aWvul i saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis sakiTxic. mi Tumetes, bol Sevizmze gamar- jvebis erT- erT aucil ebel pirobad, amerikis polititkur wreeps, am br- Zol aSi rusi xal xis Cabma pirvel xarisxovan amocanad miacnda. bol Sevi- zmis damxobis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel osa da sxva CagruL i erebis momavl - is gadawyveta, saerTaSoriso Zal Ta ganwyobis prerogativa gaxdeboda da ara rusul i emigraciisa; 4)ukraina, bel orusia da bal tiispireTis qveynebi, gaeros wevrebi iyvnen da msofli osTvis Tavis Sexseneba ar sWi- rdebodaT. somxebis uZl ieresi axal Seni, aTeul obiT beWdviT organoebis afinansebda. mxol od qarTvel ebi iyvnen `RvTis anabarad- mitovebul ni. qarTul i emigraciis liderებს, saqarTvel os sakiTxis saerTaSoriso arenaze gasatanad, amerikul i komiteti esaxeboda da am Sansis xel idan gaSvebas danaSaul ebriv qmedebad aRiqvamda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki qarTu- l i emigraciis opoziciuri speqtri am real obas saWi roebisamebr ver gaacnobierebda, momxdari faqti, mis polititkurad moumwi febl obas daa- dasturebda.

am SemTxvevaSi e.gegeWkorus ZiriTadi debul ebebi misaRebi iyo. mxol od imaze dayrdnoba, Turas moi moqmedebda evropis qveynebi, politituri si- briyvis demonstri rebasTan erTad, mi amitobisken gadadgmul i nabiji iqne-

boda. qarTul pol itikur el itas am mimarTul ebiT mware istoriul i gamocdi l eba hqonda miRebul i da misi argaTval iswineba, morig pol itikur Secdomad CaiTvl eboda. gadawyveti mniSvnel oba, amerikul i komitetis mxridan SemuSavebul i programul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebas da real izaciis pirobebis Seqmnas eniWeboda. am mimarTul ebiT garkveul i rol is Sesrul eba, qarTul pol itikur speqtrsac SeeZl o.

saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis sakiTxis gadawyvetaSi, amerikul i faqtoris gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas, `al ians fransis- darbazSi wakiTxul moxsenebaSi (1952 wl is 20 ianvari) n.cincaZec usvamda xazs. igi damswre sazogadoebis mi samarTiT acxadebda: `qarTul i probl ema dReis specifiurobiT, qarTul i aRar aris. is sinamdvil eSi sakacobrio gaxda da Tu es Cven ar Sevi geniT, Tu ki dev vinme fiqrobs, rom Cven nebiT separatul ad davi brunebT suverenobas, is erovnul i Tval sazrisiT, metad mavne il uziis qveS imyofeba... Crdil o amerikis Statebis mier wamoyenebul saqmeSi monawil eobiT, amerikul i sazogadoebis uSual o proteqciis qveS dadgomiT, Cven ganvamt-kicebT... Cvens erovnul pozicias, vqmniT saR niadags, mezobl ur ganwyobil ebisas momaval Si.- aseTi optimizmiT aRsavse Sexedul ebis gamoTqmis SesaZl ebl obas n.cincaZes, sabWoTa imperiis monobis uRel qveS myofi erebisadmi aSS- is xel isufal Ta oficial uri pozicia aZl evoda.

amis gamovl inebis saukeTeso nimuSs, admiral al en kerkis mier 1952 wl is Teberval Si gakeTebul i oficial uri gancxadeba warmoadgens. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i i.stal inis reJimi sgan damonebul i erebisadmi Tanadgoma da devnil obaSi myofi emigraciebisadmi materil uri daxmarebis aRmoCenis aucil ebl oba. amasTan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `stal inis reJimi Cveni mteria, misgan monebaT qceul i sabWoTa kavSiris erebi... Cveni megobrebi arian... komitets survil i aqvs yovel gvare material uri daxmareba aRmoCinos stal inis tiraniisgan gamoqceul T, romel nic Cvens Soris cxovroben, raTa maT antisabWouri praqtikul i moqme-debis saSual eba mi vceT.-⁴

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, amerikul i komitetis damokidebul eba sabWoTa imperiisadmi da misgan damonebul erebTan mimarTebaSi. aqedan gamomdinare, es faqtori qarTul emigracias aRniSnul i komitetis maqsimal uri Tanadgomis mopovebas aval debul ebda. Tuki am mimarTul ebiT warmatebul nabij s gadadgamda, igi antisabWouri da erovnul - ganmaTavisufi ebel i xaziT saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmanobisTvis finansurad uzrunvel yofil i iqneboda. mi Tumetes, rogorc gazeTi `ni u- iork taimsi- werda, amerikul i komitetis xel mZRvanel obis `erTi umTavresi amocanaTagani aris am saerTo brZol aSi Cabma ukrainel ebis, bel orusebis, kavkasiis erebis da sxvebis. e.i. imaTi, vinc ormag daCagvras gani cdi an sabWoTa kavSiriSi. admiral kerkis pirovneba- garantiaa imis, rom aravi Tari gankerZoebul i vel i korusul i interesebis dacva ar iqneba wi na rigebsi wamoweul i sxva erTa interesebis saziانوT da rom srul i samarTi ianoba iqneba dacul i- saxel mZRvanel o principi amerikis komitetisa. Secdomas dauSvebs, vinc admiral kerks daswamebs mi kerZoebas.-⁵

amerikul komitetTan mimarTebaSi gamoTqmul i es Sexedul eba, ki dev ufro gaamyara aSS- Si saqarTvel os mTavrobis warmomadgenel is z.Cqotuas im moxsenebam, romel ic parizis qarTul i erovnul i sabWos wi naSe wai ki Txa. am

dokumentSi, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis proamerikul i pol itikuri kursis si swore iqna dadasturebul i. dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom im etapze, amerikul i komitetis erTaderT mizans, antibol Sevikuri moZraobis gafarToebs, rusebis da daCagrul i erebis erToblivi Zal ebiT sabWouri imperiisadmi dapirispireba warmoadgenda. aq unda eZebna qarTul emigracias saqarTvel os saxel mwifos aRdgenis gasaRebi. maqsimal urad gamoeyenebina aSS- is xel isufl ebisgan l obirebul i organizaciis SemoTavazebul i daxmarebisa da Tanadgomis SesaZl ebl obebi. am sasinj i safexuris argamoyeneba, im etapze did pol itikur Secdomad CaiTvl eboda. mi Tumetes, aRniSnul i komitetis Seqmnam, mwvave reaqla gamoiwvia sabWoTa xel isufl ebis warmomadgenel Ta rigebsi. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebi T Jurn. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil saredaqcio weril Si_ `erTxel kidev- sayura-dRebo faqtebia motanil i amerikul i komitetisadmi sabWoTa warmomadgenel is damokidebul ebasTan mimarTebaSi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, aRmosavl eTberli- nSi gamarTul `samSvidobo- konferenciaze il .erenburgis mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba: `Cven arasodes gvifiqla SeerTebul i Statebis xal xTaganTavisufl ebaze zrunva, Tqven ki sabWoTa kavSiris erebis ganmatavisufl ebel i komiteti daarset.~ am faqtTan dakavSirebi T, igive statia Semdegi saxis komentars akeTebda: `al bad aewva moskovs, roca misgan devnil `erTa dem. saxel mwifoTa mTliani fronti dainaxa mis winaarmdeg sabrZol vel ad gamzadebul i.~

am SemTxvevaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis warmomadgenel Ta gaafTreba, amerikul i komitetis iniciativiTa da dafinansebiT antisabWoTa saagitacio-propagandistul i saSual ebebis Seqmnam ganapiroba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs emigraciaSi myofi da ruseTis yofil i imperiis Semadgenel i erebis bazaze sakoorinacio centrisa da misadmi daqvemdebarebul i radio gadacemaTa Zl ieri aparatis funqcionireba. imave komitetis iniciativiT gaxorciel ebul i dafinanseba daedo safuZvl ad saqarTvel os sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Semdeg RonisZiebs: 1)radio gadacemaTa qarTul i redaqqi- is Seqmnas; 2)kavkasiis eretan saerToenis gamozebnisa da erTiani frontis Sesaqmnel ad, parizSi konferenciis mosawvevad Sesabamisi pirobebis momzadebas; 3)imave komitetis beWdviTi organos qarTul enaze gamocemas. komitetis saqmiანობის, მიზნებისა და ამოცანების საზოგადოებისადმი გაცნობას; 4)qarTul i probl emis gasaSuqeb ad, ingl isur da frangul enebze masal ebis momzadebas. yiovel ive es, qarTul i emigraciisTvis `fufunebas- warmoadgenda im Tval sazrisiT, rom meore msofli o omis Semdeg, qarTul i emigracia yovel gvari damxmare Zal is gareSe aRmoCnda da pol itikuri muSaobisTvis saWiro finansuri SesaZl ebl obebi TiTqmis ar gaCnda. aseT urTul es pirobebSi myofi pol itikuri speqtrisTvis, amerikul i komitetis samoRvaweo asparezze gamocena da misi mxridan daxmarebis SeTavazeba, TiTqmis Cavardnil i antisabWouri qarTul i saqmiანობის გამოცხლებების perspektivas iZl eoda. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri speqtri, amerikul i komitetis miTitebebis da survil ebis brmad Semsrul ebl ebi ar yofil a. ama Tu im sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Tavianti original uri mosazrebebi gaaCndaT da mas oficial urad axmovanebdnen. amis dadasturebas, amerikul i komitetis rwmunebul ebis_ kel l isa da kuni hol misadmi 1953 wl is 30 ivni ss, evgeni gegeWkoris mier gagzavni-

I i memorandumum warwoadgens. am 14 punqtian dokumentSi antibol Sevikuri brZol is saerTaSoriso sakoordinacio centris daniSnul ebis, misi organizaciul i agebul ebis, pl atfoemisa da taqtikis Sesaxebaa saprogramo miTiTebebi mocemul i. masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi saxiT SeiZl eba iqnas warwoadgenil i: 1)sabWoTa diqtaturis wi naaRmdeg fsiqol ogiuri omis sawarmoebl ad, emigraciis yvel a antibol Sevikuri Zal ebis mobil izaciisa da organizaciisTvis mebrZol i partiis Seqmna aucil ebl obas warwoadgenda; 2)aseTi partiis specifikidan gamomdinare, Sida ideol ogiur-politikuri diskusia da urTierTSoris brZol a, centris mxridan dauSvebel i unda yofil iyo; 3)centris muSaobis SeTanxmehis dokumentSi, gamokveTil i formiT Semdeg moTxovnebs unda miqceoda gansakuTrebul i yuradReba: pl atformas, organizacias, taqtikas. amis aucil ebl obas rusul i emigraciis imperiul i ambiciebiT datvirTul i fsiqol ogiuri momenti ganapirobebda. miTumetes, sabWoTa imperiis mosa l odnel daSl as da erebis gancal kevebas, isini mtkivneul ad aRiqvamdenen; 4)saerTo frontis Seqmndan gamomdinare, rusul emigraciasTan garkveul i formiT kompromisze wasvl a aucil ebl obas warwoadgenda. es mxol od im SemTxvevaSi unda ganxorciel ebul iyo, Tuki igive rusul i emigracia ararusi erebis damoukidebl obisken swrafvas xel sar SeuS l ida; 5)komunisturi reJimis dacemistanave unda momxdariyo erovnul i ufl ebebis ganaRdeba. am princi pze dafuZnebul i Cagrul i eris saerTo centri, sabWoTa imperiis Semadgenl obaSi moqceul xal xebSi udides avtoritets SeiZenda; 6)centris struqtura unda agebul iyo: SeTanxmehis, TanamSroml obis, Tanasworobis, urTierT ndobis, patiosnebis princi pebze; 7)`parizul i- j gufis qarTul i emigraciis nacional uri seqtoris warmomadgenl ebma rusul i emigraciasiis ZiriTad nawil Tan saerTo enis gamoZebna SesZl o. maTTan erTad Sei muSava bol Sevizmis wi naaRmdeg brZol is konsesusze dafuZnebul i erTobl ivi pl atforma. momxdari faqtidan gamomdinare, imave dokumentSi ev.gegeWkori garkveviT mi uTiTebda: `aucil ebel ia dauyovnebl iv SevudgeT aqtiur muSaobas da ar vucadoT Tu rod is daadgebian SeTanxmehis gzas gareT darCenil i rusul i organizaciebi. mxol od iniciativas, cocxal saqmes, muSaobis process da misi nayofierebis pirvel nimuSebs SeuZl ian gaxdnen damarwmunebel argumentebad... mxol od es aiZul ebs... wris gareSe darCenil emigrantul j gufebs xel i aiRon wril man TamaSze... daadgnen saerTo TanamSroml obis da SeTanxmehis gzas.-⁶

e.gegeWkoris memorandumuma, amerikul i komitetis warmomadgenl ebs daanaxa, rom qarTul i emigraciis saxiT, komitets mxardaWeras ucxadebda pol itikurad gamobrZmedil i da saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi pol itikuri l avirebis SesaZl ebl obis mqone warmomadgenl oba. meore mxriv, imave dokumentiT, qarTul ma mxarem, amerikel ebs Tavisi pol itikuri intel eqtual izmis maRal i safexuric ucvena. xazgasmit SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom yovel ive aman, amerikel Ta Tval Si qarTul i emigraciis avtoriteti kidev ufro aamaR- l a. es faqti qarTul - amerikul i l igis mier Jur. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- s redaqqiisadmi 1953 wl is 17 seqtembers gamogzavnil weril Sicaa dadasturebul i.

qarTul i emigraciis saRad moazrovne da saqarTvel os saxel mwifos damouki debl obis aRdgenaze mofi qral nawil s, kargad hqonda gacnobi erebul i, rom sabWouri reJimis damxobis gareSe, dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel eba SeuZl ebel i iyo. wl ebis ganmavl obaSi maT winaSe amouxsnel dil emad rCeboda Tu vin SeZl ebda yofil iyo mokavSire da xel Semwyobi sabWoTa imperiisgan ganTavisufl ebis saqmeSi. evropis saxel mwifoebis l iderTa gameZavebul i pl itikuri kursidan da mware gamocdil ebis miRebi dan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis did nawil Si uimedobis fsiqol ogiuri faqtori gansakuTrebiT domini rebda. mi Tumetes, meore msofl io omSi gamarjvebul i sabWoTa ruseTisadmi SeWi deba da misi Tundac ideol ogiur frontze damarcxeba, qarTvel Ta SesaZl ebl obebs aRemateboda. aseT pirobebsi, im pol itikur Zal as an organizacias unda dayrdnoboda, romel sac finansurad xel Sewyobis SesaZl ebl obebi eqneboda da sabWoTa ruseTis rRvevis procesiT iqneboda dainteresebul i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, 1951 wl is 10 seqtembers wakiTxul moxsenebaSi- `iuridiul i mdgomareoba saqarTvel osi~, r.arseniZe garkveviT miuTitebda: `mTel dedami was ar eRirseba adami anuri arseboba, arc samarTli anoba da mSvidobiani cxovreba, arc warmatebis da ganviTarebis gzaze amayaT siarul i, Tu es saSinel i, es umsgavso tiranul i reJimi kreml is batonobisa ar iqna damxobil i da ganadgurebul i.~

marTalia, sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i, magram misi Sesrul eba imeris SesaZl ebl obebs aRemateboda, roml is warmomadgenel ic r.arseniZe iyo. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia axal i gzis Ziebas saWi roebda. am mxriv, sagul isxmo mosazrebas izl eoda n.cincaZe. misi mtkicebiT, sabWoTa reJimis l ikvi dacia rusi eris aqtiuri monawil eobiT unda ganxorciel ebul iyo. `rusi eris xvedriti wona saerto brZol is frontSi_ ambobda n.cincaZe_ saswors sagraZnobl ad gadaxris garkveul mxareze da, sabol oo angariSSi SeiZl eba gadamwyveti rol i miekuTvnos. msofl io demokratiis mebai raxtreni... imaSi arian dainteresebul ni, rom es gadaxra Tavisufl ebisken da demokratiisken moxdes!... es debul eba pol itikur da strategiul aqsiomad unda iqnes aRiarebul i. maTTan saerto frontSi TanamSroml oba unda ganisazRvros- erTa ufl ebaTa maTgan urezervod cnoba, unda iyos `Condition sinc qua non-... fasi aseTi cnobisa ornairia: moral uri da pol itikuri. unda gvaxsovdes,... rom aseT gacemul TamasuqebSac, roca saerTaSoriso forumebze wydeba eris bedi, xSirad umni Svnel ovanesi fasi da Rirseba miecema. meore mxriv... yvel a patara eris pol itika keTil ad ganwyobil mezobl obas unda eyrdnobodes. Cven gvinda megobrebi Crdil oetiT da samxeTIT, aRmosavl eTIT da dasavl eTIT. saqarTvel os suverenobis uzrunvel yofis sasworze... es metad mni Svnel ovani faqtori gaxdeba.-⁷

am amonaweridan kargad Cans Tu ra did mni Svnel obas aniWebda qarTul i emigraciis erT- erTi warmomadgenel i n.cincaZe, rusebTan erTad sabWoTa imperiis winaaRdeg brZol as. meore mxriv, masSi garkveviTaa miTitebul i rusul i emigraciis l iderebisgan, erTa ufl ebebis aRiarebis samarTli ebrivi mni Svnel oba saerTaSoriso konferenciebi saTvis. es imas ni Snavs, rom Tuki rusul i emigracia, erTa ufl ebebis Sesaxeb SeTanxmebas daarRvevda, mas pa-

suxis gacema saerTaSoriso forumbze mouvevda. im periodis mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis da sabWoTa ruseTis SesaZI ebl obebis gaTval i swinebis fonze, qarTul i emigraciis mxridan sabWoTa imperiis xel isufal - Ta winaaRmdeg brZol aSi rusul emigraciasTan SeTanxmebul i moqmedeba-gamarTI ebul ad unda CaiTval os. mi Tumetes, am erTobl iv anti sabWour kav-Sirs, zurgs `mesame Zal a- aSS- i dafuZnebul i sabWoTa xel isufli ebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i amerikul i komiteti umagrebda.

qarTul i emigraciis umetes nawil s, kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i, Tu ras niSnavda didi saxel mwi foebis mxridan daxmareba. mi Tumetes, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis garSemo Crdil oetidan Seqmnil umZimes pol itikur procesebis, evropis qveynebma yuradReba ar mi aqcia da qarTvel Ta saxel mwi fo gasawirad gaimeta. es mtkivneul i faqti, qarTul i emigraciis erT- erTma uxucesma l iderma e.gegeWkorma, evropis saxel mwi foTa warmomadgenl ebis internacional i iuristebis berl inis 1952 wl is ivl isis yril obis monawil eebis Seaxsena. am forums 44 qveynis 200- mde del egati eswreboda. imave yril obis saj aro samarTI is sagamomZiebl o komisiis sxdomaze e.gegeWkorus mier warmoTqmul si tyvaSi gamoTqmul i qarTvel Ta satkivari, ruminetis warmomadgenel ma profesorma konstantineskum yril obis monawil eebis Semdegi formiT auwya: `qal batonebo da batonebo! orSabaTs me movi smine Zvel i pol itikosis, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris b-n. gegeWkorus si tyva saj aro samarTI is sagamomZiebl o komisiaSi, sadac Cven erTad vmonawil eobdiT. me ar Semi- ZI ia si tyva- si tyviT ar aRvniSno is, rac b-n. gegeWkorma warmosTqva, radgan igi avtoritetul i da mniSvnel ovania CemTvis.- aseTi Sesaval i fonis gakeTebis Semdeg, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebis l iderebis mxridan saqarTvel osTan mi marTebaSi warsul Si daSvebul i umZimesi Secdomebis Sesaxeb, e.gegeWkorus mier wrmoTqmul i si tyvidan, yril obas maT- dami kritikul i damokidebul ebis Sesabamisi teqsti gaacno: `batonebo, swored rac dRes aq 44 saxel mwi fos mier warmogzavnil ma del egatebma, iurisprudenciis swavl ul ma adami anebma gamoirkvi eT da daadastureT, Tu ras warmoadgens sabWoTa saxel mwi fos sistema, Tu ramdenad umarTe- bul oa sabWoTa kanoniereba da ra ziani SeiZI eba miayenos aseTma saxe- l mwi fo wyobil ebam kacobriobas. swored, yovel ive amas me 30 wl is wi- nad vambobdi da vumtkicebdi msofil ios mis saSiSroebas. es gaxl daT mi- zezi, rom vsTxovdi Svel as evropas. magram aravin gamigona da Sedegic es aris, rasac dRes vxedavT da risTvisac aq varT TavSeyril i.- profe- sorma konstantineskum imave yril obaze evropis qveynebis mi samarTI T ganacxada: `rodesac b-n. gegeWkori misi samSobl os saSiSroebas xedav- da da daxmarebas moiTxovda, uyuradRebod datoves. ar gaiTval iswines mosal odnel i sayovel Tao saSiSroeba. ra Tqma unda es udi des Secdo- mad unda CaiTval os im droindel pol itikosebs da saxel mwi fo adami- anebis. maTi adrindel i umoqmedobis Sedegebs exl a vxedavT. ver gaiges Tu ra aris samSobl os awiokeba. me im dros mxol od 7 wl is viyavi, magram exl a, rodesac dRevandel obaSi vcxovrob, vici Tu ra aris sam- Sobl os dakargva da ra didi Rirebul eba aqvs aseTi didi pol itikosis si tyvas.-⁸

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amonaweri, XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis

evropis qveynebis l iderTa pol itikur ganaCens warmoadgens. imavdr oul ad igi evropis qveynebTan mimarTebaSi garkveul bral debebsac Seicavs, radgan mi sma l iderebma, sabWoTa ruseTTan merkantil izmisa da pol itikuri arSiyobis upiratesobas, mcire erTa ni teresebi anacval a. nebsi T Tu unebl ied, sabWoTa imperiis gaZl ierebas da patara erebis monobaSi yofnas Seuwyo xel i. saerTaSoriso iuristTa maRal i tribunidan amis Tqmas, pol itikurTan erTad gansakuTrebul i ideol ogiuri datvirTvac gaaCnda. am faqtiT, mxol od evropis qveynebSi myari dasayrdenis Zieba, kiTxvis qveSiqna dayenebul i. aseT pirobebSi myofi qarTvel i emigraciis erTi nawil i, rusul emigraciasTan raim e SeTanxmebaze wasvl as uperspeqtivod mi iCnevda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas g.keresel iZis publ ika- cia `aRmasrul ebel i komitetis pol itikuri Sedegebi- warmoadgens. `qarTvel ebma imdeni damcireba da tanj va ganicada rusTagan, rom yovel i cda maT- Tan SeTanxmebisa- wers g.keresel iZe- qarTvel Ta Soris saSinl ad arapopu- larul ia. xol o sakiTxis arapopul aroba erovnul i pol itikuri gzis maCvene- bel i ver iqneba.~⁹

am SemTxvevaSi g.keresel iZe marTal i iyo, radgan warsul is gamocdil eba, sxvagvari Sexedul ebisa da daskvnis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas ar iZl eoda. anal ogiur pozicias icavda m.tuRuSi c. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qarTul i erovnu- l i sabWos meore sesiis (1952 wl is oqtomberi) meore sxdomaze mis mier wa- rmoTqmul i si tyva. saqarTvel os damouki debi obis aRdgenisTvis brZol aSi m.tuRuSs qarTvel Ta mokavSireT daCagrul i, sabWouri monobis uRel qveS myofi erebi mi aCnda. rac Seexeba ruseTis pol itikur Zal as, mas qarTvel Ta damouki debel i saxel mwifos gaafTrebul mtrad gani xil avda. aqedan gamo- mdinare, rusul bol Sevikur da antibol Sevikur pol itikur Zal ebs, erT Ca- rCoSi aTavsebda da orive mimdinareobas didi ruseTis momxred acxadebda. `SeiZl eba davuSvaT, rom antibol Sevikuri brZol is pirvel fazaSi- e.i. axl andel i reJimis mospobis saqmeSi- ambobda igi- Cvensa da maT Soris mo- kl e manZil ze saerTo moqmedeba aris SesaZl ebel i, magram, am fazis dasru- l ebis pirvel dRidanve, dRevandel i antibol Seviki rusi, caristul - bo- l Sevikur- imperial isturi pol itikis memkvudre gaxdeba da didi ruseTis aRdgenas Seudgeba. rusi „... ukrainaze, doneckis baseinze, baqos navTze, Savi zRvis karebze Tavisi survil iT xel sar aiRebs. dapyrobi l ma erebma Tavi- anTi ufl ebebi Zal iT, ... xel axl ad sisxl is RvriT unda moipovon. me dar- wmunebul i var, rom... rusoba cdil obs rusul i saqme gaakeTos. Cven si frTx- il e gvmarTebis, radgan evropis da SeerTebul i Statebis mmarTvel i wreebi erovnebaTa sakiTxis aRmosavl eT evropaSi ar scnoben, rasac Sedegad mohyva rusebis berl inSi gabatoneba.~ am amonaweis mixedviT, rusul i pol itikuri wreebis paral el urad, undobl oba aqvs gamocxadebul i evropisa da aSS- is pol itikur speqtrsac. m.tuRuSi sagan gansxvavebiT, SedarebiT swori pozi- cia r.yi fians gaaCnda. misi mtkicebiT, qarTvel i xal xi im umowyal o da si- sxl iani Zal is win idga `romel sac yvel aze ukeTesad exerxeba codvis da ubedurebis mowyoba, romel ic ar gaurbis aramc Tu pirovnebis, aramed mTe- l i eris daxrCobas.~ aseTi Tval sazrisis miuxedavad, antibol Sevikurad moazrovne rusul emigraciasTan patara erebis emigraciebis warmomadgen- l ebis gan saerTo enis gamonaxvis mcdel obisadmi amerikul i komitetis mxa- rdaWeras, r.yi fiani dadebiTad afasebda. `ruseTi dRes- ambobda igi- ci xea

da am cixeSi rusis xal xi sxvaze nakl ebad ar ixrCoba bol Sevizmis mier dadebul i borkil ebis qveS. ubeduris da bednieris Sewyoba advil i ar aris. magram Sin da gareT erTnairad gaj axirebul i xal xis SekavSireba da mosixl e mterze wayvana, Secdoma ki ara udi desi sibrZnea.-

SekavSirebaze dafuZnebul i erTiani Zal is faqtori, qarTul emigracias maqsimal urad unda gamoeyenebina. mi Tumetes, am saqmeSi amerikul i komite- tis mxardaWera, ganuzoml ad didi iyo. mas unda ganesazRvra Tu ra doneze moaxdenda sabWoTa imperiisadmi dapirispirebul i Zal ebis dafinansebas. am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis winaSe principul ad idga sakiTxi: a)sabWoTa ruseTis daCagrul i erebis antibol Sevikuri pol i- tikuri Zal ebis gaerTianeba da moZal ade xel isufl ebisadmi dasapiri- spirebl ad gamoyeneba; b)qarTul emigracias aRmoaCndeboda Tu ara Sesa- bamisi pol itikuri sibrZne aSS- is antisabWouri kursisadmi mxardasaW- erad. aRniSnul i sakiTxebis sworad gaazrebis da pragmatul i gadaw- yvetil ebebis miRebis aucil ebl obas, mimdinare pol itikuri procesebi da qarTul i emigraciis yofiTi sinamdvil e moiTxovda. amasTan dakav- sirebiT, qarTul i erovnul i sabWos mesame sxdomaze r.arseniZe, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris misamarTIT ambobda: `TviT didi da uZl ieresi amerikis SeerTebul i Statebic ki... rusis ers ar upirispirdeba. piriqiT, mis SigniT eZebis momxreebs da TanamgrZnobT da Cven raT unda aveki dnoT am saxifaTo avanturas?... saqme gvaqvs saSinel , sisxl is moyvarul diqtat- urasTan!... moufiqrebel i l ozungebiT ar unda mivceT sababi am sisx- l ian reJims Cveni eris ganadgurebisa, rasac is ar daerideba.- es gafrTx- il eba savsebiT kanonzomieri da droul i iyo. igi warsul i istoriis mware gamocdil ebas efuZneboda da Sefasebis sakiTxSi srul WeSmar- itebas Seicavda. aseve sagul isxmoda gasaTval iswinebel i iyo e.gegeWkoris publ ikacia `saRi pol itikis cocxal i magal iTi.- masSi qarTul i pol i- tikuri speqtris misamarTIT gamafrTxil ebel i formiTaa naTqvami: `cud samsaxurs uwevs qveyanas... saj arod... didi eris, saqarTvel os mtrad gamocx- adeba. aseT `ura patriots-, arc xal xTa evol uciis da arc qarTul i interesebisa gaegeba ra. ara erTi istoriul i magal iTi gvarwmunebs, rom guSindel i mteri moyvared gamxdara da piriqiT, moyvare- mtrad... grZnob- bze agebul i pol itika qveynisTvis mavnebel ia. qarTvel i mudam angariSze agebda Tavis bed- iRbal s. amIT gadaitana man uamravi qarixal i da darwmunebul i unda viyoT, is am gzas arc SemdegSi uRal atebS.-

aRniSnul sesiaze gamomsvl el Ta moxsenebebSi motanil i debul ebebi imdenad damaj erebel i iyo, rom misma monawil eebma erTsul ovnad dauWi- res mxari rezol uciis im proeqts, romel ic sabWoTa imperiis damxobas da Tavisufl ebis mopovebas rusi xal xis aqtiuri monawil eobiT iTva- l iswinebda. amasTan dakavSirebiT dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `qarTul i erovnul i sabWos meore yril oba aRiarebs, rom rac ufro farTo da aqtiuri iqneba rusis xal xis monawil eoba sabWoTa reJimis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi, imdenad ufro advil i iqneba gamarj vebis mopoveba. qarTul i pol itikisa da erovnul i sabWos xel mZRvanel Ta moval eobaa imuSaon am pol itikis xazzed da imave dros Seecadon gaxadon is yvel a antibo- l Sevikur da Cagrul erTa Zal ebis saerTo pol itikaT.-

am rezol uciis miRebiT, qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo frTam, saer-

TaSoriso organizaciebs pirdapir mianisna, rom qarTvel i da ara qarTveli erebis Tavisufl ebis mopoveba da sabWota saxel mwifos bol Sevikuri rejimis waqceva, mxol od rus erTan erTad brZol iT gaxdeboda SesaZlebeli. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom is politiki kursis, romel sac saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavroba da misi erovnul i sabWoxorciel ebda, aSS- is xel isufl ebisa da imave qveynis sazogadoebrivi azrisaTvis misaRebi aRmoCnda. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis qarTul - amerikul i sabWos organoSi _ `cnobis furcel Si - g.k.- s avtorobiT dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi, sabWos mi znebis da amocanebis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiT iyo saubari. statiis avtoris xazgasmiT werda: amerikel ebis mxridan SeTavazebul i winadadebisadmi _ erTiani frontis Seqmnis Sesaxeb qarTvel ebis mxardaWeram, `amerikel ebs daanaxva, rom qarTvel i politikosebi arian moqnil ni, el astiurni, gonierni da sandoni. dRes erovnul sabWos da saerTod qarTvel obas meti ndoba da avtoriteti aqvs amerikel Ta Tval Si vidre odesme! isini yovel Tvis rac ar unda moxdes, erovnebaTa mxares daiWeren. vinc icis mterTan brZol a, man unda icodes masTan mol aparakebac! ase iqceodnen Cveni winaprebi, roml ebmac Tavianti el astivobiT da gonieri dipl omati iT bevrjer gadaarCines saqarTvel o gaSmagebul i mtrebis kl anWebidan. saqarTvel o aRar iqneboda dRes, rom mas mterTan l aparaki da dazaveba ar scodnoda. erovnul ma sabWom scada mterTan mol aparakeba da dazaveba, da Tu es ar gamovi da an ar gamova, brZol a ga-grZel deba. aseTs moqmedebaSi Cven verafers vxedavT saTakil os.¹⁰

am SemTxvevaSi, weril is avtors rusul emigraciasTan, qarTul i emigraciis mimdinare mol aparakebebi hqonda mxedvel obaSi. qarTvel Ta gabedul ma nabij ebma da waj eq- ukuj eqis taqtikis argamoyenebam, gaxsnil ma politikurma kurssma da mowinaaRmdege mxaris gan anal ogiuri qmedebebis kategoriul ma moTxovnebma, amerikel ebSi gansakuTrebul i simpaTia daimsaxura. momxdari faqtiT, qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebma, saerTaSoriso arenaze erTxel ki dev daadastures: 1) ideol ogiuri da politikuri brZol is paral el urad, qarTvel obas mol aparakebis magidasTan mterTan daj doma da politikuri mezaobis gareSe, maTTan pirdapiri saubaris unari Seswevda; 2) da rac mTavaria, qarTul i emigraciis liderebi, miRweul i SeTanxmebi T gaTval iswinebul i pirobebis Rirseul i Semsrul ebl ebi iyvnen. swored qarTvel politikosTa am qmedebam aRafrTovana aSS- is politikis mesveurni.

qarTul i emigraciis erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis saqmi-anobis erT- erT prioritetul mimarTul ebas, sabWota imperiis Semadgenl obaSi Semaval i erebis liderebTan urTierTobis gaRrmaveba warmoadgennda. erovnul i centrის Sesabamisi seqciis am samusaos n.cincaZe xel mZRvanel obda. saqarTvel os mTavrobasTan da aRmasrul ebel komitetTan SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze, 1953 wl is 14- 15 Teberval s karl sruheSi mowveul i iqna bel orusiis, ukrainis da saqarTvel os warmomadgenel Ta konferencia. am forumma, amerikul komitetTan da rusul demokratiul organizaciebTan TanamSroml obis principi erTxmad miiRo. maTi mxridan gamomuSavebul i iqna zogadi debul ebebi, romel ic Sesabamis dadgenil ebebs daedo safuZvl ad. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, igive dokumenti, erebis gafarToebul i konferenciis mowvevas parizSi iTval iswinebda. amis Sesaxeb, konferenciis monawil eTa mxridan erTobl ivad gakeTebul gancxadebaSi vkiTxul obT:

14- 15 Tebervl is konferencia, romel Sidac monawil eobdnen gadmoxvewil obaSi myofi erovnul i mTavrobebi da maTTan momuSave organizaciebi, aRiarebs bel orusiis, saqarTvel os da ukrainis erovnul - pol itikur centr-Ta moqmedebis koordinaciis aucil ebl obas. konferenciam ganixil ara bol Sevizmis winaaRmddeg brZol is amerikul komitetTan TanamSroml obis sakiTxi, mi vidi im daskvnamde, rom konferenciaSi monawil eyvel amxare... gansakuTrebiT qarTvel i warmomadgenlebi... amerikul i komitetis muSaobaSi monawil eobiT icavdnen sabWoTa kavSiris dacagrul erTa saqmes da moqmedebdnen maTi erovnul - saxel mwi foebrivi interesebis mixedvit.¹¹ es imas niSnavs, rom qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis samTavrobo frTa, dasaxul i miznis aRsrul ebis perspektivas amerikul komitetTan mWidro TanamSroml obaSi da ssrk- is Cagrul erebTan saerTo enis gamoZebnaSi xedavda. qarTvel pol itikosTa mxridan am mimarTul ebiT gaweul ma Teoriul ma da praqtikul ma saqmi anobam ganapiroba, amerikul i komitetis mxridan gansakuTrebul i mokrzal ebul i damokidebul eba qarTul i emigraciis erovnul i sabWosa da samTavrobo wevrebis mimarT.

A

* * *

qarTul i emigraciis istoriis probl ematikis kvl evisas, arsebiTi mniSvnel oba eniWeba mi unxenis demokratiul i kavSiris saqmi anobis Sesaxeb garkveul i doziT sazogadoebi sadmi informaciis miwodebas. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom mi unxenis demokratiul i kavSiri 1952 wl is 10 maiss daarsda da Tavmj domared eqimi g.vefxvaZe airCies. am organizaciis ZiriTad mizans, germaniaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis gaerTianeba warmoadgenda. garkveul i samuSaos Catarebis miuxedavad, dasaxul i mizani Seusrul ebel i darCa. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti rol i im Sida dapi rispirebam gansazRvra, romel ic germaniaSi arsebul i qarTvel Ta kol oniis SigniT mimdinareobda. arsebul i mdgomareobis ganmuxtvas i saxavda miznad germaniaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis mi unxenis 1952 wl is 11 ivni sis kreba. saoqmo Canawerebis mi xedvit, germaniis qarTvel Ta kol oniis Tavmj domareobi dan ganTavisufl ebul i al .korZaias nacvl ad, xmebis umravl esobiT g.maRal aSvil i airCies.

mi unxenis qarTul - demokratiul kavSirs da parizis erovnul sabWos Soris mdgomareoba gansakuTrebiT orma garemoebam daZaba: 1)mi unxenis radios komitetis qarTul i redaqqiis Tavmj domared al .korZaias daniSvam; 2)bol Sevicebis winaaRmddeg brZol is da ganTavisufl ebul i saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebrivi mowyobis sakiTxebSi SeuTanxmekl obam. am SemTxvevaSi, mi unxenis demokratiul i kavSiri moiTxovda: a)saerTo brZol a ewarmoebinaT marqsi zm- l eninizmis winaaRmddeg; b)saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebrivi damoukidebl obis aRdgenis, misi saxel mwi foebrivi mowyobisa da mTavrobis formirebis sakiTxi qarTvel ers gadaewyvi ta; g)antibol Sevikur organizaciebTan kavSiriSi ganxorciel ebul iyo bol Sevizm- komunizmTan brZol a, demokratiul i iyo igi Tu ara.

rac Seexeba parizis erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel is n.cincaZis mxridan dasmul moTxovnebs, evropasi Seqmnil i pol itikuri koniunqturis gaTval - iswinebas emyareboda. misi mtkicebiT: 1)brZol a im etapze mxol od sabWoTa xel isufl ebisa da bol Sevizmis winaaRmddeg unda waremarTaT; 2)bol Seviz-

mis damarcxebis Semdeg, momxdariyo saqarTvel os demokratiul i respub-
l ikis mTavrobis aRdgena, romel ic demokratiul arCevnebs dani Snavda, pol i-
tikur procesebs samarTI ebriv saxes miscemda da qveynis axl ad arCeul
xel isufl ebas l egitimacias Seuqmnida. am SemTxvevaSi, n.cincaZe mxol od
mcireodeni cvl il ebiT imeorebda erovnul i sabWos XX s- is 30- iani
wl ebis Sexedul ebebs. aseTi dapirispirebisa da mTel rig sakiTxebTan mi-
marTebaSi SeuTanxmebl obis gamo, mi unxenis qarTul ma demokratiul ma kav-
Sirma, erovnul i sabWos Semadgenl obis datovebis sakiTxi daayena. amis Se-
saxeb, imave organizaciis warmomadgenl ebis (S.maRI akel iZe, iv.andronika-
Svil i, a.metreveli da sxvebi) mier 1952 wl is oqtombris daml evs gakeTebul
oficial ur gancxadebaSi vkiTxul obT: `qarTul i demokratiul i kavSiri
Rmad darwmunebul i imaSi, rom erovnul i sabWo da misi warmomadgenel ebi
araviTar SemTxvevaSi ar dauSveben q.d. kavSiris pol itikur asparezze, rad-
gan q.d. kavSiri ver gaiziarebs social - demokratiul i partiis principi
pebs da brZol is meTodebs da ayenebs sakiTxs: q.d. kavSiri gamovides erovnul i
sabWos... Semadgenl obidan.~ am faqtTan mimarTebaSi imave kavSiris mier
Sesabamisi dadgenil ebac iqna miRebul i.¹²

qarTul i demokratiul i kavSiris aseTi gadawyvetil ebis mi uxedavad, mi sma-
orma warmomadgenel ma- grigol aval ianma da karl o inasariZem, erovnul i
sabWos parizis 1952 wl is 4 noemberis yril obis muSaobaSi mi iRes monawi-
l eoba. am forumze, maTi mxridan gakeTebul i oficial uri gancxadebiT ga-
irkva, rom germaniaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis 80% erovnul i sabWos da ero-
vnul i mTavrobis pol itikur kurss uWerda mxars. maTive rekomendaci iT,
erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel komitetSi, axal i Taobis warmomadgenel i
g.wereTel i iqna Seyvanil i. imave sxdomaze miRebul i gadawyvetil ebiT, kar-
l o inasariZis parizSi darCena da mistvis Sesabamisi material uri saSu-
al ebebis gamoZebna aucil ebl obad iqna miCneul i.

dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom mi unxenis qarTvel Ta demokratiu-
l i kavSiris Tavmj domarem g.vefxvaZem, erovnul i sbWos aRmasrul ebel
komitets oficial uri gancxadebiT mimarTa da masTan organizaciul i
TanamSroml obis Sewyveta daadastura. ZiriTad motivad, erovnul i sab-
Wos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mxridan rusebTan TanamSroml oba daasax-
el a. imavdroul ad, erovnul i sabWos wevrebi moRal ateebad, erovnul i
droSis Zirs damwevebad gamoacxada. aseTi mkacri poziciis mi uxedavad,
imave g.vefxvaZis j gufma, rusebTan TanamSroml obis damouki debel i kur-
si aiRo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mi unxenis qarTvel Ta demokratiul i kavSi-
ris erTi nawil is mier rusul i sakoordinacio centr is Tavmj domaris
b.mel gunovis saxel ze Setanil i gancxadeba_ rusul sakoordinacio ce-
ntrSi gawevrianebis Sesaxeb. am dokuments xel s awerdnen: g.vefxvaZe,
g.aval iani, r.farziani, i.andronikaSvil i, a.mosiZe, S.maRI akel iZe. es sak-
iTxi, mi unxenis qarTvel Ta 1953 wl is 9 ianvris krebis sagangebo msj el o-
bis sagani gaxda. aRniSnul faqtTan mimarTebaSi erTobl ivad gakeTe-
bul gancxadebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1)zemoaRniSnul i j gufis saqciel i, ro-
gorc Tavis i formiT, ise SinaarsiT warmoadgens moral urad Seuwynarebel
darRvevas erovnul i discipl inis el ementarul i moTxovnil ebebis a, rac
sastikad unda iyos dagmobil i; 2)kreba gansakuTrebiT xazs usvams im ga-
remoebas, rom ucxo erTa wi naSe cda mTavrobis saxel is SebRal visa, ro-

mel ic saqarTvel os damouki debl obis simbol os matarebel ia, pirdapir erovnul danaSaul ad unda CaiTval os yovel i qarTvel isaTvis; 3)kreba mouwodebs qarTul i emigraciis sazogadoebriv azrs moral urad da pol itikurad gaemij nos aseT upasuxismgebl o saqciel is Camdenebs, raTa momaval Si yvel asTvis erTxel da samudamod aRkveTil i iqnas Sesazl ebl oba amgvvari aqtis ganmeorebisa.-¹³

miunxenis qarTul i demokratiul i kavSiris zemoaRniSnul i j gufis qmedeba uaryofiTad iqna Sefasebul i qarTul i axal i Taobis demokratiul i organizaciis- mierac. amis dadasturebas imave organizaciis saxel iT gamoqveynebul i gancxadeba warmoadgens, romel sac biuros Tavmj - domare S.sturua da mdivani n.TayaiSvil i awerda xel s. am dokumentSi dasmul i ZiriTadi sakiTxebi Semdegi formiT SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)sabWoTa imperiis daSl is mcdel obas da erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obas, Cagrul i erebisadmi dasavl eT evropis qveynebis mxridan Tanadgomi s done gansazRvravda. am procesSi, qarTul emigracias, sapatio misiis Sesrul eba hqonda dakisrebul i. am moval eobis aRsrul ebas mxol od im SemTxvevaSi SeZl ebda, Tuki partiul interesebze maRl a erovnul s daayenebda, erTiani frontiT saerTaSoriso pol itikur procesebSi CaerTveboda da sabWoTa tiranias daupirispirdeboda; 2)dausabuTebel i bral debebiT, erovnul i mTavrobisa da erovnul i sabWos mizanimarTul i diskreditacia, imperiul i miswrafebebis mqone rusul i emigraciis sasargebl o saqmis keTebas, evropis saxel mwi foTa Tval Si qarTul i emigraciis reputaciis Seryevas da erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i ideisadmi Ral ats warmoadgenda. saRad moazrovne qarTul i emigraciis wevrTa upirvel esi moval eoba, aseTi adami anebis gan gamij vnas moiTxovda; 3)germaniaSi arsebul i qarTul i axal i Taobis demokratiul i organizacia, erovnul i mTavrobisa da erovnul i sabWos mier sabWoTa imperiis winaaRmdeg gatarebul RonisZiebebs dadebiTad afasebda. aqedan gamomdinare, mxardaWeras ucxadebda saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis im pol itikur kurss, romel ic ssrk- is damonebul i xal xebis Zal Ta konsolidacias moaxdenda da mas, sabWoTa rejimis Sesacvl el admimarTavda; 4) erovnul i sbWos wevrTa pol itikurma kursma, axal gazrda Taobis demokratiul organizacias, am organoSi gawevrianebis gadawyvetil eba miaRebina. isini imeds gamoTqvamden, rom aRniSnul organoSi TanamSroml oba, urTierTpativiscemaze da saerTo- erovnul i interesebis uzenaesobaze iqneboda dafuZnebul i. maTi samarTliani mtkicebiT, erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis aRmavl oba, erovnul i Zal ebis mTli anobaze unda daSenebul iyo, romel ic bol Sevikuri mmarTvel obis dasasrul is xel semwyob pirobebs Seqmni da.¹⁴

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul idan gamomdinare da imis gaTval iswinebiT, rom miunxenis j gufis Semadgenl obaSi S.maRl akel iZe Sedioda, es faqti savsebiT kanonzomiers xdis am j gufisdmi erovnul i sabWos uaryofiT damokidebul ebas. miTumetes, uaxl esi periodis samecniero l iteraturaSi dabeWdil i masal ebiT, aSkarad ikveTeba S.maRl akel iZis TanamSroml oba sabWoTa uSi Sroebis uwyebis Sesabamis warmomadgenl ebTan. Tuki am faqtsac gavuwevT angariSs, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes, miunxenis qarTvel Ta demokratiul kavSirs, sabWoTa ruseTis mexuTe kol onas rom uwodebda

n.cincaZe. qarTvel Ta erovnul i sabWos wevrTa umravl esobis mxridan mi-unxenis qarTul i demokratiul i kavSiris j gufisadmi uaryofiTi damokidebul ebis miuxedavad, am j gufis wevrebma, erovnul sabWoSi i sev gasawevri-anebl ad, imave sabWos prezidiums mimarTes. `Cveni mzada varT- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- yovel gvar SeTanxmebaze. viciT rom qarTvel Ta mTI ianoba, qarTvel i xal xis sasicocxl o amocanaa. mzad varT yovel gvari daTmobiSTvis, magram moviTxovT mxol od erTs_ mogveciT Tanabari Sansi samSobl osadmi samsaxuris, nu gaviwydebaT, rom sabol oo Sefaseba ganvl il isa, momaval i amocanaa da dRes ki momaval i Cveni da Cveni STanebi sa aris.- dokumenti 1953 wl is 20 noembriTaa da TariRebul i da xel sawers g.vexvaZe, SmaRI akel iZe (mesame ar ikiTxeba).¹⁵

vimeoreb, mi unxenis zemoaRni Snul i j gufisadmi, erovnul i saWosa da emigraciul i mTavrobis uaryofiTi damokidebul eba gasagebi unda iyos Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom am j gufis erT- erT aqtiur wevri SmaRI akel Ze iyo. qarTul i emigraciis parizis warmomadgenl obas, am pirovnebis saeWvo saqmi anobis Sesaxeb angari Sgasawevi dokumenturi masal a gaaCnda. gamoricxul i araa, rom erovnul sabWoSi maTi i sev dabrunebis mcdel obis survil i, ssrk- is Sesabamisi uwyebis miTi TebiT rom momxdariyo.

qarTul emigraciis, rusul i, ukrainul i, Crdil o kavkasiis, azerbaij anis, somxeTis emigraciis warmomadgenl ebTan erToblivi muSaobis Sesxeb, saerTo SeTanxmebis miRwevaSi, gansakuTrebul i rol i amerikul ma komitetma Seasrul a. misi iniciativiT 1953 wl is 15 mai ss mi unxenSi sakoordinacio centris plenumi iqna mowveuli. marTalia, plenumis msvl el obis procesi ori urTierTdapirispirebul i mi mdinareoba gamoi kveTa, magram imave amerikul i komitetis rwmunebul is petCisa da al eqsandersis Zal isxmevit, centris wevrebTan mosal aparakebl ad konsesusze dafuZnebul i sami piroba iqna SemuSavebul i, romelic tegernseiSi 1953 wl is 1 ivniss gamarTul i yril obis dRis wesrigs daedo safuZvl ad. mis muSaobaSi monawil eobdnen: oTxi rusul i organizaciis (somexTa CaTvl iT), oTxi erovnul i seqciis, rusul i ligis da parizis bl okis- warmomadgenl ebi. arCeul i iqna SemTanxmibl uri komisia: 1) rusul i organizaciebidan: b.b. kerenski, mi xail ovski, antonovi, saaruni; 2) centris umravl esobidan: b.b nikol aevski, butenko (rusul i liga), aman berdi murati, xodarovi; 3) parizis bl okidan- (erebi): b.b ev.gegeWkori (saqarTvel o), nami tovi- Crdil o kavkasia, navasardi ani- somxuri organizacia, l ivicki- ukrainis rada, abramoviCi- bel orusiis rada, Seixul - isl ami_ azerbaij ani. komisiis Tavmj domared evgeni gegeWkori iqna arCeul i. mis mier komisiis sxdomaze warmoTqmul si tyvaSi dasabuTebul i formiT iyo warmodgenil i erovnul i seqciebis, rusul demokratiul wreebsa da amerikul komitets Soris Tanasworufl ebian principi eze TanamSroml obis ageba. e.gegeWkoris damsaxurebas unda mi eweros is faqti, rom komisiis Semadgenl obaSi bel orusiis, ukrainis, somxeTis da ruseTis warmomadgenl ebma, konsesusze dafuZnebul i saerTo gegmis Seqmnaze mi arwies SeTanxmebas. arCeul i iqna qvekomisia, romel sac daeval a sakoordinacio centris wesdebis proeqtis momzadeba. dokumenturi masal idan irkveva, rom aseTi wesdeba marTI ac iqna miRebul i da igi pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTiane bis qarTi ad gamocxadda.

erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom am gaerTiane bis mi RwevaSi

gansakuTrebul i rol i i sev qarTul ma fenomenma Seasrul a. am sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT Jurn, `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `aRmasrul ebel i komitetis saqmianobidan~ vkiTxul obT: `qarTul ma seqciam iTamaSa Tavisi tradiciul i rol i erTa Soris morigebis, maTi xel uxl ebel i ufl ebebis dacviT da dadebiTi saqmianobis momzadebi T.~¹⁶

* * *

qarTul i emigraciis sabWouri uRl is winaaRmddeg brZol is da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobasTan mimarTebaSi damokidebul ebis erT- erT saukeTeso nimuSs, k.gvarjal azis mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biuros saxel iT, 1953 wl is maisSi saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom qarTul i emigracia ebrZoda sabWour kol onial izms, magram amas axorciel ebda rusul demokratiul emigraciasTan TanamSroml obi T. miTumetes, rusi xal xic kreml is tiraniisgan itanj eboda. `Cven momxre varT- werda igi- rus emigrantul demokratiul organizaciebTan TanamSroml obis da maTTan saerTo brZol is warmoebis, Tu isini icnoben saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebis da damouki debl obis aRdgenas... Cven agreTve... gansakuTrebiT mWi dro kavSi rSi varT Cven kavkasiel mezobl ebTan: azerbaij anel ebTan, mTiel ebTan da somxebTan. am erebTan erTad Cven warmovadgenT erT geografiul erTeul s, gvaqvs maTTan saerTo pol itikuri da ekonomiuri interesebi da maTTan erTad SevqmniT al baT momaval Si erT saxel mwi foebriv organizms, roml is struqturas TviT es erebi gamoimuSveben adgil obrivad bol Sevikuri tiraniisgan maTi ganTavisufl ebis Semdeg.~

aRni Snul i faqtebidan gamomdinare, garkveviT ikveTeba qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris rusul demokratiul intel igenciasTan TanamSroml obis pirobebi. meore mxriv, ZiriTadi aqcenti samomavl od erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwi fos Seqmnis perspeqtivazea gadatani l i. samwuxarod, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri am SemTxvevaSi ac ver iTval iswinebda warsul is im mware gamocdil ebas, romel ic kavkasiis erTa Soris teritoriul i pretenzi ebis safuZvel ze warmnoqmnil i winaaRmddegobebi dan momdinareobda. erovnul i Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad da sabWouri mmarTvel obis mosacil ebl ad im etapze mxol od erTiram iyo dasaSvebi_ amierkavkasiis erebis Zal Ta konsolidacia da SeTanxmebul i gegmi T sabWouri mmarTvel obisadmi dapi rispireba. sxva mxriv, somxeTTan da azerbaij anTan erTian saxel mwi fo warmonaqmnSi Tanaarseboba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdebdoda SesaZl ebel i, Tuki mezobel i qveynebis usafuZvl o teritoriul pretenzi ebs, qarTul i mxare, saqarTvel os teritoriul i sxel is mokveTiT daakmayofil ebda.

marTal ia, qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebi sxva erebTan urTierTo bas saxel mwi foebrivi Tanasworobis formebSi gani xil avda, magram, erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwi fos Seqmnis srul fasovani model i (koncefcia) SemuSavebul i ar hqondaT. anda, SeiZl eboda ki, kavkasiis erTa fsi qol ogi uri ganyobisa da mi swrafebebis gaTval iswinebis fonze, maT bazaze erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwi fos Seqmnaze fiqri? sakiTxi uaRresad rTul i iyo. Tu ramdenad moxerxdeboda maT Soris konsesusi s miRweva, wina swari prognozi reba

udi des sirTul eeb s ukavSir deboda. mi Tumetes, Crdil o kavkasi is emigraci-
 is mTis centrsa da nami tov- avtorxanovis j gufs Soris dapi r i spi rebam
 kul minacias miaRwia. momxdari faqtidan gamomdinare, nami tovis j gufma,
 stambol is mTis centris Semadgenl oba datova. am fonze, nami tovis j gufis
 cnobisa da stambol is j gufisadmi qarTvel ebisgan zurgSeqcevis Sesaxeb
 gavr cel ebul i xmebic- gasaTval iswinebel i iyo. es garemoeba, parizis qarTul
 emigraciasTan mi marTebaSi, stambol is centris wevrebSi undobl obas qmni-
 da. Seqmnil mdgomareobas ukeTebda ra anal iza, k.gvarjal azisadmi 1954
 wl is 7 ivl iss gagzavnil weril Si, r.arseniZe xazgasmi T mi uTiTebda, rom
 parizs garkveul i zemoqmedeba unda moexdina nami tovis j gufze, raTa am
 ukanasknel s stambol is centrSi gaerTiane bis gadawyvetil eba mi eRo. `Cemi
 gadaWril i azria, rom nami tovma Tavisi Semcdari taqtikiT- werda igi-
 saqme ganxeTqil ebamde mi iyvana. Tu es ara, centris umravl esoba Samil Tan
 iyo konferenciis sakiTxSi. nami tovma saSual ebac ar misca centrs es ko-
 nfl i qti ganexil a da misi ganaCeni gamoetana.- imave weril idan irkveva, rom
 centris Tavmj domarem samj er moiwvia kreba da arceTj er ar daeswro im
 motiviT, rom `vicodi gamaSavebdnen o.- Tavisi ukmayofil ebis `sabuTad- ce-
 ntrSi Samil is momxreebis mi Rebas asaxel ebda. aqedan gamomdinare, igi sa-
 tiki wi naaRmdegi iyo eTanamSroml a im organizaciaSi sadac Samil i iqnebo-
 da. es imas ni Snavda, rom im etapze mTis emigraciis rige bis gaerTiane ba Se-
 uZl ebel i xdeboda. aRni Snul i faqti, qarTul i emigraciis wi naSe princi pu-
 l ad ayenebda sakiTxs arCevani s gakeTebis Sesaxeb_ stambol is mTis centri
 Tu nami tovis j gufi. aseT situaciaSi Tu ra gzas unda dadgomoda parizis
 qarTul i emigracia, amis Sesaxeb imave arseniZis zemoaRni Snul weril Si
 vkiTxul obT: `am saganze me damaval es gacnoboT Semdegi: mTis centri
 sTvl is Tavis- Tavs ganuyofel nawil ad yvel a im gaerTianebebi sa da saqmi-
 nobisa, romel ic xdeboda da arsebobs misi monawil eobiT, rogorc kavkasi-
 ur ise saerTaSoriso masStabiT... centri sTvl is mis udao ufl ebad, igi
 cnobil i iqnas mezobl ebis da sxva organizaciebis mier, rogorc mTis erT-
 aderTi warmomadgenel i. gacnobe bT ra amas, Cems moval eobad mimaCnia ga-
 gaf rTxil oT, rom Tu Cven mTis centri ganzed davtoveT da gavagrZel eT
 TanamSroml oba nami tovis j gufTan, Sedegad mi vi RebT axal fronts Cvens
 wi naaRmdeg azerbaijan- mTiel ebis saxiT, romel Si ac gaerTiane bul i aRmo-
 Cndebian metad seriozul i Zal ebi... centris sxdomaze Samil ma oficial u-
 rad ganacxada, rom somxebis centri novosardianis saxiT, ukrainel ebi da
 bel orusebi cnoben da mxars uWeren stambol is centrs. ar vici ramdenadaa
 marTal i es, magram raRac rom ar iyves, Samil i ver gabedavda aseTi katego-
 riul i gancxadebiT gamosvl as. amasTan erTad etyoba maT aqvT zogierTi
 dapi rebebi amerikul i komitetis wevrebisganac... vi Reb ra mxedvel obaSi
 yovel ive amas,... me gadaWriT moviTxov, Tu arCevani dadgeba, qarTul ma seq-
 ciam mxari dauWiros stambol is mTiel Ta centrs. amas me isi c mi karnaxeb s,
 rom centri Tavisi Semadgenl obiT da gavleniT aq did Zal as warmoadgens
 ara mar to mTis wreSi, aramed mis gareTac. Tu Cven es ar vqeni T... SeiZl eba
 amas moyves didi ziani, rogorc kavkasiuri masStabiT, ise dRevandel saqmi-
 nobaSi amerikul i aqtis xaziT.-¹⁷

Cems mier motanil am vrcel amonawerSi kargadaa danaxul i is rTul i
 pol itikuri procesebi, romel ic Crdil o kavkasi is emigraciis pol iti-

kur daj gufebaTa Soris mimdinareobda. arsebul i situaciis safuzv-
 l ian anal izze dayrdnobiT r.arseniZis mier SemuSavebul i rekomenda-
 ciebi, sakmaod damaj erebl ad iyo dasabuTebul i. igi garkveviT mi aniS-
 nebda Tu romel i daj gufeba iqneboda misaRebi qarTul i emigraciis
 warmomadgenl ebisadmi da ratom. aqedan gamomdinare unda momxdariyo
 kavkasiis erebTan saerTo enis gamoZebnisa da erTiani moqmedebis anti-
 abWouri gegmis SemuSaveba. mi Tumetes, mezobel erebTan keTil mezobl uri
 damokidebul ebis da Tavisufl ebisatvis erTobl ivad brZol a, qarTul i
 emigraciis parizul i warmomadgenl ebis pirvel xarixovani amocana iyo.
 am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, n.cincaZem`al ians franses- darbazSi wakiTxu-
 l i moxsenebis `visbadenis TaTbiri,~ xazgasmiT miuTiTa: `erTi mTavari
 imperatiul i pirobaTagani, patara erebisTvis gansakuTrebiT unda iyos ke-
 Til ad ganwyobil i mezobl obal... vinc wamdauwum imeorebs samSobl o- saqarTve-
 l o da ver ganWvrets, Tu ra aris misi damkvidrebiatvis saWi ro, vinc
 gayinul i formul ebiT azrovnebs,... vinc movl enaTa cval ebadobas da isto-
 riul obasac uarhyofs- misi perspeqtiva mudam Savi iqneba: an Crdil oeTis
 mezobel i saerTaSoriso angariSidan da geografiidan amoiSal os, an bedi
 erisa maradis ubedobiT unda vigul voT.~ aq mocemul formul irebaSi
 garkveviTaa miTiTebul i qarTvel i eris windaxedul ebis aucil ebl oba-
 ze. im faqtis Sesaxeb, rom Crdil oeTis mezobel s saerTaSoriso anga-
 riSidan da geografiul i garemodan veravin amoSi ida. arsebul i real -
 obis gaTval iswineba, aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda da masTan Sesabami si
 urTierTobis fonze, saerTo enis gamoZebna eris xval indel i dRis arse-
 bobasTan iyo gadaj aWvul i. isic gasaTval iswinebel i iyo, rom Crdil oe-
 l i mezobel i saxel mwifos mimarT gabutul mdgomareobaSi yofna da
 pol itikuri urTierTobis gawyveta, qarTul emigracias udid es Secdo-
 mad miaCnda. amitom iyo, rom igi rusul i emigraciis SedarebiT progres-
 sul ad moazrovne wreebTan saerTo enis gamoZebnas maqsimal urad rom
 cdil obda. rusul i emigraciisa da amerikul i komitetis mxardaWeraze
 dafuznebiT fiqrobda qarTul i emigracia kavkasiis erTa gaerTianebis
 sakiTxis wamowevas. misi warmomadgenl ebi, warsul isistoriul gamocdil e-
 bas iTval iswinebdnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1934 wel s kavkasiis erebis gaer-
 Tianebis sakiTxis dasma da am ideis mxol od pol itikuri propagandis Ca-
 rCoTi Semofargvl a. mi Tumetes, im etapze SemuSavebul i kavkasiis erebis ga-
 erTianebis proeqts- yvel amxel i ar moawera.

meore msofli o omis Semdgomma pol itikurma procesebma erTa TviTgamo-
 rkvevis idea wina pl anze wamoswia. misi ganxorciel ebisTvis brZol am gan-
 sakuTrebul i specifiuroba moiTxova. es umniSvnel ovanesi pol itikuri ni-
 uansi, qarTul i emigraciis parizul warmomadgenl obas mxedvel obis miRma
 ar darCenia, mas xel i CasWi da da qarTvel Ta sasargebl od gamoyenebas Seec-
 ada. am Tval sazrisiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas Jurn. `mebrZol i saqarTve-
 l o-- Si dabeWdil i publ ikacia `kavkasiis erTobisTvis- iqcevs. dasmul
 probl emasTan mimarTebaSi garkveviT iyo miTiTebul i, rom sabWoTa imperi-
 is Semadgenl obaSi moqceul i Cagrul i erebis Tavisufl ebis sakiTxi,
 ruseTis fargl ebs gacda, igi msofli o probl emad iqca da saerTa-
 Soriso sakiTxebs gadaeba. randenadac dapyrobel i erebis bedi mSvi-
 dobisa da kacobr iobis Tavisufl ebis probl ematikas gadaej aWva, auci-

I ebl obam kavkasiis erTa sol idarobis I okal uridan saerTaSoriso moZraobis fargl ebande gafarToeba moiTxova. im etapze arsebul i pol itikuri koniunqturis gaTval iswinebiT moqmedeba, kavkasiis erebis bedis msofilios yuradRebis centrSi droul ad moqcevas da wamoWriil i sakiTxebis saerTaSoriso procesebSi CarTvas Seuwyobda xel s. miTumetes, kavkasiis erebis sol idarobis da sabWoTa imperiisadmi erToblivi Zal ebiT dapi r i spirebis samomavl o gegma, safexurebrivad unda yofil iyo gaweril i. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki am mimarTul ebiT warmatebul i nabiji gadaidgmeboda, Cagrul i erebis ZiriTad I ozungs_ erTa TviTgamorkvevis real izacias meti SesaZl ebl obi miecemoda, xol o imperial istur miswrafebebs frTebi maqsimal urad Seekveceboda. meore mxriv, amierkavkasiis erebs konfederaciis ideis Teoriul i msjel obidan, prqtikul ad ganxorciel ebis dasaSvebi pragmatul i xasiaTis proeqtis SemuSavebis SesaZl ebl oba Sei qmneboda. am mimarTul ebiT maRal i donis profesional i special istebiT dakompl eqtebul j gufs unda eTqva gadamwyveti si tyva. ramdenad misaRebi iqneboda kavkasiis erebis erT konfederaciul saxel mwi foSi moqceva, saerTaSoriso pol itikur xazze saerTo gziT si arul i, im etapze Znel i saTqmeli iyo. miTumetes, kavkasiis erTa Soris yovel - gvari saxis mtacebl ur pretenziebTan mimarTebaSi, gansakuTrebiT somxebisa da azerbaij anel ebis gan TavSekaveba gamoricxul i iyo. swored es faktori ayenebda kiTxvis qveS kavkasiis erTiani konfederaciul i saxel mwi fos Seqmnis SesaZl ebl obas. miuxedavad amisa, parizis qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebi kavkasiis erebTan mol aparakebas agrZel ebda, radgan am sakiTxiT amerikul i komiteti iyo dainteresebul i. qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris xel mZRvanel obiT gaxda SesaZl ebel i kavkasiis erebTan TanamSronl obis mudmivi centr is Seqmna. arCeul i iqna sagangebo komisia, romel - sac kavkasiis erTa warmomadgenl obiT i konferenciis mosawvevad teqniki sakiTxebis SemuSaveba daeval a. am SemTxvevaSi ac qarTul i mxare gansakuTrebul aqtiurobas iCenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qarTul i erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sagangebo sxdoma, romel mac saerTo pol itikuri centr is SeqmnasTan dakavSi rebiT, somxebisa da azerbaij anel ebis gancxadebebi gani xil a da Semdegi saxis dadgenil eba mi i Ro: 1) qarTul i erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komiteti mxardaWeras ucxadebda kavkasiis erTa pol itikuri centr is Seqmnas. am axal i organos nayofieri muSaobis mizniT, mxedvel obaSi unda mieRoT meore msofilio omis Semdeg saerTaSoriso urTierTobebSi Seqmnil i Rrma cvl il ebebi. am fonze unda ganesazRvraT erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis probl emebi da centr is saqmi anobis mimarTul eba; 2) centr is mTavari da ZiriTadimizani unda yofil iyo erovnebebs Soris pol itikuri muSaobis SeTanxmeba. am formis gamoyeneba mizanSewonil i iqneboda saxel mwi foebrivi urTierTobis sferoSi konfederaciis, an federaciis formis dros. axl ad Seqmnil i centr is funqcia, am mimarTul ebiT ideol ogiuri da fsiqol ogiuri niadagis momzadebaSi mdgomareobda; 3) sagangebod arCeul i komisiis val debul ebas warmoadgenda, yovel gvari zomebi mieRo somxebisa da azerbaij anel - mTiel Ta gansxvavebul i Sexedul ebebis SesaTanxmebl ad. komisi as gansakuTrebul i yuradReba unda mieqcia namdvil i damouki debel i TviTarsebobis ideis da sakuTar Tavze orientaciis aR-

ebis gaZl ierebul i propagandisaTvis. am mimarTul ebiT muSaoba imi Tac iyo aucil ebel i, rom gareSe Zal Ta orientaciaze dayrdnobi s aucil ebl oba da mTI ianobis SenarCuneba uzrunvel yofil i iqneboda.¹⁸

aRniSnul i komisiis muSaobis Sedegad, 1952 wl is 21 oqtombers, parizSi mo- wweul i iqna kavkasiis erTa emigraciaSi myofi organizaciebis (parizis, ge- rmaniis, stambolis, beirutis, qairos) warmomadgenl ebis konferencia. am forumze del egatebi Semdegi saxiT iyo warmodgenil i: azerbaij anis_ haj i- beil i, kazumbeki, Seix- ul - isl ami; saqarTvel os_ ev.gegeWkori, k.gvarjal aZe, g.keresel iZe, s.menaRariSvil i, n.urusaZe, n.cincaZe, ak.Cxenkel i; somxeTis_ gen. dro, navasardiani, bal aiani, samuel iani, torosiani; Crdil o kavkasia_ j abagi, nami tovi, seid Samil i.

konferencia k.gvarjal aZem gaxsna. konferenciis prezidi umSi arCeul i iqnen: samuel iani, ak.Cxenkel i, nami tovi. konferenciis ZiriTadi msjel obis sagans erTiani kavkasiuri centris Seqmna warmoadgenda. miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, erTiani kavkasiuri centri Seqmnil ad iqna gamocxadebul i. mis ZiriTad amocanad, kavkasiis erebis im sasicocxl o Zal ebis gaerTianeba dasaxel da, roml ebiC kavkasiis xal xTa gasanTavisufl ebl ad da damoukidebl obis aRsa- dgenad ibrZoda.¹⁹ imave konferenciam, kavkasiis erTa (saqarTvel o, azerba- ij ani, somxeTi, Crdil o kavkasia) warmomadgenel Ta SeTanxmebis formebi Sei mu- Sava: 1)kavkasiis erebis erTad muSaobis ZiriTadi princi pebi; 2)erTiani kav- kasiuri politikuri centris Seqmnis ganmapirobebel i safuZvl ebi; 3)sxva erebTan da organizaciebTan TanamSroml obis mimarTul ebebi; 4)kavkasiis erebis winase wamoWril probl emebTan mimarTebaSi SesaTanxmebel i sakiTx- ebis pirobebi. am dokumentxel i moawera: v.navasardianma (somxeTi), a.Seix- ul i- isl amovma (azerbaij ani), e.gegeWkorma (saqarTvel o), k.gvarjal aZem (sa- qarTvel o), a.namitovma (Crdil o kavkasiis erovnul i centris Tavmj domare), z.Samil ma (Crdil o kavkasiis erovnul i centris wevri).²⁰

qarTul i mxare imedovnebd, rom bol os da bol os, amierkavkasiis erTa wa- rmomadgenl ebi aRniSnul i SeTanxmebis erTgul ni darCebodnen. qarTul i emigraciis parizul i warmomadgenl ebis survil i da politikuri real - oba erTmaneTs scil deboda. miuxedavad amisa, sxva gamosaval i ar hqon- daT. iZul ebul ni iyvnen am mimarTul ebiT garegnul i moCvenebiti foni SeeqmnaT im mizniT, rom amerikul i da dasavl eTis sazogadoebrivi azri mxol od rusul i emigraciisken ar yofil iyo mimarTul i. Tuki amis miR- wevas ver SeZl ebdnen, didi al baToba iqmneboda, ruis eris darazmul o- bis da rusul i nacional izmis aRorZinebisatvis. gamoricxul i ar iyo, es faqtori, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurebs imperiis SesanarCune- bl ad da mcire erTa erovnul i moZraobis dasasamarebl ad gamoeyenebina. mosal odnel i saSiSroeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi n.cincaZes, roca qarTul i erovnul i sabWos meore sesiis (1952 wl is 4 oqtomberi) sxdomaze gakeTe- bul moxsenebaSi gamafrTxil ebel i formiT acxadebda: `Cven gymarTebs po- litikurad gonieri ganWvreta im momavl isa, roca unda gadawydes bedi Cveni erisa. Cven mudamJams unda gvaxsovd, rom Cveni eris bedi sasicocxl - od gadaeba msofil i o demokratiis beds da mudam imis cdaSi unda viyoT, rom mi si rigebi dan ar amovardeT, darwmunebul i imaSi, rom Tu kacobriobas uweria monobis saSiSroeba Tavidan aicil os. es iqneba garantia imisa, rom Cveni eric masTan erTad motacebul Tavisufl ebas daibrunebs da Tavis

damouki debl obas aRidgens.~ aqve igi istoriul i procesebis gaanal izebi-
dan gamomdinare, Zal adobaze Seqmnil i imperiebis rRvevis garduval obaze
miapyrobdadamsweTa yuradRebas da imedismomcemi formiT dasZenda: `is-
toria, am SemTxvevaSi Cvens mxarezea da srul i imediT unda SevyurebdeT
axl o momaval s.~²¹ am mi marTul ebiT warmatebul i svl a, qarTul i emigraciis
l iderebs kavkasiis erebTan mWidro TanamSroml obiT miaCndaT SesaZl e-
bl ad. amerikul i komitetis poziciac, swored am urTierTobis formebiT
iyo gansazRvrul i.

amrigad, 1) `amerikis xma-- s qarTul i redaqqiis gaxsna, qarTul i emigra-
ciisadmi `amerikul i komitetis- gansakuTrebul i yuradReba da aSS- is
sagareo saqmeTa ministris aCesonis oficial uri dekl aracia, qarTul i
emigraciisadmi mxardaWeris oficial uri dasturi iyo. admiral al en
kerkis 1952 wl is Tebervl is gancxadebaSi stal inis reJimisgan damoneb-
ul i erebisadmi Tanadgomis da devnil obaSi myofi emigrantebisadmi
material uri daxmarebis aucil ebl obaze yuradRebis gadatana, qarTul
emigracias finansurad daxmarebis real ur SesaZl ebl obebs uqmnida.
amerikul i komitetis gegmiT gaTval iswinebul i_ sabWoTa ruseTSi ero-
vnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis gaRrmavebaSi saqarTvel os sax-
el mwi fos aRdgenis gasaRebi ido. qarTul emigracias, es faqtori da am
organizaciisgan Semotavazebul i daxmareba maqsimal urad unda gamoey-
enebina.

e.gegeWkoris 1953 wl is 30 ivnisis 14 punqtiani memorandumi, antibol Se-
vikuri brZol is saerTaSoriso sakoordinacio centris Seqmnis da misi
organizaciul i agebul ebis, pl atformis da taqtikis saprogramo miTi-
Tebebs Sei cavda. am dokumentiT, amerikul i komitetis wevrebs daudastu-
res, rom qarTul i emigraciis saxiT, maRal i intel eqtual izmis, pol iti-
kurad gamobrZmedil i da pol itikuri l avirebis SesaZl ebl obis mqone
adami anebi ucxadebda mxaedaWer as.

2) qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis samTavrobo warmomadgenl obis mi er
erovnul i sabWos 1952 wl is oqtombris meore da mesame sxdomebze mi Re-
bul i dadgenil ebebi, sabWoTa reJimis damxobas rusi eris aqtiuri moqme-
debiT mi iCnevda SesaZl ebl ad. qarTvel i da rusi emigrantebis erTobl ivi
brZol a im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda mizanSewonil i, Tuki rusul i emigracia
mcire erebis ufl ebebs aRiarebda, gacemul pirobas Rirseul ad Seasru-
l ebda da saerTaSoriso samarTl is CarCoSi moaqcevda.

qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZrao-
bis antisabWouri kursi, amerikul komitetTan da ssrk- is erebis emi-
graciis warmomadgenl ebTan TanamSroml obaze iyo dafuZnebul i. mxed-
vel obaSi a misaRebi: a) saqarTvel os, ukrainis da bel orusiis warmomadge-
nel Ta karl sruheSi gamarTul i konferenciis (1953 wl is 14- 15 Teberva-
l i) dadgenil ebebi; b) qarTvel ebis, ukrainel ebis, bel orusebis da ruse-
bis warmomadgenel Ta tegernesis yril obaze (1953 wl is 1 ivnisi) mi Rebu-
l i wesdeba, romelic pol itikuri Zal ebis qartiad gamocxadda.

3) Crdil o kavkasiel Ta Soris urTierTdapi rispirebam da araj ansaRi
pol itikuri situaciis Seqmnam, qarTul i emigraciis winaSe Semdegi saki-
Txebis gadawyvetis aucil ebl oba daayena: a) pol itikurad saRad moazrovne
rusul emigraciasTan saerTo enis gamoZebnis da urTierTobis gaj ansa-

Reba, b)rusul i emigraciisa da amerikul i komitetis erTobl ivi mxardaW-
eriT, kavkasiis erTa gaerTianeba, g)kavkasiis erebis momaval i bedis msot-
lio saerTaSoriso procesebSi CarTva, d)sabWoTa imperial izmisadmi
erTobl ivi Zal ebiT dapi rispireba da saerTaSoriso moZraobaze gadab-
mis aucil ebl oba.

qarTul i emigraciis Zal isxmeviT, parizis konferenciaze (1952 wl is 21
oqtomberi) damtkicebul i `erTiani kavkasiuri centris~ interesebSi Sedi-
oda: a)kavkasiis erebis erTianobis garegnul i fonis Seqmna, b)amerikul i
komitetis da dasavl eT evropis politikuri wreebisgan rusul i nacio-
nal izmis aRorZinebis Sesazl o mcdel obisadmi xel SeSl a, g)amerikul i
komitetis antisabWouri saqmi anobis gegmaSi, saqarTvel osa da amierkavkasi-
is erebis gamoyenebis SenarCuneba.

\$ 3. ganaxl ebul i erovnul i sabWos Seqmni s mcdel oba da qarTul i emigracia

qarTul i emigraci i saTvis saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebis sakiTxis saocnebo sagnad gadaqcevis miuxedavad, maT praqtikul saqmi anobaSi urTierTdapi ri- spireba zeaRmatebul safexurs aRwevda. pol itikuri partieb is I iderTa Sexedul ebebi da gegmebi saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebasTan mimarTe baSi, urTierTgamomricxav Sexedul ebebs Seicavda. emigraci is SigniT arsebul i SeuTanxmebl oba, pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebas da saerTo saqm is win wawevas uSl ida xel s. 1922- 1940 wl ebSi mimdinare dapi ri spirebis uary- ofiTi Sedegebis mware gamocdil ebis miuxedavad, 50- iani wl ebis qarTul emigraciaSi, es mavne `v irusi- i sev amoqmedda. arada, TaobaTa cvl is Sedegad, qarTul i pol itikuri azrovnebis sivrceSi Seqmni l i vakumi T warmoqmni l i xarvezis amovseba, erTiani samoqmedo gegm is SemuSavebas da xel i- xel Cak- idebul i formi T moqmedebas moiTxovda. qarTul i emigraci is ufrosi Tao- bis warmomadgenl ebs kargad axsovdaT evropis qveynebis I iderTa dapi rebe- bis Seusrul ebl oba. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki evropel i I iderebi qarTvel i emigrantebis saqmi anobaSi pol itikur qaoss dainaxavda, es faqtori maT- Tvis, qarTul i emigraci isadmi indiferentul i damokidebul ebis xel CasaWi- di gasaRebi gaxdeboda. am mxriv, **uaRresad sayuradRebo Sexedul ebaa gamoTqmul i `yofil i erovnul i mTavrobis amocanebis Sesaxeb- 1954 wel s daweril dokumentSi. masSi gamaf rTxil ebel i formi T iyo miTiTebul i:** 1)warsul is gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, garedan didi daxmarebis miRe- ba qarTul i emigraci isadmi gamoricxul i iyo. saukeTeso pol itikur me- gobrebs evropis qveynis I iderebi xSirad uyuradRebod tovebdnen da mizezad or faqtors asaxel ebdnen: a)moucl el obas da b)TavianTi qvey- nis saqmeebi T gadatvirTvas; 2)aucil ebl oba moiTxovda: a)umni Svnel ovanes sakiTxebSi qarTul i emigraci is erTsul ovnebas; b)erTiani avtoritetu- l i makoordini rebel i organos Seqmnas, romel ic memkvi dreobi T mi Rebu- l i yvel a saqmeebis gaZRol is pasuxismgebl obas aiRebda. imavdroul ad, angari Ss gauwevda im qveynis administraci is interesebs, sadac qarTul i emigracia imyofeboda; 3)emigranti amomrCevl ebis safuZvel ze Seqmni l i axal i organizaci is da misi aRmasrul ebel i komitetis Semadgenl obis arCevis iseTi procedura unda damkvidrebul iyo, romel ic xel mZRvanel o- baSi emigraci is axal i Taobis warmomadgenl ebis Seyvanas Seuwyobda xel s. saWi roebisamebr mTel i saqmi anobis gadaxal isebas moaxdenda da rac mTavaria, 4)emigraci is gaxangrZl ivebis SemTxvevaSi, aRni Snul i or- ganos saqmeebis Taobidan- Taobisadmi gadacema Seuferxeb l ad ganxor- ciel deboda. aseTi saprogramo debul ebebis miuxedavad, Tvi T qarTul i social - demokrati is rigebsi gaTiSul oba da urTierTdapi ri spireba SenarCunebul i iqna. es faqti, gadamdeb senad SeiZl eba qceul iyo im TaobisaTvis, romel zedac qarTul i emigraci is I iderebi dawyebul i saqm is bol omde miyvani s imeds amyar ebda. arada, arsebul i situacia dasax- ul i miznis damuxruWebis saukeTeso saSual ebas warmoadgenda.

oficial uri dokumentebis mi xedvi T, qarTul i emigraci is samTavrobo frTis warmomadgenl ebi, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mowinaaRmdege yvel a Zal ebTan TanamSroml obis da erTiani samoqmedo programis SemuSavebis survil s ga-

moTqvamda. amiT qarTvel Ta erovnul mi swrafebebs TanaugrZnobda. am fonze Tuki ganvixil avT social - demokratiul i partiis SigniT arsebul dapir- ispirebas, igi veranair kritikas ver uZl ebs. 1951 wl is monacemebiT, emi gra- ciaSi myofi social - demokratiul i partia or nawil ad iyo gaxl eCil i. es faqti, emigraciis rigebsi antisabWouri saqmi anobis erT- erT Semaferx- ebel barierad SeiZl eba iqnas miCneul i. mi Tumetes, qveynis okupaciis Sem- deg, qarTvel Ta interesebis aTvis mebrZol i Zal is, evropis pol itikur sivrce- Si erTmaneTTan opoziciis ampl uaSi yofna, maTi diskreditaciisTvis xe- l Semwyob pirobebs qmni da. meore mxriv, arsebul i real oba, emigraciis qarTvel social - demokratiis, antisabWouri saqmi anobis da erovnul - ganmaTavisu- fl ebel i moZraobis l ideris funqcias akargvnebd. es saSiSroeba, imave social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebisgan droul ad iqna aRqmul i da Seqmnil i mdgomareobis gamosworebas Seecadnen. dasaxul mi zans emsaxure- boda social - demokratiul i partiis orive mimdinareobis l iderTa ini- ciativiT parizSi mowveul i TaTbiri (1951 wl is ivl is- agvisto). am Ronisz- iebas eswrebodnen: parizis social - demokratiul i organizaciidan gr. ura- taZe da k.gvarjal aZe; parizis gaerTianebul i social - demokratiul i or- ganizaciidan n.cincaZe da r.arseniZe.

TaTbirze ori sakiTxi iqna ganxil ul i: 1)erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i muSaobis ZiriTadi principi, roml iTac organizacias samomavl od unda exel mZRvanel a da 2)erovnul i pol itikuri centris wesdebis proeqti. sa- oqmo Canawerebi dan irkveva, rom pirvel i sakiTxis ganxil visas, TaTbiris mo- nawil eebma srul i mxardaWera gamoucxada im pol itikur kurss, romel ic aSS- is da sxva demokratiul i qveynebis xel isufal T hqondaT aRebul i erebisa da adami anTa ufl ebrivi mdgomareobis dasacavad, sabWoTa komuni- turi tiraniis winaaRmdag sabrZol vel ad. amis Sesaxeb imave dokumentSi garkveviT aris miTiTebul i: `orive mxare Tanaxmani arian, rom ganmaTavisu- fl ebel i muSaobis procesSi... davukavSi rdeT... yvel a demokratiul Zal ebs moskovis mier daCagrul i erebisas da TviT rusi xal xis im demokrtiul daj gufebebs, romel nic udaod scnoben qarTvel i xal xis ufl ebas TviT ganagon Tavis bedi da saerTod yvel a erebis aTvis aRiareben TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebas urezervod.- aseTi poziciis oficial urad gacxadebi dan gamomdi- nare, imave TaTbiris monawil eni val debul ni iyvnen, dasaxul i mi znis gan- saxorciel ebel i safexuris mosamzadebel i pirobebis Seqmnazedac ezru- naT. TaTbiris stenografiul i Canawerebidan irkveva, rom am Ronisziebis monawil eTa ZiriTadi yuradReba qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri centris nayofieri muSaobis aucil ebl obaze da mis samomavl o Sedegebze iqna gada- tanil i. aqedan gamomdinare, centris agebul ebis Sesaxeb mi Rebul i SeT- anxmebis Sedegad, centris daniSnul eba da misi Semadgenl oba Semdegi formiT ganisazRvra: a)axl adSeqmnil centrs Tavis Tavze unda aeRo sa- zRvargareT gaweul i saqmi anobis mTel i pasuxismgebl oba. daecva erTo- bl ivi muSaobisa da mTl ianobis principi. yovel mxriv ezruna paral el - izmis asacil ebl ad; b)centris Semadgenl oba pol itikuri partiebisa da daj gufebebis warmomadgenl ebis bazaze unda dakompl eqtebul iyo. misi Sevseba im cal keul i pirovnebebiT momxdariyo, romel Ta saqmi anoba cen- trisTvis sasargebl o iqneboda. imave TaTbirze erTobl ivad mi Rebul gancxadebaSi aRniSnul i iqna: `TaTbiri imeds gamoTqvams, rom pol iti-

kuri centris muSaobaSi orive daj gufeba Seecdeba winaswari mol aparakebiT saerTo krebaze erTi azrit gamovides.~ am val debul ebebs xemoweriT adasturebdnen: gr.urataZe, k.gvarj al aZe, r.arseniZe da n.cincaZe.¹

aRniSnul i gadawyvetil ebis miuxedavad, qarTul i emigraciis social - demokratiul i partiis pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTianeba SeuZl ebel i gaxda. amis Sesaxeb s.asaTiani Tavis publ ikaciaSi_ `dRevandel i mdgomareoba da Cveni sakiTxi~ gul istkivil iT werda, rom qarTul `patara Zal ebs bevri ar SeuZl ia ra, magram is ris gakeTebac SeuZl ia da ver akeTebis, erTi- meoresTan SeuTanxmebl obiT, amas arc Cveni eri da arc misi istoria arasodes ar gvapatiebs. WeSmaritad kargia, rom saqarTvel os bedi mxol od emigraciaz ar aris damokidebul i, Torem is didi xni dan daRupul i iqneboda. saqarTvel os xSirad hqonia Tavis istoriis gaswvriw mware epizodebi, magram Tavis gmirul i brZol iT, gonieri drois Sesafერი pol itikis warmoebiT isev fexze damdgara da Tavis istoria gaugrZel ebia. imedi unda viqoni oT, rom is dRevandel tragediasac gauZl ebs! magram vai Cvens sircxvil s! gana Rirsi viqnebiT patriotisa da Tavisufl ebisTvis mebrZol is saxel is, Tu Cveni wvl il i ar mivi taneT mis sakurTxevel ze?~²

Cems mier motanil i am amonaweris mixedvit; a)erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis organizaciis saqmis winwawewis mizniT, qarTul i social - demokratiul i partiis pol itikuri Zal ebis l iderTa konesusamde misvl a da principul sakiTxebze SeTanxmeba, pol itikurma ambi ciurobam CaSal a; b)maTi aseTi qnedeba, saerTo saqmisadmi zianis motanis el ementebis Seicavda da saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebisatvis brZol is sakurTxevel ze, emigraciis social - demokratiul i partiis wvl il is mitanas aferxebda. aqedan gamomdinare, weril is avtoris daskvna, rom momaval i Taoba da istoria qarTul pol itikur emigracias aseT qmedebas ar apatiebda_ simarTi is marcval s Seicavda. dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT safuZvl ianad unda iqnas Seswavl il i da mkiTxvel isadmi dasabuTebul i formiT miwodebul i: vin uSl ida xel s qarTul i emigraciis `pol itikurad namsxvrevi- Zal ebis da maT Soris orad gaxl eCil i social - demokratiul i partiis gaerTianebas, saerTaSoriso arenaze anti sabWouri programiT erTobl ivad gamosvl as.

emigraciis qarTvel Ta erTianobis sakiTxi imdenad aqtual uri iyo, rom im periodis emigrantul Jurnal - gazeTebSi am probl ematikasTan mimarTebaSi Sesabamisi publ ikaciebi ibeWdeboda. am mxriv, Cemi yuradReba miqcia a.giaZ- is fsevdonimiT gamoqveynebul ma weril ma- `mudam Tavsatexi sakiTxi-. masSi garkvevit iyo miTiTebul i: 1)bol Sevizmis winaaRmdeg brZol is aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb erTiani Tval sazrisis miuxedavad, qarTul i emigracia pol itikurad daqsqsul i rCeboda da dasaxul i miznis safexurebri vad aRmasvl is gamozebnas ver axerxebda; 2)Tavisufal i azrovnebis da gansxvavebul i pol itikuri Sexedul ebebis miuxedavad, dapyrobil i qveynis emigraciis praqtikul saqmanobas pragmatizmis saxe unda mieRo. pol itikur daqsqsul obasa da urTierTdapirispirebaSi ar gadazrdil iyo. saqarTvel os sinamdvil is yofidan gamomdinare, qarTvel Ta saxel mwi fos aRdgenamde, TiToeul i maTganis pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri Sexedul ebebiT moqmedeba, pol itikuri sibrZnis uaryofiT, cdomil ebisken gadadgmul i nabij iT

ar gamovl enil iyo.

zemoaRni Snul i SegonebiTi fonis SeqmniT, imave statiis avtori qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebs savsebiT kanonzomierad Seaxsenebda: `aq ucx-oeTSi ar sj obs, rom viTom pol itikur brZol as, romel ic kerZo SuRI zea agebul i vidre qarTvel i eris interesebis dacvaze, Tavi davaneboT da erTad darazmul ni saqarTvel os ganTavisufI ebisatvis brZol aSi gaver-TiandeT?~ sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasma im etapze savsebiT kanonzomieri iyo. mi Tumetes, sabWoTa imperiis winaaRmdeg brZol a da am imperiaSi Semaval i damonebul i erebis gamosarCl ebis pol itikur kurss, im etapze aSS- i edga saTaveSi. es unikal uri pol itikuri momenti, qarTul emigracias maqsimal urad unda gamoeyenebina, Tuki maT rigebsi pol itikuri sibrZne jer kidev amoSanTul i ar iyo. es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi imave statiis avtors, roca qarTul i emigraciis misamarTiT werda: `31 wl is ganmavl obaSi saqarTvel os sakiTxi ase garkveviT arasodes ar dasmul a, rogorc dRes... Zal auneburad mTel i progresul i kacabrioba Cveni mokavSirea. yvel a Tavisufal i erebis bedi ki damokidebul ia Crdil o amerikiS SeerTebul Statebze, romel ic saTaveSi udgas bol Sevikuri monobis winaaRmdeg brZol as. da es amerika, romel sac damouki debel i saqarTvel o arasodes ucunia, dRes ocdaaTi wl is damonebul Cvens qveyanas Tavisi sagareo saqmeTa ministris piriT Tanadgomas ucxadebs da TavisufI ebisatvis brZol aSi daxmarebas hpirdeba. es aucil ebl ad didi istoriul i movl enaa qarTvel i erisatvis.³ aseT pirobebSi, qarTul i emigraciis moval eobas Seadgenda, Tavi anTi saqmi-anobisatvis, uki dures SemTxvevaSi garegnul ad erTianobis moCvenebiTi forma mi eca. samwuxar od, piradi ambi ciebiT erTmaneTis winaaRmdeg i seiyvnen dapi-rispirebul ni, rom saWiroebis SemTxvevaSi, moCvenebiTi erTianobis Teatra- l uri scenaris gaTamaSebis unaric dakargul i hqondaT. imasac Tu gaviTval iswinebT, rom qarTul i pol itikuri emigracia ucxoel Ta Tval Si qarTvel- l i eris `miniaturul gansaxierebas- warmoadgenda, maSin maTi Si da pol i- tikuri dapi-rispireba dana-Saul ebriv formebsi aRiqmeboda. am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Jurnal `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `Cveni gaTiSul obis mizezi- g.wereTel i xazgasmiT werda: qarTul i pol i- tikuri emigraciis daniSnul ebas warmoadgens `emsaxuros da xel i Seuwyos qarTvel i xal xis keTil dReobas, xel i dan gamostacos saqarTvel o kreml is tiranias da is Tavisufal xal xTa saerTo oj axSi Seiyyanos viT Tanaswo- ri TanasworTa Soris... ar arsebobs Cvens Soris iseTi pol itikuri daj gu- feba, romel ic kategoriul ad ar moiTxovdes saqarTvel os damouki debel o- bas, misi mi tacebul i TavisufI ebis aRdgenas. yvel ani Tanaxmani varT, rom sabWoTa reJimis damxobis gareSe SeuZl ebel ia saqarTvel os ganTavisuf- l eba... da mainc ar moxerxda saerTo erovnul i srul i frontis Seqmna, mTel i Cveni Zal ebis erT kal apotSi miSveba.- dokumenturi masal iT dastur- deba, rom g.wereTI i seul i es pozicia simarTI es Seesabameba da gancal kevebi- sken swrafvis im pol itikur simaxinj eze miuTitebda, romel ic qarTul emi- graciaSi iyo damkvidrebul i, da rac mTavaria, saerTo mi znis miRvevaSi xel SemSl el i faqtoris funcias asrul ebda.

qarTul i emigraciis SigniT Seqmnil i umZimesi situaciis Sesaxeb ze- moT motanil i faqtebisa da emigraciis saqmi-anobis ganvl il i istoriis zogadi anal izidan gamomdinare, imave statiaSi g.wereTel i garkveviT

mi uTiTebda: `ra dasamal ia,rom uTanxmoeba ara principiul - ideologiuri xasiaTisa iyo, aramed piraduli, zogierT moxuc pol itikur moRvaweTa piradi SuRI iT gamowveuli. kerZo angariSebi, piradi ambiciebi da urTierTSoris kinkl aoba pirvel obisaTvis_ es Cveni istoriuli mteri mogvdevs aq emigraciaSi da mosvenebas ar gvaZl evs. gana sxvanairad SeiZl eba aixsnas is faqti, rom erovnul i mTavroba, romelic qarTveli xal xis neba- survil iT iyo arCeuli, romelic sami wli is ganmavl obaSi xel mZRvanel obda eris bediRbals da sami aTeuli welia dauRal avadibrZvis eris SebRali ufl ebis aRsadgenad, romelic erTaderTi erovnuli institutia sakmao avtoritetiT rom sargebl obs, rogorc ucxoel megobrebTan, ise TviT qarTvel Ta Soris, gagveriya Cvengan da umaTod gvewarmoebia ganmaTavisufli ebeli omi?! ... Tu vinmes gul wrfel ad gaerTianeba undoda da... dabrmavebuli ar iyo piradi ambiciebiT, es gaerTianeba mxol od... erovnul i mTavrobis irgvl iv SeiZl eboda da ara umisod an mis winaarmdeg?!

Caeyara ra safuzveli emigraciis orad gaTiSvas, imTaviTve iqna dasvebuli Secdoma Tu danaSauli. xolo Semdegi Sexla- Semoxla bunebrivi Sedegia da amitom... bevrs ar akvirvebs. urTierT dapi rispirebis pirobebSi ra gasakviria Tu `centristebs- mTavrobis da `sabWos- pol itikuri xazi ar moewonebaT da mis winaarmdeg si tyvierad Tu weril obiT gail- aSqreben... am gamol aSqrebebs xSirad ul oRikoba axasiaTebis da... saqmes scil debian.-

Cems mier motanil am vrcel amonawerSi, qarTuli emigraciis pol itikuri ambiciebiT Sepyrobili daj gufebebis liderTa sruli anatomi- aa warmodgenili. garkveviTaa miTitebuli maTi moqmedebis al ogikurobis da saerTo saqmisadmi nebsiT Tu unebl ied Cadenili danaSaulis Sesaxeb. avtoriseuli es pozicia savsebiT martebulia im sakiTxSiac, roca emigraciaSi myofi mTavrobis garSemo, pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTiane- bis aucil ebl obaze miuTitebda. misi es Sexedul eba XX saukunis 50- iani wlebsi saerTaSoriso arenaze antisabWouri kursis aRmasvli pol iti- kuri procesebis anal izs efuzneboda da rac mTavaria, masSi qarTuli emigraciis aqtiurad CarTvis mizansewonil ebas iTval iswinebda. igi wa- rmatebuli mxol odim SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda, Tuki qarTuli emigracia pol itikurad erT muStad Seikvroda da saerTaSoriso antisabWour Zal ebs, konsesusze dafuznebuli erTiani samoqmedo programiT warudge- boda. Tuki amas ver SeZl ebda, ufrosi Taobis 32 wliani Tavdadebuli antisabWouri saqmanobis istoriis ganul ebas moaxdenda. es sapaSuxism- gebl o misia emigraciis axali Taobis umetesobas kargad hqonda gacno- bierebuli da ufrosi Taobis SemorCenil gamobrZmedil pol itikur mo- RvaweebTan erTad emigraciis pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidaciisaTvis TavgamodebitibrZodnen. ayenebdnen sakiTxs samSobl os ganTavisufli eb- isaTvis mebrZoli Zal ebis erT pol itikur organizaciaSi gaerTiane- bis Sesaxeb. miTumetes, im etapze antikunisturi qarTuli daj gufebebis erT organizaciaSi gaerTianebi saTvis pol itikuri da fsiqo- logiuri pirobebi xel sayreli iyo. Tundac im el ementaruli mizezis gamo, rom antisabWour moZraobas aSS- is xel isufalni edga saTaveSi. am fonze Tuki SevafasebT qarTuli emigraciaSi Seqmnil situacias, qarTuli Zal ebis daqsaqsul da

`gaTi Tokacebul ~ qmedebas, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobi sadmi saerTaSoriso organizaciebis mxardaWeris mopovebis Tval sazrisiT, igi uaryofiT Sedegebis momtani SeiZl eba yofil iyo. aRniSnul i safrTxe, parizis qarTul i pol itikuri organizaciis wevrTa erT nawil s kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i da Seqmnil i rTul i situaciidan gamosvl is gzebis Zi ebaSi imyofeboda. am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul pirvel qmediT nabij s, 1951 wl is 28 ianvars q. parizSi mowveul i qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis sazogado kreba warmoadgenda. misi monawil eni, mTavrobisa da erovnul i sabWos urTierTobis Sesabamisi wesdebiT daregul irebis aucil ebl obas isaxavda mi znad. pirvel ive sxdomaze miRebul i 7 punqtiani wesdebis ganxil vis dros, gansakuTrebul i dapiRispireba dokumentis me- 7 muxl ma gamoiwvia. igi mTavrobisa da erovnul i sabWos damokidebul ebas exeboda. ramdenadac aRniSnul sakiTxze ver SeTanxmdnen, misi sabol oo redaqtireba Sesabamisi komisi as mi andves. ak.Cxenkel is winadadebiT, imave krebam Semdegi formul ireba mi iRo: `Sedgenil i iqnes erovnul i sabWos Sida organizaciul i wyobis da samoqmedo gegnis debul ebebi, romel Sidac unda Candes saqarTvel os mTavrobis aSkara survil i da garanti ebi mTavrobis qarTul sabWosTan pol itikuri pasuxismgebl obis gaziarebis.-

es formul ireba zogad xasiaTs atarebda da erovnul i centris Semadgenl obis dakompl eqtebis principi bs ar asaxavda. aRniSnul i garemoebiT iyo ganpirobepul i s.saRiraSvil is mxridan erovnul i centris SeqmnasTan mimarTebaSi gamoTqmul i SeniSvnebi. misi mtkicebiT, axl adSeqmnil i organoSi provinci ebidan da sxva qveynebsi gabneul i emigranti qarTvel i pol itikosebic unda SeeyvanaT. aseT sawyisebze dafuZnebul erovnul centrs, mudmivi kontaqtebi unda hqonoda mTavrobasTan, xol o am ukana sknel s mTel i pasuxismgebl oba Tavis- Tavze aeRo. es im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i, Tuki qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri daj gufebebi winaswari SeTanxmebebis Sedegad, erTiani central uri organos Seqmnas SeZl ebdnen. aRniSnul i sakiTxis Sesaxeb gamarTul diskusiaSi monawil e qarTvel i pol itikosebis (ak.Cxenkel i, p.sarj vel aZe, gr.urataZe, m.gobeCi a, r.arseni Ze, e.gegeWkori, n.urusaZe, k.gvarj al aZe, v.asatiani, s.saRiraSvil i, n.cincaZe) mxridan gamoTqmul i Sexedul ebebis gaTval iswinebis safuZvel ze, imave krebam Semdegi Sinaarsis dadgenil eba mi iRo: `1)Seqmnil i iqnas erTi qarTul i centri, romel Sidac warmodgenil i iqnebian mTel i qarTul i pol itikuri Zal ebi (es centri TanamSroml obs ucxoetSi myof erovnul qarTul mTavrobasTan); 2)kreba ar scnobs 1949 wl is 7 noembers qarTvel ebis erTi nawil is mier Sedgenil egreT wodebul `pol itikur centrs ucxoetSi- da mis arsebobas erovnul i interesdebi saTvis mavned aRiarebs; 3)krebas sasargebl od mi aCnia arCeul i iqnas komisia, romel ic izrunes erTi qarTul i centris Sesaqmnel ad.-

aseTi organos Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi, demokratiul i respubliki s aRsadgenad gaweul i misi saqmianoba, evropis qveynebsi mxol od agitacia-propagandiT unda Semofargl ul iyo. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi damokidebul ebas, igi val debul i iqneboda am organosTan mWidrod eTanamSroml a da erTobl ivi Zal ebiT emoqmedaT dasaxul i mi znis mi saRwevad. Tu ra kriteriუმების დაკმაყოფილებას SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i gacxadebul i mi znebisა და ამოცანის შესრუ-

I eba, ami s Sesaxeb sayuradRebo wi nadadebebs Sei cavs `yofil i erovnul i mTavrobis amocanebis Sesaxeb- Sedgenil i dokumenti. masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi formiT SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)organizacia, ramdenadac eris ganTavisufli ebisaTvis iyo mowodebul i, misi central uri organos konpentenciis gansakuTrebulo bidan gamomdinare, TiToeul wevrs gansazRvrul CarCoSi unda emomqmeda. organizaciaSi yovel i pirovnebis Sesvl a an misi wevris TviTneburad gamosvl a, gzad mimaval i kacis mdgomareobas ar unda damgavneboda; 2)axladSeqmnil i erTiani qarTul i centrismizans, saqarTvelos formaluri an iuridული i statutis da qarTvel i xal xis mier aRebul i xazis Secvl a ar warmoadgenda. mas damoukidebl obisaTvis brZol aSi damxmare funqcia unda Seesrulo ebina. emigraciis mier arCeul i es organo, Tavisi saqmianobis SedegebiT pasuxismgebel i iqneboda mxol od emigraciis da ara qarTvel i xal xis winase; 3)saqarTvelos emigraciული i mTavroba, qarTul i erovnული i sabWos Seqmnas j er kidev n.Jordaniასიციოქლი eSive miicnevda mizansewonil ad. paral el urad, misi aRmasrulo ebel i organos wevrTacval ebadobasac aucil ebl obad Tvl ida. aseTi RonisZieba, qarTvel i xal xis erovnul - ganmatavisufli ebel i moZraobisadmi permanentული i xasiaTis micemaze da erovnul i Tavisufli ebis droSis Taobidan- Taobaze estapeTis saxiT gadacemaze iyo gatvili i; 4)erovnul i sbWos ZiriTadi debul ebebi srulo ebit akmayofil ebda central uri organosTvis saWiro moTxovnil ebebs da xel s uwyobda qarTul i politiki emigraciis ZiriTadi nawilis gaertianebas. mi Tumetes: a)am organizaciis wesdeba, organizaciaSi muSaobis farTo asparezs uqmni da qarTul i emigraciis axal Taobas; b)organizaciis Seqmnis nebarTva, safrangeTis Sesabamisi uwyebis mier iyo gacemuli; g)organizaciasTan Setanxmebul muSaobas, saqarTvelos emigraciული i mTavroba sasargebl od miicnevda; d)erovnul i mTavrobis da erovnul i sabWos funqciebi mkacrada unda yofil iyo gamijnul i da misi aRreva dauSvebnel i iyo; e)sazRvargareTis organizaciebisa da ucxoetis oficialuri wreebis mxridan, saqarTvelos emigraciული i mTavrobisadmi angariSis gaweva, damfuznebel i krebis mandatiT mTavrobis aRwurvis faqtoriT iyo ganpirobepul i. aseTi damokidebul ebis gagrZel eba, qarTul i politiki emigraciis konsolidაციე, axladarCeul i organizaciisa da mTavrobis qmediTunarianobaze iqneboda damokidebul i; 5)qarTul i emigraciis centraluri organo, yovel dRiuri administraciული i saqmeebit unda yofil iyo dakavebul i da erovnul i mTavrobis saqmianobis memkvidris funqcia Seesrulo ebina. mas unda uzrunvel iyo emigraciis didi nawilis gaertianeba da erovnul i sabWos arCevnebsi aqtiuri monawileoba. rac Seexeba qarTvel emigrantTami arCeul dandobit aRwurvil sabWos, igi aRmasrulo ebel organos niSnavda. aqve iyo warmodgenil i emigraciis mxridan erovnul i sabWos arCebis ganmsazRvrel i specifiური პრინციები.

xazgasmit unda iTqvas, rom qarTul i politiki emigraciis bazaze axali organos Seqmnis aucil ebl obis dasmas, dadebitad Sexvda saqarTvelos emigraciული i mTavrobis warmomadgenel ebi. amis dadasturebas, parizSi gamarTul i erovnul i sabWos yril obaze (1952 wl is 4 noemberi) saqarTvelos mTavrobis oficialuri gancxadeba warmoadgens. mTel rig mniSvnel ovan

sakiTxebTan erTad masSi garkveviT iyo miTiTebul i mosal odnel i sirTu-
l eebis Sesaxeb. am dokumentis Semdgenl ebi, Sekrebis monawil eebis erTxel
kidev Seaxsenebda, emigraciis pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianebeis da gaaTke-
cebul i muSaobis aucil ebl obas. `ami sTvis Cven si amovnebiT vegebebiT saerTo
organos daarsebas ucxoeTSi da vimedovnebt, rom igi Tavisi irgvl iv Se-mo-
ikrebs mTel s pol itikur cocxal emigracias da rom imaTac, vinc dRes aq
aris warmodgenil i, mal e Tqvens winaSe vixil avT. dRevandel i Tqveni mraval -
ricxovani da mraval ferovani yril oba Tavdebia imis, rom amieridan qarTvel i
emigraciis farTo wreebi, romel Ta gaerTianebas Cven mudam vcdil obT erT-
sul ovnad i muSaveben saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis saqmezed.⁴

saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis optimizmiT datvirTul i es gancxa-
deba, gansakuTrebul i ambiciurobisa da daqsqsul obis `mourCenel i viru-
sisgan,- qarTvel Ta gansakurnebl ad gamousadegari aRmoCnda. es real oba
dokumenturi masal iTac dasturdeba, roml is Sesaxeb naSromis Sesabamis
adgil ze meqneba saubari. rac Seexeba axal organos_ `erovnul sabWos,- mi-
si arCevis SemTxvevaSi ZiriTadi funqcia unda yofil iyo: a) qarTul i pol i-
tikuri emigraciis gaerTianeba da meTauroba; b) saqarTvel oSi erovnul -
ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis aRorZinebi sadmi xel Sewyoba-
daxmareba. am mi znis gansaxorciel ebl ad axal Taobas, erovnul i droSa, ufrosi Taobis
SemorCenil warmomadgenl ebTan erTad unda etarebina. am faqtor iT iyo ga-
npirobebul i emigraciul i mTavrobis Tavmj domaris k.kandel akis mxridan,
erovnul i sabWos Semadgenl obis gafarToebis aucil ebl obis dasma. am ini-
ciativam gansakuTrebul i kmayofil eba gamoiwvia saqarTvel os damouki de-
bl obis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWos xel mZRvanel obaSi. amis Sesaxeb, imave
sabWos Tavmj domaris vaxtang abaSiZis da sabWos mdivanis givi kobaxiZis
mier, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis Tavmj domaris konstantine kan-
del akisadmi 1954 wl is 12 noembers niu- iorkidan gamogzavnil weril Si xa-
zgasmiTaa miTiTebul i. ramdenadac es dokumenti Tavisi SinaarsiTa da paT-
osiT gansakuTrebul i Rirebul ebis matarebel ia, mkiTxvel sazogadoebas
mis srul teqsts SevTavazeb. `didad pativcemul o batono konstantine! ama
wl is 31 oqtomers qal aq niu iorkSi moxda kreba saqarTvel os damouki de-
bl obis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWos gameobisa, romel zedac sagangebod mo-
wveul i iyo batoni il ia gol dmani. batonma gol dmanma gagvacno Tqveni ev-
ropaSi mogzaurobis STabeWdil ebani da gansakuTrebiT Seexo qarTul i po-
l itikuri organizaciebis muSaobas evropasi. man metad maRal i Sefaseba
misca saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis muSaobas ucxoeTSi da aRniSna,
rom Tqven ganzraxul i gaqvT qarTul i erovnul i sabWos gafarToeba, masSi
axal i wevrebisa da axal organizaciaTa warmomadgenl ebis Seyvana, raTa
amiT zemoxsenebul i organizaciis wina da misi muSaoba ufro gazarados
da gafarTovdes. Zal ian kargi iqneboda agreTve, Tu aqtiur saqmanobas da-
uaxl ovebdiT cnobil pol itikur moRvawebs, romel Tac saqarTvel os damo-
uki debl obis dros oficial uri da sapasuxismgebl o Tanamdebobani eWiraT.
maTi saxel ebi da maTi daxmareba aucil ebel ia Cveni brZol isTvis saqarTve-
l os dampyrobTa winaaRmdeg!

dasarul s, batono Tavmj domarev, gamovTqvamT Cvens did sixarul s da mi-
vesal mebiT mTel is SegnebiT da grZhobiT Tqvens gadawyvetil ebas miRebu-
l s Tavisi droze, Caudget saqarTvel os mTavrobas saTaveSi im ori didi da-

nakargis Semdeg, romel ic saqarTvel os emigraci am gansvenebul i noe Jordanas da evgeni gegeWkoris gardacval ebiT gani cada! gi survebT warmatebas da imedi iqoniet Cveni mxardaWerisa Tqvens saqmianobaSi!-

rogorc vxedavT, es weril i saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis axal i Tavmj domaris k.kandel akisadmi ara mar to pativiscemas Sei cavda, aramed misi avtorebi mxardaWeras gamoTqvamdnen im swori gadawyvetil ebis mimarT, romel ic erovnul i sabWos gafarToebas_ axal i wevrebiT Sevsebas iTval - iswinebda. am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i xasiaTis RonisZiebebis gatar eba, qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri Zal ebis konsol idaciis real ur saSual ebad iyo gamocxadebul i. imasac Tu gaviTval iswinebT, rom im periodSi qarTvel i eri umZimes mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda, emigraciis mxridan mcireodeni, Tundac moral uri xasiaTis mxardaWera, udi des fsiqol ogiur simtkices Sematebda. amis gakeTeba mas Semdeg gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i, roca qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri speqtri erT organizaciaSi gaerTiandeboda da konsesusze dafuZnebul samoqmedo gegmas miRebda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Jurnal `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `aRmasrul ebel i komitetis pol itikuri Sedegebi - g.keresel iZe werda: `qarTvel Ta emigraciaSi erovnul i sabWos idea warmoi Sva. savsebiT gavi zi are es mSvenieri azri, radgan igi mi maCnda erTaderT saSual ebad qarTvel Ta gaerTianevisa, rac aucil ebel ia sagareo pol itikis nayofierad warmoebisatvis. am sabWos bevri mteri aRmouCnda... Rmada mrwams, roca Senel deba pirvel i `Soki~, vnebaTa Rel va adgil s dauTmobs ufro saR, ufro damSvid ebul msjel obas da sworad gagebul erovnul pol itikas... sabWos da... misi komitetis arsebobis azri da mizani erTaderTia: saqarTvel os suverenul saxel mwifos ganTavisufi eba ucxo okupaciisagan. aRmasrul ebel i komitetis moval eoba iyo da aris TviTon gamonaxos gezi da saSual ebani am natel i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad.-⁵ am amonaweridan kargad Cans, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis warmomadgenel Ta erTi nawil is dadebiTi damokidebul eba erovnul i sabWosa da misi aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mimarT. maTi rol i erovnul - ganmaTavisufi ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obis xel Sewyobis saqmeSi. meore mxriv, aRni Snul organoTa Seqmni s mowinaaRmdegeTa Sesaxebacaa mini Snebul i. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom is pol itikuri Zal ebi, roml ebi c erovnul i sabWos gafarToebul i formiT arsebobas da misi aRmasrul ebel i komitetis saqmianobas miuRebl ad Tvl idnen, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos aRdgenis ideis mkvl el is funqcias arul ebdnen. meore mxriv, saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufi ebel i moZraobis xel Semsl el i safexuris gamyarebas uwyobdnen xel s. am SemTxvevaSi, erTic da meorec, sabWoTa ruseTis interesebs Seesatyvi seboda.

Cemi poziciis aseTi formiT gamoTqmis SesaZl ebl obas, qarTvel emigrantTa erovnul i sabWos wesdeba iZi eva. es dokumenti 5 Tavisagan Sedgeba. pirvel da meore muxl ebSi garkveviTaa gaweril i aRni Snul i organos, misi aRmasrul ebel i komitetis dani Snul eba. konkretul ad, Tu ra sapaSuxismgebl o misiis Sesrul ebas isaxavda miznad qarTul i erovnul i sabWo, amis sail us-traci od Sesabamis amonawers movitan dasaxel ebul i dokumentidan. `I. qarTul i erovnul i sabWo aris central uri organo saqarTvel os ganmaTavisufi ebel i moZraobisa ucxo eTsi; II. qarTul i erovnul i sabWo miznad isaxavs imuSaos saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis aRdgenisatvis. ker-

Zod: a) gaaer Tianos da xel mZRvanel oba gauwi os ucxoeTSi saqarTvel os damouki debl obisaTvis moqmed qarTul Zal ebs da organizaciebs; b) gaswi os saTanado propaganda ucxoeTis sazogadoebriv wreebSi; g) gaacnos saqarTvel os sakiTxi da misi axl andel i mdgomareoba sxvadasxva qveynis pasuxismgebel pirebs da organizaciebs, raTa saqarTvel os damouki debl obisaRdgenisaTvis mxari daeWiraT, roca maT winaSe es sakiTxi dadgeboda; d) gamosces beWdviTi organo, wignebi da sainformacio furcl ebi qarTul da ucxoenebze; e) saqmani damouki debul eba Tu kavSiri daiWiron yvel a im organizaciebTan da im erebis warmomadgenl ebTan romel nic: 1) judaod scnoben qarTvel i eris suverenul ufl ebas da mxars dauWeren saqarTvel os saxel mwi fogs ganTavisufl ebas; 2) aRiareben saerTod erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebas urezervod; 3) i brZvian sabWoTa ruseTis mier damyarebul i reJimis winaaRmdeg; 4) i Zi ebs nivTier saSual ebebs Tavis daniSnul ebs gansaxorciel ebl adrac Seexeba am dokumentis III, IV da V Tavebs, igi erovnul i sabWosa da misi aRmasrul ebel i komitetis organizaciis struqturas, muSaobis ganawess da Semadgenl obis specifikas gansazRvravda.

zemoT motani i faqtebi dan gamomdinare Tuki ganvixil avT aRniSnul i organos arsebobsa da misi funqcionierbis mowi naaRmdegeTa qmedebes, rbil ad rom vTqva, igi gaumarTI ebl ad unda CaiTval os. meore mxriv, erovnul i sabWosa da aRmasrul ebel i komitetis winaaRmdeg maTi mxridan gal aSqreba, zemoaRniSnul i wesdebiT gaTval iswinebul i Rirebul ebebi sadmi, qarTul i emigraciis daniSnul ebs mi znebi sa da amocanebi sadmi uaris Tqmas da sabWouri imperiul i politikisadmi Senguebl obas niSnavda.

Cems mier gamoTqmul i es mkacri Sexedul eba, erovnul i sabWosa da misi aRmasrul ebel i komitetisadmi wesdebiT miniWebul i ufl ebebis, opoziciis mxridan ignorierebiT aris ganpirobebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi politikuri Sexedul ebebis mxol od kavkasiis regioni T Semofargvl a da rac mTavaria, samxreTis_ Turqul i orientacia. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `mimoxil va-, r.arseniZe gul iswyr omiT werda: `Cveni mokritikeni... kavkasiis fargl ebs ver gascil ebian da imis iqeTac Tu midis Cveni interesebi- es aqamde ver gamourkvevi aT. raT zRudaven ase kategoriul ad kavkasiis erTa saerTo ganTavisufl ebiT Cveni damouki debl obis da gamagrebis sakiTxs?- dasmul kiTxvasTan dakavSirebiT, igive r.arseniZe opoziciis warmomadgenl ebs Seasenebda, rom `msofli o Zal Ta Zi evamosil i msvl el obis gareSe, verc totalitarul i diqtaturis gan vixsni T Tav da verc damouki debl obis uzrunvel yofas SevZl ebT. exl a gekiTxebiT- es formul a kavkasi iT Semofargl ul i imi tom xom ar gaqvT erTaderT panaciaT wamoyenebul i, rom igi bamatis memkvudre kantemiris `kavkazi-- s erTmTavar da arsebiT qva- kuTxeds warmoadgens misi samxreTisken mimarTul i orientaciisa! samwuxaro iqneboda, rom qarTvel moRvaweebSi dRes ki dev aRmoCeni i yo aseTi ideol ogebi da... orientaciis matarebel ni~

qarTul i emigraciis rigebSi winaaRmdegobrivi politikuri orientaci iT Seqmnil i urTul esi mdgomareoba, kril ovis igavarakis `gmirebis- `qariyl apia, gedi, ki bo,~ mdgomareobaSi ayenebda qarTul i emigraciis politikur speqtrs. bunebrivia, is saerTo qarTul i satkivari, romel -

ic qveynis suvereni tetis aRdgenas ukavSirdeboda, adgil idan ar izvro-
da. piriqit, maTi qmedeba, dasaxul i miznis sawinaaRmdego pol itikur
aminds qmni da. imis sanacvl od, rom erTmaneTTan saerTo ena gamoeZebnaT,
qarTvel emigrantTa `pol itikuri namsxvrevebis- erT muStad Sekvra
moexdinaT da konsesusze dafuznebul i gegmiT gamosul iyvnen Tundac
evropis qveynebis l iderTa winaSe, SeuZl ebel i aRmoCnda. maTi yovel i
nabij i, erTmaneTisadmi `pol itikurad kriWaSi- dgomiT vl indeboda da
saerTo saqmi sadmi xel SeSl iT mTavrdeboda. ase moi qca qarTul i emigra-
ciis erTi nawil i 1951 wl is 20 oqtombers, erovnul i sabWos yril obis ga-
xsnasTan mimarTebaSi. rogorc cnobil ia, am forumze 40 qveyndan iyo ward-
genil i qarTvel i emigrantebis del egatebi. opoziciis erTmaj gufma `parizis
centris- saxel iT, am RonisZiebis sawinaaRmdegod sagangebo dokumenti gaavr-
cel a saTauriT_ `parizis qarTvel Ta protesti.- rac Seexeba imave `cen-
tris- saxel iT gavrcel ebul meore dokuments, igi `komunikes- saxel wodebiT
iyo dasaTaurebul i. orive `dokumenti- `parizis centrma- kantemiris Jur-
nal `kavkazSi- 1951 wl is noemberSi (# 4- 5) dabeWda. es organo bamatis `ka-
vkazi-- s gagrZel ebas warmoadgenda da igi rusul , Turqul da ingl isur-
enebze gamodi oda. zemoaRni Snul `dokumentebSi- social - demokratiisa da
erovnul i sabWos l anZRva- gineba zeaRmatebul formebsi iyo warmodgeni-
l i. am qmedebiT, opoziciam `daTvuri- samsaxuri gauwia qarTul saqmes. man
qarTul i emigraciis `Sida samzareul o- da `pol itikuri aJiotaJis- gareSe
mosagvarebel i sakiTxi, saerTaSoriso arenaze gaitana. opoziciis am qmede-
bis Sesaxeb Jurn. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `mi-
moxil va-, r.arseniZe momxdar faqts Semdegi saxis Sefasebas aZl evda: `Cven-
Si Sinauri davis sakiTxi ucxoetis, da isic arasasurvel ad ganwyobil i
presis saj ij gnd aris gadaqceul i. rac unda giTxraT pirvel i magal iTia
qarTul i emigraciis istorias. xol o cnoba gadacemul ia cal mxrivad da
damaxinj ebul ad. aseTi uj iSo saqciel is pirvel i magal iTis micema SeeZl -
oT mxol od iset `gul SematkivarT- qarTul i erTianobisa, romel nic am
axirebul `centrsi- arian mokal aTebul ni! Zal auneburad ibadeba kiTxva,
rad miurbenies es `sasixarul o- ambavi Cveni Sinauri ganxeTqil ebi sa mainc
da mainc bamatiseul organos? vis interesebs uweven amit samsaxurs?... am
`TaTrul ~ orientaciis gazeTSi ratom ver gamoiCines meti TavdaWeril o-
ba? imi tom xom ara, rom mis mimarTul ebas ufro enaTesavebian da qarTvel i
da frangi mkiTxvel is magier, kantemiris winaSe damsaxureba ufro sasarge-
bl o saqmed miacniat? da amgvarad mi viReT qarTul i ambavi rusul aT dawer-
il i, TaTrul gazeTSi gamoqveynebul i, _ qarTvel ebi save winaaRmdeg sapro-
testoT.-⁶

Znel ia imis Tqma, acnobierebda Tu ara opoziciis warmomadgenl ebi zemo-
aRni Snul mcdar nabij s, romel ic saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa
da erovnul i sabWos diskreditiaciaze iyo gaTvl il i. roca sakiTxi aseTi
formiT ismeba, aucil ebl obas warmoadgens garkvevit iTqvas Tu vin iyo am
j gufis l iderebi. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit gansakuTrebul yuradRebas
iqcevs 1951 wl is 28 ianvars qal aq parizSi SOVIETES DE SAVANTES- is
erT- erT darbazSi mowveul i qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri organi-
ciebis wevrTa sazogado krebis stenografiul i angariSi. am dokumentidan
irkveva, rom aRni Snul i krebis msjel obis erT- erT sakiTxs, r.gabaSvil is

mier cal ke Sedgenil i `qarTul i erovnul i pol itikuri centris- (r.gabaSvil i - Tavmj domare, iv.zurabiSvil i, al .manvel iSvil i, baqraZe) dekl aracia warroadgenda. mi uxedavad imisa, rom r.gabaSvil is es j gufi krebaze miwveul i ar iyo, am RoniSZiebaSi monawil eoba mainc mi iRo da krebis prezidiums sa-
protesto ganxadeba gadasca.

r.gabaSvil is j gufis gamTiSvel ur saqmianobasTan mi marTebaSi, krebaze mkacri SefasebiT r.arseniZe gamovi da. misi samarTliani mtkicebiT, emigraciis centri unda yofil iyo erTi da ara ori da qarTvel i emigraciis gaTiSvis xel Semwyobi. mmdinare pol itikuri procesebis gaTval - iswinebis fonze,man princi pul ad daayena sakiTxi emigraciis erovnul i Zal ebis gaerTianebis da gaTiSul obis dauSvebl obis Sesaxeb. imave sakiTxis n.cincaZec Seexo. r.gabaSvil is mier Seqmnil i `centris- arseboba, rogorc pol itikuri aqti, man mi uRebel ad gamoacxada.⁷ Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil gr.urataZis publ ikaciaSi_ `erovnul i fronti,~ r.gabaSvil is erovnul i frontidan 1926 wel s TviTneburad gasvl aze da qarTul i emigraciis erTianobis daSi is mcdel obazea saubari. im periodSi r.gabaSvil is mxridan sawadel is vermi Rweva, e.TayaiSvil is damsaxureba iyo. misi iniciativiT moxda erovnul - demokratiul i partiis krebis dauyovnebl iv mowveva da mi Rebul i dadgenil ebiT, r.gabaSvil is qmedebis dagmoba. aseTi marcxis mi uxedavad, pol itikuri ambiciebiT Sepyrobil i, CasaFrebul i monadiris ampl uaSi imyofeboda da xel sayrel i situaciis Seqmnistanave mis gamoyenebas maqsimal urad cdil obda. XX saukunis 50- ian wl ebSi, qarTul i emigraciis rigebsi TaobaTavil is procesiT Seqmnil i qarTul ebebis gamoyenebas r.gabaSvil ma amj eradac Seecada. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)saerTo centris statutis SemmuSavebel i komisiis Semadgenil obaSi erovnul - demokratebis 4 warmomadgenel is Seyvana; 2)iv.zurabiSvil is daj gufebis mier Seqmnil i `kavSiri~, romel - mac 1950 wl is 31 dekembers, saaxal wl o mil ocvasTan erTad, qarTul sazogadoebas axal i organizaciis Seqmna auwya. `Tanaxmad Cveni kavSiris ukanasknel i sazogado krebis erTxmad gadawyvetil ebisa- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- daarsda `qarTul i pol itikuri centri ucxoetsi.~ imave dokumentis mixedvit, centris Tavmj domared r.gabaSvil i airCies. amiT misi pol itikuri ambiciebi iqna dakmayofil ebul i. momxdar faqtTan mi marTebaSi, gr. urataZis imave publ ikaciaSi vkiTxul obT: `emigraciis umravl esobam maSinve igrZno gabaSvil - zurabiSvil is mier gadadgmul i nabij is saSiSroeba da rom igi SeeCerebia... 1951 wl is 28 ianvris krebaze erTxmad dahgmo aseTi ganxeTqil ebis Semotana qarTul emigraciaSi, ararsebul ad gamoacxada TviTneburad Seqmnil i `centri~ da daadgina aerCia axal i, sadac Tavs moiyrیدا yvel a erovnul i Zal ebi.~ imave 28 ianvris krebam safuzvli anad ganixil a r.gabaSvil is j gufis mier Seqmnil i da gamoqveynebul i dekl aracia. am sakiTxTan mi marTebaSi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas e.gegeWkorus gamosvl a iqcevs. stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom man yovel gvari moridebis gareSe pirdapir mi marTa r.gabaSvil s da mis j gufs: `moxucebul oba gvaZi evs Cven or privel igias: erTi gamocdil ebas da meore Cven karieras ar veZebT. ukve axal gazrdobaSi Cvenma kari-
eram miarwia Tavis apogeas. ami tom Cveni Tqma Tqvendami mxol od simarT-
li is beWeds atarebs. rodesac sakiTxi Cveni fizikuri gadarCeni sa sdgas,

Tqven awarmoebT brZol as noe Jordani as wi naaRmdeg da gangeb i vi wyebT stal ins. es aris pol itika ara erovnul i, aramed pi radi grZnobebisa da yvel aze umciresi pol itika... Tu Tqveni saqciel i karg moqmedebad mi gaCniaT, didi moTxovnil ebis xal xi ar yofil xarT... emigraciis saRmrTo val ia yavdes pol itikuri centri, rom mTavrobis moval eobas xel i Seuwyos.- es vrcel i amonaweri, r.gabaSvil isa da misi j gufis pol itikuri ambiciebis oficial urad mxil ebis saukeTeso dadasturebas warmoadgens. maT gadametebul tendenciurobas, social - demokratiis liderebisadmi saocari zizRi ganapirobebda. igi iseT formebSi gadadioda, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis damangrevel is erT- erTi aqtiuri warmomadgenel is i.stal inis saxel i, xSirad mexsierebis aredan gaurbodaT. isini arc sabWoTa imperias moixseni ebdnen augad. amasTan dakavSirebiT Jurn. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-- Si dabeWdil publikaciaSi r.arseniZe werda: `pirvel yovl isa Tval Si gecemaT, rom `dekl aracia-gaurbis sabWoTa kavSiris xsenebas, komunisturi xel isufli ebis dasaxel ebas, TiTqos es msofil io ubedurebis wyaro arc ki arsebobdes.- am fonze igive `dekl aracia- ignorebas ukeTebda evropasa da aSS- i mimdinare antibol Sevikur moZraobas. r.gabaSvil isa da misi j gufis aseTi kursi, r.arseniZes damRupvel ad miaCnda. misi mtkicebiT, sabWoTa ruseTis imperiisgan Tavis daRwevis real ur SesaZl ebl obebs kavkasiis erebis gaerTianeba ver Seqmni da. maT mxol od damxmare funqciis Sesrul eba SeZl o. gadamwyveti sityva evropisa da amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis sabWoTa ruseTisadmi erTobl iv dapirispirebaSi unda gamovl enil iyo. bamat- kantemiris mimdevari pol itikuri j gufepisadmi ndoba da maTze dayrdnoba, mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis anal izis safuZvel ze r.arseniZes dauSvebl ad miaCnda. yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, igi daaskvni da: `es `centri- miuRebel ia da ubadruki Tavis programiT, pol itikuri mrwamsiT, ideuri da organizaciul i wesiT, ise rogorc miuRebel ia Tavis Semadgenl obiT, radgan garda erTi partiisa, Sei cavs mxol od upasuxismgebl o kerZo pirT, romel nic aravis ar warmoadgenen. es aris `centri- ara erTobis, aramed gaTisvis, darRwevis da ganxeTqil ebis.~^{8A}

rogorc dokumentebidan irkveva, aRniSnul i `centris- xel mZRvanel oba ki dev ufro `Sors wavida-. misma liderebma, emigraciul i mTavrobis arseboba miuRebl ad miicnies da bunebrivia, Semadgenl obis ganaxl ebis procesTan mimarTebaSi acuaryofiT damokidebul eba gamoavl ines. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis 1951 wl is 18 ianvis krebaze sarj vel aze xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `b-n. gabaSvil s ufl eba ar hqonda cal ke centri Seedgina da qarTul i mTavrobisaTvis omi gamoecxadebina. Cvens momentSi mTavroba rom ar gvyavdes, saamiso simbol o unda SevqmnaT da arsebul is wi naaRmdeg brZol a danaSaul ia.~⁹

aseTi mkacri poziciidan gamomdinare, r.gabaSvil is j gufis erT- erTi warmomadgenel i vasaTiani izul ebul i gaxda, imave sxdomaze oficial - uri gancxadeba gaekeTebina, rom r.gabaSvil is mxardamWerTa mimarT gamoTqmul i bral debebi, TiTqos araswor informacias emyareboda da mTel i j gufi mTavrobis mimarT l oial urad iyo ganwyobil i. aseTi poziciis oficial urad gamoTqma, imave krebaze Seqmnil i pol itikuri

koni unqturi T iyo ganpi robebul i. mi Tumetes, krebis monawil e qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis warmomadgenlebi, r.gabaSvil is `centrTan- mima- rTebaSi negatur damokidebul ebas aSkarad avl enda. am fonze, imave kre- bis monawil eTa umravl esobas, qarTvel emigrantTa erTiani pol itikuri centrisa da saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis SenarCuneba pirvel x- arisxovan amocanad miacnda. anal ogiur pozicias icavda organizacia `TeTri giorgis- wevrebis. amis dadasturebas, imave organizaciis xel mZRvanel is m.wereTel is mier 1951 wl is 26 noembers parizidan konstantine gamsaxurdi- asadmi saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnili vrceli `gancxadeba- _ `saqarTvel o uwi- nares yovl isa- warmoadgens. masSi motanili ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi formiT SeiZleba Camoyal ibdes: 1) saqarTvel os okupaciis Sedegad emigra- ciaSi wasul ma mTavrobam, dampyrobels ukompromisobrZola gamoucxada da Rirseul ad atara erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebeli droSa. saerTaSoriso forumbze maqsimal uradibrZola erovnuli saxel mwifos aRdgenisa da Tavisuflebis misaRwevad, saerTaSoriso osganizaciebisgan da evropis qveyne- bisgan mxardaWeris mosapovebl ad; 2) ucxoeTSi myofi qarTul i emigracia, kanonieri mTavrobis meTaurobiT maqsimal uradibrZoda saqarTvel os gasa- nTavisuflebeli ad yvela im saSual ebebiT, romelic samSobl os gareT myo- fT gaaCndaTim etapze. dasaxul i miznis- qveynis damoukidebl obis mopove- bas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis mesveurni sabWoTa imperiis Cagruli erebis pol itikuri emigraciebis l iderebTan mWidro kavSiriTa da erTiani samo- qmedo gegmis SemuSavebiT cdil obdnen; 3) emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis gasauqmebl ad, nebis mieri nabij is gadadgmas, m.wereTel i danaSaul ad miicnevda. `mTavroba mTavrobad unda darCes- `saqarTvel os ka- nonier mTavrobad- damisi `yofil mTavrobad- an revol uciur komitetad gadaqceva... Cveni pol itikuri droSis dacemas niSnavs.- Tuki es ganxorci- el deboda, aRniSnuli qmedeba, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta interesebis CarCoSi Caj deboda; 4) erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebeli moZraobis droSis romel ime pol itikuri j gufisadmi gadacemas, werilis avtori saqveyno mniSv- nel obis xasiaTs dakargvad acxadebda. kanonieri mTavrobis mier am dro- Sis tareba da pol itikuri brZolis gagrZeleba, saerTaSoriso samarTli is normebs Seesatyiseboda; 5) `TeTri giorgis- xel mZRvanel oba uars ambobda yvela im pol itikuri organizaciebTan da j gufebTan TanamSroml obaze, roml e- bic, a) saqarTvel os pol itikuri emigraciis kanonieri mTavrobis winaaRm- deg moqmedebda da b) dokumentSi gamoTqmul ZiriTad debul ebebs ar iziareb- da.¹⁰

`TeTri giorgis- wevrTa zemoaRniSnuli gancxadebidan Cems mier motani- li Sexedul ebebi imis dadasturebaa, rom es organizacia qarTul i pol iti- kuri emigraciis erTianobasTan erTad, mxars kanonieri mTavrobis SenarCu- nebasac uWerda. imavdroul ad, erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebeli moZraobis gagrZel eba misimeTaurobiT miacnda mizanSewonil ad. am SemTxvevaSi sak- iTxi sworadiyo dasmul i da igi l egitimaciis faqtors efuZneboda. Tao- baTa cvl am, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis winaSe warmoqmnil i probl ema, SedarebiT gansxvavebul Wriil Si daayena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os mTavrobis Sevsebis kanonzomiereba. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas ak.papavas mier k.kandel akisadmi 1954 wl is 7 agvistos miweril i weril i iq- cevs. igi Semdeg ZiriTad debul ebebs Sei cavs: 1) qveynis okupaciis Semdeg,

saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis mandatiT aRWurvil i mTavrobis Tundac nawil obrivi ganaxl ebis SesaZl ebl oba, n.Jordani as SeeZl o. misi rekomendaci iT unda momxdariyo mTavrobis Semadgenl obaSi ramdenime pirovnebis Seyvana. am proceduris Sedegad, saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobas, e.gegeWkoris gardacval ebis Semdeg or wevrze meti eyol eboda da garkveul i formiT samarTI ebriv CarCoSi ac Caj deboda; 2)samarTI ebrivad, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciisTvis gansakuTrebul i Rirebul eba, kanonier mTavrobas gaaCnda da ara romel ime j gufisgan Seqmnil surogat `mTavrobas.~ miTumetes, igi yovel gvareli egitimaciis el ementebs iqneboda mokl ebul i dan.Jordani as xel mZRvanel obiT arsebul i mTavrobisTvis miniWebul i ufl ebebiT ver isargebl ebda. es marTebul i pozicia, qarTul emigracias bol omde unda SeenarCunebina, Tundac im el ementarul i mi zezis gamo, rom maTi Semdgomu muSaoba erisa da istoriis winaSe yofil iyo gamarTI ebul i; 3)emigraciaSi myofi qarTul i pol itikuri partieb is warmomadgenl ebis gan mTavrobis axal i wevrebiT Sevsebis dasma, imave weril is avtors miuRebl ad miaCnda, radgan am wesiT Sevsebul i mTavroba, interpartiul i komitetis saxes mi iRebda da istoriul - samarTI ebrivi CarCos mi Rma aRmoCndeboda.

sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasma imiTaciyo ganpirob ebul i, rom qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis saqmi anobas saqarTvel os pirvel i respubli kis kanonieri mTavroba xel mZRvanel obda. am mZime tvirtS igi manam atarebda, sanam misi wevrebi fizikurad arsebobda. Seqmnil i umZimesi pol itikuri situaci dan da mTavrobis wevrTa cvl is bunebrivi procesi dan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis erTianobis momxreTa winaSe principul ad daisva sakiTxi: dasaxul i mi znisTvis Sesaferisi saqmi anobis gasagrZel ebl ad, xel mZRvanel obis iseTi forma SeenarCunebinaT, qarTul i pol itikuri emigracia, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis `rel sebidan~ ar amovardnil iyo. am sakiTxiTan mimarTe baSi garkveul i pasuxi da Sesabamisi miTi Tebebia mocemul i `yofil i erovnul i mTavrobis amocanebis Sesaxeb~ 1954 wel s Sedgenil dokumentSi. masSi xazgasmiTaa miTi Tebul i: 1)emigraciul i mTavroba, romel ic saqarTvel os suvereni tetis aRdgenas isaxavda mi znad, misi warmatebul i saqmi anobis garkveul i formiT Seferxeba, TaobaTa fizikurad cvl am ganapiroba. mTavrobaSi darCenil i erTikacic ki ar gaqcevia dakisrebul sapasuxismgebl o moval eobas. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebisTvis brZol as Seswires mTel i Segenebul cxovreba; 2)nivTier i da fizikuri mdgomareobis vakumis Seqmnis gamo, maTi mxridan Cafiqrebul i saqmisadmi maRal doneze gaZRol a SeuZl ebel i xdeboda. damfuZnebel i krebis mandatiT aRWurvil i erovnul i mTavroba, n.Jordani as gardacval ebis Semdeg faqtiurad aRar arsebobda. rac Seexeba darCenil sam wevrs, isini gamodi odnen rogorc erovnul i mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebi da ara erovnul i mTavroba. e.gegeWkoris gardacval ebis Semdeg mdgomareobis uki duresad gauaresebam, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis erT muStad Sekvra da konsesusze dafuZnebul i samoqmedo gegmis SemuSaveba aucil ebel i gaxada. sakiTxis aseTi formiT dayenebis miuxedavad, am dokumentidan ar Cana Tu ra donis kompromisi iqneboda saWi ro, rom qarTul i emigraciis daqsasul i j gufebi konsesusamde misul iyo da erTobl i vi Zal ebiT `xval indel i dRis~ samoqmedo gegma SemuSavebinaT. Cems mier mikvl eul i saarqivo masal ebi gansakuTrebul sapro-

gramo mimarTul ebas ar iZl eva. am probl emas mxol od nawil obrivad exmi-
 aneba saqarTvel os social - demokr tiul i partiis parizis organizaciis
 komitetis 1954 wl is dekl aracia. masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi,
 erovnul mTavrobas erTaderT kanonier medroSed da suverenobis gamomx-
 atvel ad aRiarebda. aqedan gamomdinare, mi sadmi morCil ebas aucil ebl obad
 mi iCnevda. imavdroul ad, yuradRebas social - demokratiul i partiis er-
 Tianobaze da mis Zl ier organizaciad gadaqcevaze akeTebda. aRniSnul is
 gaTval iswinebis fonze ganixil avda: 1) danarCen pol itikur partiebTan da
 yvel a daCagrul erebTan, gansakuTrebiT kavkasiis erebTan mol aparakebis
 sakiTxs; 2) saerTo frontis Seqmnas, sabWoTa ruseTisadmi dapi rispirebas;
 3) dasaxul i miznis_ erovnul i saxel mwi fos aRdgenisTvis brZol as. prob-
 l emis aseTi formiT im etapze dasma, saerTaSoriso pol itikuri situaciis
 cval ebadobas efuZneboda da mi si gamoyeneba maqsimal urad unda momxdariyo.
 mxedvel obaSi maqvs evropis qveynebis sabWoTa ruseTisadmi damokidebul ebi
 safexurebrivad cvl is procesis mimdinareoba. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT,
 k.gvarjal aZis mier 1953 wel s saqarTvel oSi gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxu-
 l obT: `dRevandel i saerTaSoriso mdgomareobis mi xedviT, Cven aqaur muSaobas
 exl a eZl eva gansakuTrebul i xasiaTi. am 30 wl is ganmavl obaSi evropis sa-
 xel mwi foebis mmarTvel i wreebi Tu sazogadoebrivi azri sabWoTa ruse-
 Tis sakiTxiT nakl ebad iyvnen dainteresebul ni da rac aq xdeboda, viTomc
 is maT ar exebodaT. xSirad am saxel mwi foTa sabWoebTan damokidebul eba,
 moskovis mTavrobas kidevac amagrebda da mis tiranias axangrZl ivebda. sa-
 bWoTa ruseTidan gadmoxvewil emigracias... nakl ebi yuradReba eqceoda da
 is Sesaferisi TanagrZnobiT ar sargebl obda. saWi ro gaxda... zogi Tval sa-
 Cino movl enebi, rom evropas... mimxdariyo da gaego, rom sabWoTa ruseTs mi-
 znad aqvs dasaxul i evropis Tavisufal i qveynebis sazRvrebis gadal axva
 da msofil ioSi gegemonis dominantis damyareba. dRes imperial isturi sab-
 WoTa ruseTis winaaRmdog Tavdasacavad iarARdeba da irazmeba mTel i evropa,
 romel sac xel mZRvanel obs amerikis demokratia.- am amonawerSi motanil i
 Tval sazrisi, simarTl es Se-esabameba. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebu-
 lia, rom dasavl eT evropis mTel i rigi saxel mwi foebis l iderebis mxri-
 dan, sabWoTa ruseTisadmi gamocxadebul i `pol itikuri arSi yobis- Sedege-
 bi, qarTul emigracias mZimed dauj da. istoriis ganvl il i procesebis anal izs
 emyareboda k.gvarjal aZis kritikul i damokidebul eba evropis qveynebi sad-
 mi. aseTi poziciis mqone qarTul i del egaciis l iderebis evropisken Semo-
 bruneba da maTdami daxmarebis imedad yofna, amerikel Ta komitetis damsax-
 urebas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, aRniSnul i komiteti bol Sevizmis winaaRm-
 deg brZol as edga saTaveSi. am faqtoris gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare,
 qarTul i emigraciis l iderebma erTxel kidev scades evropis qveynebis sa-
 qarTvel os sasi keTod gamoyeneba. am SemTxvevaSi maTi yuradRebis centrSi
 1950 wel is ianvarSi daarsebul i `aRmosavl eT central uri evropis seqcia
 evropul i moZraobisa- moeqca. rogorc cnobil ia, es seqcia imave saxel wo-
 debis komisi ad gadakeTda da mis Semadgenl obaSi cxra saxel mwi fos devni-
 l i saxel isuflebo warmomadgenl ebi Sevidnen. kerZod: Cexosl ovakiis, pol o-
 neTis, ungreTis, iugoslaviis, bul gareTis, rumineTis, latviis da estone-
 Tis. am organizaciis moqmedebis areal i pol oneTsa da bal tiis saxel mwi-
 foTa aRmosavl eTis sazRvrebTan mTavrdeboda. aRniSnul i komisiis Ziri-

Tad amocanas warmoadgenda: 1) aRmosavl eT evropis aRmSenebl obiTi saqmi-anobis da ekonomikuri aRorZinebis iseTi safuZvl is SemuSaveba, romel ic zemoaRniSnul i qveynebis ganTavisufli ebis Semdeg, maT aRorZinebas Seuwy-obda xel s; 2) dasavl eT evropaSi pol itikuri propagandis gaweve am qveynebis ganTavisufli ebis sasargebl od; 3) strasburgSi Sekrebi i `evropis saTaT-biros- mier daarsebul i `special uri komitetis- mxridan, zemoaRniSnul i qveynebis interesebi saTvis meti yuradRebis miqceva da masze mZrunvel obis gaZl iereba. es komiteti `evropis saTaTbiros- wevrebi sgan, evropis parl amentarebi sgan Sedgeboda. igi srul iad evropis mTI ianobis aRdgenas isaxavda miZnad.

`evropis sabWosTan- real uri TanamSroml obis SesaZl ebl obas, aRniSnul i `special uri komiteti- izl eoda. igi muSaobda `l tol viTa central ur da aRmosavl eT evropis komisi asTan.~ imave komisi is wevrTa iniciativi T mowveul ma l ondonis konferenciam (1950 wl is 21- 24 ianvari), ori ZiriTadi sakiTxis gadawyvetas Seecada: 1) SeemuSavebi na evropis Cagrul i erebis pol itikuri da ekonomikuri ganvitarobis winaswari programa. misi amoqmedeba, mTi ganTavisufli ebis sawyisi safexuridanve dauyovnebl iv unda momxdariyo; 2) dasavl eT evropis pol itikur wreebSi damkvidrebul iyo azri, evropis erobis damonebul mdgomareobaSi datovebis SeuZl ebl obis Sesaxeb. am area- l Si ukrainel ebi, bel orusebi da qarTvel ebi ver moxvden. amitom, maTi Zal isxmevit, l ondonSi paral el ur rejimSi daCagrul i erebis axal i komiteti Seqmnes da mimdinare konferenci isadmi TavianTi damokidebul eba sajarod gaaxmovanes. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sesabamisi rezol uci is miReba, romel ic l ondonis konferenci is Tavmj domares oficial urad gadasces.

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba: evropis sabWo, romel ic evropis qveynebis parl amentarebi T iyo dakompl eqtebul i, qarTul i emigraci is warmomadgenl ebma saqarTvel os sakiTxi T maTi dai ntereseba scades. Tu ra samuSaoebi iqna gaweul i am mimarTul ebi T, amis Sesaxeb saintereso informacias Seicavs sandros mier Tomasadmi 1955 wl is 13 maisiT daTari Rebul i weril i. am dokumentidan irkveva: 1) stambol Si mimdinare evropis sabWos komisi is sesi is sxdomaze miwveul i `l tol vil Ta damxmare komitetis- satel iti qveynebis (pol oneTi, CexeTi, ungreTi, rumi neTi, iugod- l avia, bel gia, al baneTi) warmomadgenl ebTan erTad qarTvel ebi c i Rebda monawil eobas. komisi is Tavmj domaris karl vistradis rekomendaci iT, qarTul ma mxarem sxdomis monawil eebis saqarTvel os okupaci isa da saer- TaSoriso samarTI ebrivi mdgomareobis umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxebi gaac- no; 2) imave sxdomaze, qarTul i emigraci is warmomadgenel ma, dasabuTebu- l i formiT saqarTvel osTvis satel iti qveynebis statutis miniWebis sakiTxi daayena; 3) karl vistradim qarTvel ebs, saqarTvel os sakiTxis komisi is sxdomaze ganxil vis da evrosabWosadmi moxsenebis saxi T ward- genis pi roba misca. aRniSnul i faqtebidan gamomdinare, weril is avtori, saqarTvel os mTavrobis warmomadgenel s Seaxsenebda: a) strasburgSi saqarTvel os sakiTxi oficial ur doneze daeyenebina; b) maqsimal urad cdil iyo, saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebTan `evrosabWos- iseTive urT- ierToba hqonoda, rogorc satel iti qveynebis erovnul centrebTan; 4) dasax- ul i miZnis miRwevis SemTxvevaSi, srul i SesaZl ebl oba Sei qmneboda, rom satel iti qveynebis material uri daxmarebis nusxaSi `evrosabWos,~ saqa-

rTvel oc Seeyvana. am mimaRTul ebiT gaweul i warmatebul i muSaobis Sesaxebaa saubari imave sandros mier k.kandel akisadmi 1955 wl is 29 maiss gagzavnil weril Si. masSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i evrosabWos komisiastan urTierTobis safexurebrivad gaumj obesebis Sesaxeb. `evrosabWos sagangebo komisiastan pirdapiri kavSiri avawyveT, ukeT rom vTqvaT, mis samdivnosTan... Cvenma komi tetma daadgina mimaRTos komisiastan, raTa saqarTvel os warmomadgenl oba daSvebul i da cnobil i iqnes satel itebTan Tanabrad. Sesafetisi memorandumumi amis Sesaxeb gaigzavneba am dReebSi... aqve gigzavni zogierT dokumentebs, romel ic miviReT komisiis samdivnodan.-

Sesabamisi dokumentebis miukvl evl obidan gamomdinare, SeuZl ebel i xdeba dadginde, gagzavnil i iqna Tu ara daniSnul ebisamebr zemoarNiSnul i memorandumumi da imave komisiis wevrebis mxridan ra reagireba gakeTda. erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo warmomadgenl ebi maqsimal urad cdil obdnen, evrosabWosgan saqarTvel os satel - iti qveynis statuti mieRo. amis dasadasturebl ad k.kandel akis mier n.cincaZisadmi gagzavnil i weril i (1955 wl is 1 ivnisi) gamodgeba. am sakiTxs exeba safrangeTSi myofi qarTvel mxedarTa kavSiris saxel iTal .kinwurasvil is mier k.gvarjal aZisadmi gagzavnil i weril ic (1955 wl is 4 ivnisi). am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom evrosabWoSi daniSnul i unda yofil iyo qarTvel Ta sagangebo del egacia, roml is xel mZRvanel i prof. mi xeil musxel iSvil i iqneboda. `misi azrit, da me am azrs savsebit viziarebwers al .kinwurasvil i- es del egacia unda Sedgebodes qarTvel emigraciaSi myofi yvel a pol itikuri el ementebisgan. amisda mi xedviT Cven SevadgeneT am del egaciis mandatis proeqti, romel sac gigzavni am weril Tan erTad. rodesac es del egacia iqneba Semdgari, is daswers memorandumumi Cveni saer-TaSoriso ufl ebebis Sesaxeb da inaxul ebs yvel a ucxoel pol itikur moRvawebs, romel Tac SeuZl iaT am saqmeSi dagvexmaron.-¹¹ imave k.kandel akis mier sandrosadmi gagzavnil sapaSuxo weril Si (1955 wl is 18 maissi), strasburgSi Casvl a da komisiis wevrebTan Sexvedra aucil ebl obadaa miCneul i. iqve isicaa aRniSnul i, rom am sapaSuxismgeblo da friad saWiro misiis Sesrul eba, finansebis uqonl obis gamo SeuZl ebel i xdeboda.

im dokumenturi masal ebis mi xedviT, romel ic Cems mier iqna mopovebul i, qarTul i samTavrobo emigracia umZimes ekonomikur pirobebSi imyofeboda da maT mier ganxorciel ebul i nebismeri samuSao enTuziazme iyo dafuznebul i. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i emigraciis l iderebi Zal asa da energias ar zogavda, saerTaSoriso organiazaciebis yuradRebis epicentris rom moxvedril iyvnen. mdgomareobas evropis qveynebis mier Seqmnil i organiazaciebis muSaobis Taviseburebebi arTul ebda. aqedan gamomdinare, maTi mxridan raime gansakutrebul i daxmarebis real uri imedi im etapze ar Canda.

amrigad, 1)XX saukunis 50- iani wl ebis dasawyisSi, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis Sida dapirispirebam umaRl es safexurs miarwia. piradi ambiciebit gadatvirTul ma qarTul ma emigraci am, garegnul ad moCvenebiti erTianobis SenarCuneba ver SeZl o.

qarTul i emigraciis saRad moazrovne axal i Taobis warmomadgenl ebis mxridan qarTul i pol itikuri Zal ebis mTavrobis garSemo gaerTianebis mcdel oba, ufrosi Taobis antisabWouri brZol is 32 wl ian gamocdil e-

bas efuzneboda. am SemarTebas, amerikul i komitetis Tanadgoma ganapirobda.

2) qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis krebaze (1951 wl is 28 ianvari) `yofil i erovnul i mTavrobis amocanebis Sesaxeb- miRebul i dokumenti, erTiani qarTul i centris Seqmnas, mTavrobisa da erovnul i sabWos urTierTobis daregul irebas isaxavda miznad. erovnul i sabWos parizis yril obaze (1952 wl is 4 noembri) miRebul i dadgenil eba_ erovnul i sabWos gafarToebis Sesaxeb, qarTul i emigraciul i pol itikuri j gufis gaerTianebas da qarTul i saqmis warmatebul ad gaZRol as iTval iswinebda. am ideis mowinaaRmdege Zal ebma, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos aRdgenis mkvl el is funqcia Seasrul es da nebsiT Tu unebl ied, sabWoTa ruseTis interesebis moemsaxuren.

3) `parizis centris- j gufis (xel mZRvanel ebi: r.gabaSvil i, iv.zurabiSvil i) mier Jurn, `kavkazSi- dabeWdil i `memorandumi,~ qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo da erovnul i sabWos mxardamWeri pol itikuri Zal ebis evropis masStabiT diskreditacias iTval iswinebda. erovnul i sabWos yri- l obis (1951 wl is 20 oqtombri. 40 qveynidan eswreboda qarTvel i del egatebi) mier miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, am j gufis saqmianoba, qarTvel Ta pol itikuri droSis dacemis da sabWoTa ruseTis interesebis gatarebis mcdel obad gamocxadda. qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo nawil is Zal isxmeva, `evrosabWos- yuradRebis centrSi moqceul iyo da satel iti qveynis statuti mi eRo, uSedego aRmoCnda. qarTul i mxare, evropis mxridan i sev zurgSeqcevas da dauxmarebl obas ganicdi da.

Tavi VIII. sabWoTa imperiisadmi dapiri spi rebi s axial i mi mar Tul ebebi da qar Tul i emigracia (1956- 1970 ww.)

\$.1. qar Tul i emigracia sabWoTa specsamsaxurebi s piri spir da erovnul i Zal ebi s organizaci ul ad gaerTi anebi s dil ema

meore ms ofl io omSi gamarj vebam, evropasi sol iseburad SeWram da mTel i rigi qveynebi s xel ovnurad `gasocial istebam,- saerTaSoriso arenaze sabWoTa kavSiris avtoriteti s maqsimal urad gazrdas Seuwyo xel i. am faqtoridan gamomdinare, kol oni uri sistemi s rRveva mxol od kapital istur qveynebs Seexo. sabWoTa imperia, misi `mokavSire- respubl ikebi T xel Seuxebel i darCa. Seqmnil ma pol itikurma procesebma garkveul i uaryofiTi zemoqmedeba qar Tul emigraci azedac moaxdina. maT wi naSe im Zi ri Tadi ganmapirobebel i mi zezebi s axsni s saki Txi dasva, ramac safexurebrivad ssrk- is gaZl i erebas da qar Tvel i eris isev monobaSi darCenas Seuwyo xel i. Tuki saki Txs am Wril Si ganvixil avT, gansakuTrebul i yuradRebi s centrSi, qar Tul i social - demokratiis l iderTa mier, 1956 wel s erTobl ivad momzadebul i moxseneba_ `saerTaSoriso mdgomareoba da Cveni moqmedebi s xazi- moeqceva. am uaRresad mni Svel ovani dokumenti s Ri rseba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi safuZvl ianadaa gaanal izebul i dasavl eT evropi s kapital isturi qveynebi s l iderTa gameZavebul i pol itikuri kursi, romel ic l oid- jorj i s formul irebaze_ `Tu saWi roebam moi Txova, vaWroba kani bal istebTanac SeiZl eba- iyo agebul i. dasavl eT evropi s qveynebi s mxridan sabWoTa ruseTTan ekonomi kuri xel Sekrul ebebi s gaformebam, ruseTi s gaZl i erebas, fexze dayenebas da dapyrobi l i erebi s monobaSi yofni s gaxangrZl i vebas Seuwyo xel i. aRni Snul faqtTan dakavSirebi T, imave dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `Tavisufal qveynebi Si didi xni s ganmavl obaSi imedi arsebob da bol Sevizmi s evol uciuri gziT ganvi Tarebi s... am Sexedul ebi s gamo, dasavl eTi s demokratiul i qveynebi xel s uwyobdnen sabWoTa reJimi s gamagrebas... sabWoTa xel isufl eba mudam Ral atobda demokrati as da pirvel i didi SemTxvevi s Tanave, man total itarul saxel mwi fosTan Sekra kavSiri demokratiis wi naaRmdeg.⁻¹ aRni Snul i moxsenebi s Semdgenl ebs, am SemTxvevaSi 1939 wl is 23 agvistos xel moweril i mol otov- ribentropi s paqti hqonda mxedvel obaSi. cnobil i faqtia, rom es dokumenti, sabWoTa ruseTi s aTvis ara marto droi s Tval sazrisi T iyo xel sayrel i, aramed, mi sma saiduml o muxl ebma, sabWoTa imperiis sazRvrebi, dasavl eTi s a da Crdil oetis mi mar Tul ebi T kidev ufro gaafarTova, imperi as axial i erebi da qveynebi dauqvemdebara.⁻²

mi uxedavad imi sa, rom omi s Semdeg ssrk dasavl eTs aSkarad daupiri spir da, evropi s saxel mwi foTa l iderebma `aRmosavl eTi s- da `dasavl eTi s- reJimebi s gverdi- gverd Tanaarsebobi s da ganvi Tarebi s idea wamoswia wi na pl anze. am saki TxTan dakavSirebi T imave moxsenebaSi vki Txul obT: `Cveni ci T fasi sabWoTTan SeTanxmebi s dadebi s. exl a sxvebmac unda gamoscadon da gaignon, rom aseT `SeTanxmebaze- l aparaki ar swyvets saki Txs, magram usaTuod axangrZl i veb s dRes arsebul gaurkvevel mdgomareobas.- am teqstis avtors, saqarTvel o- sabWoTa ruseTs Soris 1920 wl is 7 mai s s da-debul i xel Sekrul eba da imave dokumenti T gaTval iswi nebul i muxl ebi s, ruse-

Tis mier dar Rvevis faqti hqonda mxedvel obaSi. meore mxriv, mis safiqral s ara ruseTis ekonomi kuri ganvi Tareba, aramed, am `kavSi rSi- macxovrebel i qarTvel i eris bedi warmoadgenda. aseTi gancxadebis gakeTebis ufl ebas, imave moxsenebaSi erovnul i sakiTxisadmi gansakuTrebul i adgil is daTmoba iZl eva. es dokumenti umniSvnel ovanes Rirebul ebas imiTac iZens, rom maSSi obieqturadaa asaxul i is pol itikuri kursi, romel sac sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal ni iCendnen patara erebTan mimarTebaSi. am fonze, umniSvnel ovanesi yuradReba aqvs daTmobil i ararusi erebis kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan gasaxl ebis pol itikas. es procesi imdenad damamZimebel formebsi mimdinareobda, rom am dokumentis Semdgenl ebi uimedobis safexurze aRmoCndnen: `rom moxdes saswaul i- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- `aRmosavl eTsa- da `dasavl eTs- Soris mSvidobianoba damyardes ekonomi ur sferoSi `Tanasworobis- ni adagze, saerTaSoriso moZraobis meore kvanZi_ erovnul i sakiTxi, rCeba mouwesrigebel i. SeiZl eba erTa ganTavisufl ebis am gzas, ascil des kacobrioba da kerZod, sabWoTa kavSiri? yovel SemTxvevaSi amis niSnebi aSkarad Cans.

SeiZl eba sabWoTa kavSiriSi gabatonebul ma terorma SeaCeros procesi, magram sabol ood igi amas ver mospobs, ... radgan ideas, romel sac xal xi Tavis l ozungad gaixdis, sul sxvadasxva adgil as da sxvadasxva pirobebSi, fizikuri Zal momreoba ver Cakl avs. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, ... es iqneboda niSani yofil i ruseTis imperiaSi samudamod tiraniis gabatonebis. ar vfiqrob, rom es ruseTis xal xis sasargebl od l aparakobdes.~ am vr cel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, dasavl eTis saxel mwi foebis l iderTa mxridan erovnul i sakiTxisadmi zurgSeqcevis mosal odnel i saSiSroeba. am fonze, mokrZal ebul i imedia gamoTqmul i erovnul i ideis ver Cakvl is Sesaxeb da misi sabol ood ar dasamareba, i sev rusi eris samomavl o qmedebasTan aris dakavSirebul i. imave moxsenebis avtorebs, garkveul i formiT optimizmis imeds, da Cagrul erebSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obis procesi aZl evda. cnobil i faqtia, rom pirvel ma da meore msofl io omebma, erebis didi nawil i monobis uRl isgan gaanTavisufl a, magram igi ssrk- s ar Sexebia. piriqiT, kidev ufro gaZl ierda da ararusi erebi monis mdgomareobaSi datova. am saqmeSi l omis wil is xel Semwyobi pirobebi i sev evropis qveynebma Seqmna. aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `dRes erTaderTi mraval erovani saxel mwi fo darCa sabWoTa kavSiri, arsebiTad saxel mwi fo unitarul i. meore mxriT, ... am erTaderT saxel mwi foSi... TeTrkaniani mosaxl eoba Cayenebul ia Savkani anebiT dasaxl ebul i kol oniebis mdgomareobaSi... dReisTvis aseTi mdgomareoba SeiZl eba aixsnebodes imiT, rom **komunistebi sabWoTa kavSirs `samoTxed- Tvl ian... am `samoTxis- gafetiSebaSi da masTan urTierTobis gaRrmavebaSi evropis qveynebi gansakuTrebul interest iCendnen da am qmedebas Semdegi argumentebiT `amarTI ebdnen:~ mraval patara saxel mwi fosTan saqmis daWeras, erT mTI ian saxel mwi fosTan sj obs saqmis daWerao.- es naTqvami aqvs pirvel i msofl io omis Semdeg Zal ian gamoCenil saxel mwi fo moRvawes evropasi. magram, es aris si tyva Zl ieris_ Zl ierTan urTierTobis dasaWeraT. aseTi ar SeiZl eba iyos si tyva demokratiis da social istis, romel nic mudam sustis mxareze dganan Zl ieris wi naaRmdeg. es sxvaTa Soris gaamarT- l a ganaTI ebul i kacobriobis damokidebul ebam saqarTvel os damouki de-**

bl obis sakiTxTan dakavSi rebi T.³ am amonaweri dan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i emigraciis liderebi, sworad xedavdnen evropis qveynebis indiferentul damokidebul ebas patara erebisadmi. aqedan gamomdinare, im gzebi sada saSual ebebis ZiebaSi iyvnen, romel ic ruseTis imperiaSi moqceul i ararusi erebisadmi maTi mxridan yuradRebas rom miipyrobda. aseTi meqanizmis gamoZebna im etapze SeuZl ebel i xdeboda im el ementarul i mi zezebis gamo, rom evropis liderebi, mxol od Tavianti saxel mwifoebisTvis xel sayrel i merkantil izmis interesebiT moqmedebdnen. XX saukunis 30- an wl ebSi SemuSavebul i maTi devizi_`mraval patara saxel mwifosTan saqmis daWeras, erT mTI ian saxel mwifosTan sj obs saqmis daWerao- 60- ian wl ebSiac Zal aSi datoves, riTac damonebul i erebis saxel mwifo warmonaqmTa Seqmnisadmi dauinteresebl oba gamoiCines. es imas ni Snavs, rom garkveul i mosazrebebi dan gamomdinare, sabWoTa imperiis arseboba, damouki debel i saxel mwifos tradiciis mqone erebis kol oniur mdgomareobaSi darCena, 50- 60_ iani wl ebis evropis politikiuri el itisaTvis misaRebadiTvl eboda. am umZimes fonze, gamosaval s qarTul i emigracia isev ruseTis imperiaSi Semaval xal xebTan_ qarTvel ebis mWidro urTierTobaSi xedavda. Tuki am mimarTul ebiT farTomasStabiani TanamSroml obis SesaZl ebl obebi Seiqmneboda, igi qarTvel Ta erovnul -ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobas ufro warmatebul s gaxdid. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis liderebi, ruseTis emigraciis Tundac mcire nawil iTan TanamSroml obas mizansewonil ad Tvl ida. maTi mtkicebiT, aseTi nabiji, erovnul -ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi mesame damxmare Zal is_`amerikul i komitetis- CarTul obis SesaZl ebl obas Seqmnida. `Cven ar SegviZl ia principial urad aseTi TanamSroml oba uarvyoT. dRes aseTi damxmare TanamSrome- l i SeiZl eba iqnes amerikis komiteti. xval sxva komiteti aRmoCndes. sawiroa Cvens TanamebrZol ebs aSkarad da gul axdil ad vamcnoT Cveni gansakuTrebul i pozicia... sabWoTa xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi.-

`amerikis komitetisadmi - yuradRebis miqceva SemTxveviTobiT ar iyo ganpirobepul i. am organizaciis ZiriTad mizans, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg ideologiuri brZol a da dapyrobi i qveynebis emigraciis Zal Ta gaerTianeba warmoadgenda.⁴ aseTi mizandasaxul obis miuxedavad, qarTul i emigraciis didi nawil is orientacia isev evropisken iyo mimarTul i. xazgasmit unda iTqvas, rom saqarTvel os sakiTxis saerTasoris doneze gatanaSi da samarTl ebrivi poziciidan misadmi mxardaWeraSi, qarTul emigracias mxol od evropis imedi hqonda. am SemTxvevaSi maT ZiriTad amosaval arguments, evropis qveynebisgan saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis iuridiul ad cnobis faqti warmoadgenda. imave dokumentebidan irkveva, rom qarTul i emigraciis mesveurni, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi, evropis liderTa orpirovani ianusis niRbiT moqmedebis warsul istoriasac ar iviwyebda. mxedve- l obaSi maqvs yvel aze kritikul momentSi saqarTvel osadmi zurgSeqcevis da sabWoTa ruseTTan ekonomikuri TanamSroml obis kursis aReba. miuxedavad amisa, qarTvel i politikosebi iZul ebul ni iyvnen evropis imedad darCenil iyvnen. am politikur gadawyvetil ebas Semdegi argumentebiT amarTl ebdnen: evropis `saxel mwifoebSi Cvens qveyanasa da xal xs kargad icnobdnen da Tu SeiZl eba ase iTqvas `vr cel i dosiebi - moi poveba maT samini stroebSi Cveni sakiTx- is Sesaxeb... maTi meSveobiT SesaZl ebel i gaxdeba Cveni sakiTxi i sev gamoCndes

saerTaSoriso asparezze da ar daendos im qars, romel sac daberavs xan erT da xan meore saxel mwifoSi da roml is daniSnul ebaa msofl io borb- l is mobruneba msofl ios mniSvnel obis da ara patara erebis Tundac sasi- cocxl o interesebis mixedviT.- am amonaweriT, saqarTvel osTvis da qarTul i emigraciisaTvis dasayrden safexurad, i sevevropis saxel mwifoebia miC- neul i. didi saxel mwifoebis im etapze urTierTdapirispirebis fonze, patara erebis bedi TiTqmis meorexarixovan sakiTxad iyo qceul i. misi wina pl anze wamoweve, emigraciis aqtiuri saqmi anobiT xdeboda SesaZl e- bel i. aqedan gamomdinare, emigraciis winaSe xSirad ismeboda sakiTxi: 1921 wl idan 1960 wl is CaTvl iT, qarTvel Ta erovnul i Tavisufl ebisaTvis brZol is ganvl il i unayofogzis gaTval iswinebiT, mizanSewonil i iyo Tu ara 60- ian wl ebSi i sevevropul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaze da saqarTvel os damouki debl obis miRwevis SesaZl ebl obaze fiqri. im SemTx- vevaSi, Tuki qarTul i emigracia sabWoTa ruseTis winaaRmdeg dawyebul i brZol is tradicias daarRvevda da Semrigebl ur formas airCevda, aseTi qmedeba eris ufl ebebze xel is aRebas niSnavda. meore mxriv, qarTul i emigraciis axal TaobaSi `Svil iSvil ebSi,- erovnul i sakiTxisadmi ni- hil izms daamkvidrebda da rac mTavaria, maTi qmedeba pol itikuri aspa- rezidan gaqrobis tol fasovan nabij ad Sefasdeboda. Cems mier dasmul zemoaRni Sul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Tu ra damouki debl eba gaaCnda qarTu- l i emigraciis da gansakuTrebiT social - demokratiis l iderebs,amis Tva- l saCinoebis ni muSs `saerTaSoriso mdgomareobisa da Cveni moqmedebis xazis- Sesaxeb 1956 wels gakeTebul i erTobl ivi moxseneba warmoadgens. am doku- mentSi pol itikuri emigraciis winaSe gamafRTxil ebel i formiTaa dasmu- l i_ erovnul i sakiTxis ignorebidan gamomdinare mosal odnel i mZime Se- degebis garduval oba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, saerTaSoriso organizaciebSi saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobis aRdgenis dasmis SesaZl ebl obis kiTxvi- Ti qveS dayeneba. da rac mTavaria, emigraciis aseTi nabij i, sabWoTa xel isu- fl ebasTan mimarTebaSi ideol ogiur frontze kompromisul gadawyvetil e- bad CaiTvl eboda. `moral urad aseT nabij ebs- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- didi gavlena eqneba j er Cveni xal xis sul iskveTebaze, romel ic erovnul i l ozungiT ebrZvis dRemdis sabWoTa ruseTs, da Semdeg ucxoel ebzec, romel nic guSin kidev imas acxadebdnen, rom `saqarTvel o samSobl o aris Zal iT dapyrobel erisao.- da dRes, roca dainaxaven aseTi Sexedul ebis... Tundac mcire safuZvl ebis Seryevas, amas SesamCnevad gamoiyeneben bol Se- vikebi da ucxoETSi Cveni damouki debl obis mterni da mowinaaRmdegeni. ai am sakiTxSi ar unda waforxil des arc Cveni partia da arc emigracia... Torem igi did zaral smoutans Tavis prestiJsac da erovnul sakiTxsac.- am vrcel amonawerSi kargadaa naCvenebi is mosal odnel i safrTxeebi, romel ic erovnul i sakiTxisadmi zurgSeqceviT, an mcireodeni uyura- dRebobiT emuqreboda qarTul emigracias da TviT social - demokrati- ul partias. meore mxriv, aseT qmedebas saqarTvel os mosaxl eobaSi ero- vnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi nihil izmis damkvidrebis xe- l Sewyobis faqtoris Sesrul eba SeeZl o.

yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, Tuki 50- iani da 60- iani wl ebis qarTul emigracias, ufrosi Taobis erovnul - ganmaT- avisufl ebel i moZraobis saqmis gagrZel ebis sapatio misis SenarCuneba

surda, erovnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi ukompromisoni unda yofil iyvnen. imavdroul ad, gareSe organizaciebis zemoqmedebis qveS ar moqceul iyvnen da nebsmieri gadawyvetil ebis miReba, individual urad ganxorciel ebinaT. am fonze, savsebiT sworad svamdnen sakiTxs, roca saerTaSoriso ufl ebebis sferodan saqarTvel os aramoSi is moTxovnas rom ayenebdnen. es imas niSnavda, rom qarTul i emigracia, romel ime saxel mwifos mfarvel - obaSi ar moqceul iyo da qveynis damoukidebl obis niadagze dgomis safexuri SeenarCunebina. am poziciis dadasturebis saukeTeso nimuSad, Cems mier zemoT dasaxel ebul i dokumentis_ `saerTaSoriso mdgomareoba da Cveni moqmedebis xazi- daskvniTi nawil is pirvel i da meore muxl ebi gamodgeba. `1)axl andel i pol itikuri mdgomareoba- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- Cven gvaval ebs... mtkiced davrCeT im poziciaze, romel zedac darCa Cveni xal xi 1921 wl idan, saqarTvel os okupaciis Semdeg da imis pol itikuri emigracia ucxoETSi. e.i. Cven unda davrCeT saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis atvis brZol is niadagze; 2)brZol a grZel deba... am brZol aSi mar to ar varT, magram SeiZl eba man ki dev xangrZl ivi xasiaTi miRos. amistvis saWiroa qarTvel ma erma, Tavisi erovnul i sul iskveTeba, erovnul i Tavisufl ebis siyvarul i da gadawyvetil eba Seinaxos.⁻⁵

Cems mier motanil i masal ebidan kargad Cans is didi pasuxismgebl oba, romel ic qarTul i emigraciis erovnul sawyisebze mdgom adami anebs hqonda Tavisi Tavze aRebul i. isic angariSgasawevia, rom TaobaTa cvl am, ara mar to qarTul i emigraciis rigebis SeTxel eba ganapiroba, aramed, maTi STamomaval i Taobebis didi nawil i erovnul fesvebs mowyvita, ucxo erovnul sxel Tan Serwyma im doneze moaxdina, rom saqarTvel os xval - indel i dRisadmi fiqrs, zedmet tvirtad aRiqvamda. am faqtoris gaTval - iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel osa da qarTvel Ta interesebis dacvis mizniT, qarTul i emigraciis namsxvreebis Zal Ta maqsimal uri mobil iza- cia da konsesusis miRweva, udi desi Zal isxmevit xdeboda. `saqarTvel os emigracia- vkiTxul obT zemoT dasaxel ebul dokumentSi- imdenad mcir- ericxovania, rom igi ar warmoadgens araviTar Zal as eris fizikuraT dasaxmarebl ad. amitom, emigraciis da misi xel mZRvanel obis umTavres daniSnul ebad rCeba: gaacnos ganaTl ebul kacobriobas qarTvel i xal x- is erovnul i sul iskveTeba da is mdgomareoba, romel Sic Cayenebul ia exl a qarTvel i xal xi Tavisi samSobl o qveyanaSi; daicvas qarTvel i eris mier mopovebul i saerTaSoriso ufl ebebi da propaganda gauwi os saqarTve- l os sakiTxs yvel gan, sadac misi xma miwvdeba.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans is real uri sinamdvil e, romel Sidac im periodis qarTul i emigra- cia imyofeboda. meore mxriv, igi im pasuxismgebl obis Sesaxebac miu- TiTebis, qarTul i emigraciis winaSe rom idga da roml is gadawyveta, udi desi energiis gaRebasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, SemTx- veviTi ar aris, roca saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRva- rgareTul i organizaciebis yril obas (1957 wl is 19 oqtomberi) k.kandel akma Tavisi moxseneba_ `Cveni yofaqceva samSobl os ganTavisufl ebis atvis brZo- l aSi- formul irebit rom warudgina. am dokumentSi principul adaa dasmu- l i sakiTxi: ras warmoadge-nda emigracia da ra moeTxoveboda mas, ramdenad amarTl ebda dakisrebul moval eobas. aRniSnul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi k.kandel aki Tvl ida: 1)ramdenadac qarTul i emigracia okupanti qveynis mier

gandevnil i eris warmomadgenl is funqcias asrul ebda, igi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis meTaurTa Semadgenel nawil adac unda qceul iyo; 2) qarTul i emigracia, erovnul i miswrafebebis umTavresi matarebel i yofil iyo da sazogadoebas eris gul iscemis da pol itikuri mizandasaxul obis ganmaxorciel ebel Zal ad aReqva; 3) ramdenadac erovnul i moZraoba emigraciis saqmianobis ZiriTad mimarTul ebas warmoadgenda, mis SigniT aRmocenebul i nebsmieri dapi rispireba da `omi,~ danaSaul ebriv qmedebad, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xel SemSi el ad unda warmoceni iyo. aseTi sasicoxli o sakiTxebis mogvareba, emigraciis meTaurTa mxridan, k.kandel aks pirvel xarisxovan amocanad miacnda. `mizani - ambobda k.kandel aki - dasaxul lia naTl ad da igi unda iyos umTavresi mamozravebel i Zal a emigraciis moqmedebis, xol o misi moqmedeba rom ar dabrkol des, saWiroa am sakiTxs Camoscil des- droebiT okupaciis xanaSi yvel a sxva sakiTxebi, romel sac Seuzl ia emigraciis mTl ianobis, misi erTsul ovnebis darRveva... es yovel Tvis Tval win unda gvidges da Cvens moqmedebas safuzvl ad unda daedvas.-⁶

sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom dasavl eT evropaSi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis sirTul eebi, sabWoTa ruseTis mier ungreTSi ganxorciel ebul i sadamsjel o RonisZiebebi da a.S. am fonze, sabWouri monstrix mxil ebi saTvis, ara Tu daqsagsul ad, aramed erT muStad Sekrul i emigraciis moqmedebac umniSvel o gamocndeboda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel osadmi saerTaSoriso organizaciebis yuradRebis mi sapyr obad, emigraciis erTiani Zal ebiT gamosvl a da sabWoTa sainformacio saSual ebi sadmi dasabuTebul i formiT dapi rispireba_ aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul ebis erT- erT saukeTeso saSual ebad, im etapze k.kandel aks, `amerikul komitetTan~ TanamSroml oba miacnda. misi mtkicebiT, es dawesebul eba qarTul i saqmis sakeTebel damxmare instrumentad unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. amis aucil ebl oba imi Tac iyo ganpi robebul i, rom sabWoTa ruseTis uSiSroeba, qarTul i emigraciis wi naaRmdeg mi zanmimarTul Setevi T RonisZiebebs anxorciel ebda. TaobaTa cvl am da ganvl il ma 35 wel ma, qarTul i emigraciis siZl iereze udi desi uaryofiTi zemoqmedeba moaxdina, magram, sxva erebis emigraciebTan SedarebiT, igi anti sabWour saqmianobas warmatebul i formiT axorciel ebda. amitom iyo, rom sabWoTa uSiSroeba, qarTul i emigraciis daSl as da misi wevrebis mosyidvas yvel aze metad rom cdil obda. am mimarTul ebiT gatarebul i RonisZiebebis erT- erT formas, qarTul i emigraciis Tval saCino pirovnebebis mimarT cil iswamebebis gavrcel eba da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis saxel is gatexa warmoadgenda. sabWoTa uSiSroebis pol itikuri brZol is sadiskreditacio `maTematikuri formul a,~ qarTul i emigraciis l iderebma amoxsna. maTdami dapi rispirebis sawi naaRmdego nabij s, qarTul i emigraciis sapropagando saSual ebebsgan sabWoTa uSiSroebasTan TanamSroml obiT dakavebul i emigrantebis mxil eba da maTi antiqarTul i saqmianobis saaSkaraoze gamotana warmoadgenda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas d.sindi kel is fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i publ ikacia_ `qarTul i emigracia da bol Sevi kebi~ iqcevs. `kreml is saiduml o agentebis saSual ebiT- vkiTxul obT weril Sgcdil oben erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i brZol isTvis uangar oT miZRvnil mamul iSvil Ta damdabl ebas, saxel is gatexas... meToduri muSaoba swarmo-

ebda, raTa qarTul - erovnul organizaciebs adgil obrivi administraciis winaSe saxel i gtxodaT, ndoba dakargodaT da saTvistomoebSi SeeqmnaT iseTi dambli dacemul obis atmosfero, rom SeuZl ebel i gamxdariyo erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i da antikomunisturi demonstraciebi.⁷ rmdenadac, sabWoTa ruseTis Sesabamisi uwyeba qarTul emigraciaSi miSTvis xel SemSi el Zal as xedavda, emigraciis daqsasvis da SigniT urTierTdapirispirebis mizniT, gansakuTerebul RonisZiebs mimarTavda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs prosabWouri j gufebis Seqmni da dafinansebis uzrunvel yofis faqtebi. am mxriv, 1952 wl is maisSi miunxenSi daarsebul i j gufi aqtiurobda. imave wl is oqtomberSi, `opoziciis- saxel wodebiT anal ogiuri saxis j gufi niu- iorkSi- ac Seiqmna. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT igive d.sindikeli werda: `icodnen Tu ara aqaurma `aqtivistebma- rom maT mier miunxenSi miwodebul i informacia moskovSi midioda da miunxenis provokatorebisgan miRebul i `rCevadarigebeci- moskovidan momdinareobda. orive SemTxvevaSi faqti ucveli i rCebadaniu- iorkSi warmoSobil i `opoziciuri- j gufis antisazogadoebrivi saqmianobari cvleba.- dokumenturi masaliT da imperiodSi sazRvargareT gamomaval qarTul Journ.- gazeTebSi dabeWdil publikaciebSi motanili faqtebi, dasabuTebuli formi warmoaCens sabWoTa ruseTis mier dafinansebul i agenturuli qsel is saqmianobas qarTul i emigraciis winaaRmdeg. mxedvel obaSi maqvs emigraciis im gamoCenili iderTa diskreditaciis mcdel oba, romlebic mousyidveli darCnen da warmatebul antikomunistur brZol as eweodnen. amis SesaniSnv dadasturebas argentinis qarTveli Ta asociaciis Tavmj domaris Leonid Weisvili da akaki papavas mier Journ. `Cveni droSaSi- (# 25) dabeWdili werilebi da argentinis qarTveli Ta saTvistomos sagangebo saerto krebis (1957 wl is 25 ivlisi) dadgenileba warmoadgens. am dokumentebSi dasabuTebuli pasuxia gacemuli yvela im ciliswamebaze, romelic argentinis qarTul i koloniis mimarT gaavrcel a sabWoTa uSiSroebisgan mosyidul ma adami anebma. argentinis qarTveli Ta saTvistomos zemoaRniSnul ma krebam, maTi qmedebis Sesaxeb sagangebod imsel a. ggomel auri, m. diasamiZe da aj i qia Tavisirigebidan garicxa. am sampirovnebas, rogorc Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTveli o- (# 10) werda: `undodaT qarTul is saxel iT esargebl aT, ucxo erebis organizaciebSi Sesuliynen da iqCvenTvis yovel mxriv saxel i gaetexaT... arcert matgans, erovnul muSaobaSi aravitari warsul i ara aqvs. magram, mtavari da mavnebeli is iyo, rom zog matgans friad saeWvo warsul i hqonda! veravi Tarma gafrTxilebam, arc Txovnam ar gasWra da am `gaTamamebul ma uvicebma- qarTul saqmianobas patiosani saxel i gautexa.⁸

qarTul i emigraciis sawinaaRmdego muSaobas, sabWoTa ruseTi evropasiac afinansebda. am mimarTulebiT sabWoTa specsamsaxurebs warmatebul i RonisZiebebis gatarebis SesaZlebel oba safrangeTsi mieca. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, d.sindikeli fsevdonimit dabeWdili zemoaRniSnul publikaciaSi `qarTul i emigracia da Bbol Sevicebi, - sabWouri agenturisi mier, qarTul i emigraciis erTinawili gadabirebis Sesaxeb xazgasmiTaa mititebuli. `apolitikuri da erovnul ideal ebs moklebul i emigrantebi- vkitxul obT werilsi- mouridebl ad SeiWrnen rus bol SevikTa wreSi da maTsi gaitqvi fnen. amas xel s uwyobda safrangeTis imdroindel i fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobil ebac. bol Sevicebi yovel dRiuradi pyrobdnen emigraciaSi axal - axal

poziciebs; iWrebodnen sxvadasxva j gufebSi, eufl ebodnen emigrant moR-
vaweeps da maT moqmedebas Tavis kontrol is qveS ayenebdnen.- Cems mier mo-
tanil i es amonaweri imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom qarTul emigraciaSi,
ideuri mimarTul ebis Tval sazrisiT, didi rRvevis procesi mimdinare-
obda. mosyidva- gadabirebis warmatebul i mcdel obebi, sabWouri agen-
turis qsel s Sesazl ebl obas azl evda, qarTul i emigraciis isedac SeT-
xel ebul rigebsi `opoziciuri- daj gufebebi Seeqmna da Sidapol itikuri
dapirespirebebisTvis Sesabamisi safexuri moemzadebina. aseTi `opoz-
cionerebis- saqmianobis safuzvel ze SekrebiL masal ebze dayrdnobiT,
imave d.sindikel is publ ikaciaSi, sabWoTa uSiSroebis specsamsaxurebT-
an TanamSroml obaSi S.maRI akel iZea mxil ebul i. rogorc cnobil ia, es
pirovneba meore msofil io omis periodSi faSisturi germaniis maRal Ci-
nosnebtan TanamSroml obda, sapsuxi smgebl o Tanamdebobac eWira. garkveu-
l i mosazrebebi dan gamodinare, man sabWoTa ruseTis uSiSroebis mi znebi sa
da amocanebis Semsrul ebl is funqcia ikisra. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT
imave statiaSi vkiTxul obT, rom maRI akel iZis safrangeTSi Casvl idan
iwyeba `maRI akel iZis mxridan emigraciis damrRvevel i muSaoba, rama-
sul mal e aqcia saeWvo pirovnebad. safrangeTis emigraciaSi kvl av meg-
ul eba cocxal i mowmeebi, romel Ta mexsierebaSiac waruSI el i iqneba
samSobl os grZnobebiT gul anTebul i is.manwkavas sityvebi `Tu is
(S.maRI akel iZe) bol Sevikebis agenti ar gamodges, aq gamomweriTo da
yel ze TiTs daidebda.- am azrs qarTvel Ta Soris bevri iziarebda da
maRI akel iZis moqmedebis l oRIkac amas amtkicebda. magram, emigrantu-
l i cxovrebis ukuRmarTobis wyal obiT damnaSavec ki ifurCqneba, l aR-
obs da xarobs, Tu mas Tan sdevs sutkneinebis da mandatosani l idere-
bis mfarvel oba da wyal oba. Cvenis cnobiT, moskovSi saiduml od xangr-
Zl ivi mogzaurobis Semdeg maRI akel iZe kvl av moevl ina germaniis (mi-
unxenSi) qarTul saTvistomos da naZiral a provokatorebis mier atex-
il tragediaSi moxerxebul ad TamaSobda Suamavl isa da momrigebl is
rol s. amave periods ekuTvnis miunxenSi Cekisti aval ianis da misi `me-
gobrebis- mier `demokratiul i kavSiris- daarseba, roml is portparol i
maRI akel iZe iyo da niuIorkSi `saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis sabWo.-
erTsa da imave qveynebsi daarsebul axal `organizaciebs- aerTianeabda
maTi saqmianobis `meTodi- da idumal i zraxvebi. orivem gamocenisTanave
ieriSi miitana saTvistomos xel Si Casagdebad. kreml is saiduml o agen-
tebis saiduml o instruqciis pirvel i muxl is gasanaRdebl ad.-⁹ am amonaw-
eris mixedvit, S.maRI akel iZe da aval iani, sabWoTa uSiSroebis warmo-
madgenel Ta miTitebebis Semsrul ebl ebadaa gamocxadebul i. es Tval -
sazrisi kidev ufro damZimebul i formiTa warmodgenil i d.sindikel is
mier dabeWdil mesame weril Si: `qarTul i emigracia da bol Sevikebi.-
`Cekistma aval ianma_ vkiTxul obT weril Si- pirvel i ieriSi miunxenis
saTvistomoze miitana.- an kidev: `meore Cekisti maRI akel iZe dasawyisSi
TITqos aval ianis daj gufebis gareSe mdgari, `Semrigebel ~ rol Si gamo-
dioda da zogierTebis yurSi awveTebda, rom es j gufi ebrZvis menSevik
korZaias da ara menSevikebso.- `rogorc yovel i provokatoris, aval -
ianis daniSnul ebac swored is iyo, rom yvel gan yofil iyo, rRvevis el e-
mentebi Seetana da antibol Sevikuri organizaciebis moqmedebas muxru-

Wad mosdeboda.-

Cems mier zemoT motaniI amonawerebSi S.maRI akel iZisa da aval ianis mi-marT gamoTqmul seriozul bral debebs, rogorc Cans gazeTis redaQcia eTanxmeboda. miTumetes, am publ ikaciaSi motaniI faqtebTan mimarTebaSi, SeniSvnis saxiT aranairi reagireba ar gaukeTebia. meore mxriv, arc qarTul i emigraciis wevrebisganac yofil a uaryofiT i gamoxmaureba. es faqti imis maniSnebel ia,rom qarTul i emigraciis saTvi stomos I iderebi Tvl idnen, rom aRni Snul i pirovnebebis saqmi anobis mi zans, emigrantTa Soris dapi ri spi rebi s gaRrmaveba, erTianobis daSl a, erovnul i da antisabWouri muSao-bis nul amde dayvana war moadgenda. Tuki dasaxul mi zans mi aRwev dnen, maT SesaZl ebl oba mi ecemodaT, aSkaraT Tu ara, Sefarv iTi prosabWouri formiT Sesabamisi agitacia- propagandistul i saqmi anoba gaeSal aT. amis xel Semw-yob finansur SesaZl ebl obebs sabWoTa uSi Sroeba qmni da. am faqtTan dakav-SirebiT, 1956 wl is ianvarSi gazeT `qarTul i azrSi- dabeWdil publ ikacia-Si- `mowodeba j oj oxetidan- vkiTxul obT; `moskovis iniciativiT, aRmosav- l eT berl inSi daarsda sagangebo komiteti, roml is mi zania sxvadasxva da- pirebebiT Sei tyuos `samSobl oSi- sabWoTa kavSi ridan gamoqceul i emigra- ntebi. am komitetis saTaveSi sdgas n.k.v.d-s cnobil i Reneral i mixail ovi. komitetis wevrTa Soris iricxeba SarSan germani idan mtris banakSi gapa- rul i Zvel i emigranti iuda maRI akel iZe. komitetma gamosca gazeTi rusul enaze `za vozvraScenie na rodinu.- xol o qarTvel ebisTvis qarTul ad das- tambul i mowodeba. es l iteratura egzavneba emigrantebs kerZo weril ebis saxiT da niu- iorkSi mi iRo Cveni redaQciis erTma wevr mac. gazeTi da mo- wodeba urCevs sabWoTa kavSi ris yofil moqal aqeebs dabrundnen Zvel sam- Sobl oSi.- am vrcel i amonaweridan erTxel kidev dasturdeba S.maRI ake- l iZis TanamSroml oba sabWoTa specsamsaxurebTan da maT mier SemuSavebu- l i saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmi anobisadmi xel Sewyoba. aRni Snul sagazeTo masal ebTan mimarTebaSi SeiZl eba zogierTma Cemma kol egam umka- cresi kritikul i damokidebul eba gamoavl inos da maRI akel iZis mimarT wayenebul i bral debebi kiTxvis qveS daayenos. sakiTxis am formiT dasmi s SemTxvevaSi, mas pasuxis gacema mouwevs Semdeg kiTxvebze: 1)Tuki maRI akel - iZis mimarT sabWoTa uSi SroebasTan TanamSroml obis zemoaRni Snul i bral de- ba siyal bes war moadgenda, imave maRI akel iZem saprotesto weril iT ratom ar mimarTa gazeTis redaQcias da Tavisi simarTl e ar daamtিকা?; 2)im Se- mTxvevaSi Tuki S.maRI akel iZe sabWoTa xel isufl ebisTvis saWi ro da san- do pirovnebad ar iTvl eboda, riT aixsneba ssrk- Si dabrunebul i maRI a- kel iZisadmi l oial uri formebi s gamoyeneba? miTumetes, omis periodSi igi faSisturi germaniis samsaxurSi idga da hitl eris maRal Cinosan xel qvei- TebTan aqtiurad TanamSroml obda; 3)igive damokidebul eba ratom ar gamo- avl ines samson fircxal avasa da spiridon WavWavaZesTan mimarTebaSi? am kiTxvebs damaj erebel i pasuxi unda gaeces. miTumetes, rusul i cxenosani j aris poruCi ks S.maRI akel iZes, romel sac samxedro akademi a ar hqonda da- mTavrebul i da maRal Tanamdebobaze daniSvnis (1917 wel i) gamo `generl is saxel o- uboZes, samson fircxal avasa da spiridon WavWavaZeze meti damsax- ureba namdvil ad ar hqonda qarTvel i eris wi naSe. rac Seexeba v.rcxil aZis mcdel obas,s.maRI akel iZisadmi ssrk- is xel isufal Ta l oial uri damoki- debul eba im motiviT gaamarTl os, TiTqos `igi undodaT yofil iyo garkveul

`magal iTad- da `ankesad- Cveni emigraciis aq Camosatyebl ad,- (Jurn. `gan-
 Tiadi- 1991 w. # 1. gv. 7) TiTi dan gamowovil `arguments- Seicavs, radgan am
 saqmistvis yvel aze metad samson fircxal avas gamoyeneba SeiZl eboda, Tuki
 erovnul i cnobierebiT datvirTul i es bumberazi pirovneba, warsul s Seaqcev-
 da zurgs da okupanti qveynis maRal CinosnebTan TanamSroml obis gzas ai-
 rCevda. aseTi simdabl is argamoCeni sa da uSiSroebasTan TanamSroml obaze
 arwasvl is gamo, igi j er cixeSi miabrZanes, xol o Semdeg gadaasaxl es da
 gzaSi gardaicval a. isic angari Sgasawevia, rom sabWoTa xel isufli ebam S.ma-
 RI akel iZes, faSisturi germaniis raixstagTan TanamSroml oba da germani-
 is Tavdacvis uwyebisadmi daqvemdebarebul i_ qarTvel ebisgan Sedgenil i
 erTi batalioniT (meTauri S.maRI akel iZe) kavkasiis mTebiT saqarTvel os
 sazRvramde mosvl is faqti apatia. aseT kompromisze sabWoTa uSiSroeba
 mxol od im SemTxvevaSi midioda, Tuki ama Tu im pirovnebas sabWoTa qveynis
 wi naSe gansakuTrebul i damsaxureba gaaCnda. swored aseT `damsaxurebul ~
 adami anebs iyenebda igi antisabWouri qarTul i emigraciis dasaSl el ad. am
 mi zans emsaxureboda sabWouri propagandis is nawil i, romel ic evropasi
 myofi emigrantebis okupirebul samSobl oSi dabrunebas rom iTval iswinebda.
 dokumenturi masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom sabWoTa ruseTis mizandasaxu-
 l obis xel Semwyobis rol Si, isev evropis qveynebis uprincipo da pol iti-
 kurad gameZavebul i l iderebi gamovida. am sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT gazeTi
 `qarTul i azri- statias- `ukanasknel i cnobebi evropidan- werda: `evro-
 pis mcodne wyarobis mtkicebis mixelvit... irkveva, rom `Coexistense-- is
 (Tanaarseboba S.v.) xel is gawvdomiT, dasavl eTis msofil iom farTe kari ga-
 uRo Tavis mosixl emters bol Sevikur moskovs da Mmisi rusul i agentura
 moedo evropis qveynebs. garda gamravl ebul farul pol itikur agentebisa,
 Tavisufal evropas moefina moskovis mraval i dageSil i sapropagando orga-
 nizaciebi... roml ebic cdil obdnen emigrantebi daerwmunebinaT: `aqamde da-
 piriSPIrebul i kapital isturi da komunisturi reJimebi dRes rigdebian
 `Tanaarsebobis- principbez, TavianTi miRwevebis Tanamegobrul gacvl a-
 gamocvl aze, romel ic axl o momaval Si Sesazl oa TanamSroml obadac gada-
 iqces, rogorc es xdeba bol Sevikuri revol uciis dawyebidan dasavl eTis
 msofil io qveynebs da sabWoTa ruseTs Soris.-

ramdenadac evropam ideol ogi uri saqmi anobis karebi gauRo ssrk- s, es
 saCuqari, sabWoTa uSiSroebis Sesabamisma uwyebebma Sesani Snavad gamoiy-
 ena da emigrantebze ideol ogi urad maqsimal ur zemoqmedebas Seecada.
 mxedvel obaSi maqvs emigrantebSi mSobl iuri miwisadmi nostalgii s gaRvi-
 Zeba da sabWoTa ruseTSi masobrivad dabrunebis miRwevis mcdel oba.
 Tuki amas SeiZl ebden, emigraciis rigebi maqsimal urad SeTxel deboda
 da maTi antisabWouri saqmi anoba ganul ebis donemde davidoda. am mi ma-
 rTul ebiT muSaobam, gansakuTrebul i aqtiuri saxe xruScovis mmarTvel obis
 periodSi SeiZina. fsevdo l iberal izmisa da demokratiis niRbiT cdi-
 l obdnen emigrantebis SecdomaSi Seyvanas. am faqtTan dakavSi rebiT, qarTu-
 l i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebma saprotesto ganCXadebebi gaakeTes. am
 mxriv gansakuTrebiT aSS-i qarTul i saTvistomos Tavmj domaris mier
 1924 wl is movl enebTan dakavSi rebiT gamarTul Roni sZi ebaze warmoTqmu-
 l i si tyva gamoirCeva. aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebsi igi oficial u-
 rad acxadebda: `xruScovis pol itikuri reJimi, emigrantebis sabWoeTSi

mi pati Jebi T cdil obs SecdomaSi Seiyanos komunisturi tiraniis mamx-
 il ebel i emigracia da mas mouspos SesaZl ebl oba emsaxuros Tavis
 eris ganTavisufi ebas da Tavisufal qveynebSi amxil os komunisturi
 tirania da moskovis imperial isturi miznebi.- am uaRresad rTul i prob-
 l emis gadawyvetas, ssrk- is biuj etis didi nawil i xmardeboda. mxd-
 vel obaSi maqvs emigrantTa rigebis mosyidvis warmatebul i mcdel obebi
 da qarTvel emigrantTa saTvistomoebis sawinaaRmdego propagandistu-
 l i saqmi anobis gaZl iereba ucxoETSi. aRni Snul sakiTxs Jurn. `Cveni dro-
 Sac- gamoexmaura da ramdenime sayuradRebo weril i dabeWda. Cemi gan-
 sakuTrebul i yuradReba mcire mocul obis statiam- `Cekistebis saqmi anobam-
 mi iqcia. misi avtori, fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedebis im forme bze saubrobs,
 romel sac sabWouri propagandistul i saSual ebebi iyenebda qarTul emi-
 graci aze zemoqmedebi saTvis. aRni Snul faqtTan mi mar TebaSi, qarTul i emi-
 graci is pozicia Semdegi formi Taa warmodgenil i: `xruScovi da misi agente-
 bi sastikad cdebian, Tu fiqroben rom ami Tisini qarTul politikur emi-
 gracias gastexen da mas Tavis fareSad gaxdian. qarTul politikur emi-
 gracias j er kidev `deda- ena-- dan axsovs im gvel is ambavi, romel mac ga-
 zafxul ze rogorc ki gamoicval a kani, Sesrial da gl exTan da uTxra: xom
 xedav kani gamovicval e, exl a mainc vicxovroT erTado. Wkvianma gl exma
 upasuxa: kani ki gamoicval e magram gul i isev Zvel i gaqvso da gauWeWya
 Tavi. rogorc kangamocvl il ma gvel ma ver Seacdina gl exi, ise viTomda
 kangamocvl il i xruScovi, SecdomaSi ver Seiyanos qarTul politikur emi-
 gracias.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom sabWoTa xel isufi ebis mesveur-
 Ta politikuri kursi Sxami ani qvewarmavl is qmedebas utol deboda. gareg-
 nul i fasadis an wamosasxamis Secvl is miuxedavad, misi Sida politikuri
 sistema, kangamocvl il i qvewarmavl is Sinagan bunebasavi T ucvl el i rCebo-
 da. am faqtze gansakuTrebul i yuradReba imi tom SevaCere rom: 1) sabWoTa
 impari is xel isufal Ta ideol ogiur saqmi anobasTan mi mar TebaSi, qarTu-
 l i emigraci is mxridan Sefasebis forma mkiTxvel isadmi gamokveTil i
 saxiT meCvene bina; 2) qarTul i emigraci is didi nawil s, sabWoTa xel isu-
 fl ebis maRal Cinosnebisadmi ndobis SeuZl ebl oba, maRal doneze rom
 hqonda gacnobi erebul i; 3) saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebri obis aRsadgenad
 brZol a, emigraci is Zal ebis maqsimal urad gamoyenebas, sabWoTa imperiaSi
 erovnul - ganmaTavisufi ebel i moZraobisadmi xel Sewyobas, sabWoTa ide-
 ol ogiuri propagandisadmi Rirseul ad dasapirispirebel i meqanizms
 Seqmnas moiTxovda. am urTul esi amocanis gadawyveta 60- iani wl ebis
 qarTul i emigraci isaTvis dauZl evel barriers warmoadgenda. mdgomare-
 obas, qarTul i emigraci is daqsqsul oba da antisabWouri moqmedebis
 erTiani gegmis ararseboba kidev ufro arTul ebda. Seqmnil i mdgomare-
 obidan erTaderT gamosaval s, qarTul i emigraci is l iderebi qarTve-
 l Ta dafantul i Zal ebis konsolidaciaSi xedavda. cnobil i faqtia, rom
 omis Semdeg, evropis qarTul i emigraci is didi nawil i garkveul i mize-
 zebis gamo aSS- i, argentinaSi da a.S. gadavi da sacxovrebl ad. aqedan ga-
 momdinare, Zal Ta Tavmoyra da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSaveba udi des
 sirTul eebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. qarTul i emigraci is wi naSe princi-
 pul ad daisva sakiTxi Tu rogor moqceul iyvnen: 1) msofi ios sxvadasxva
 kuTxeebSi dafantul i qarTvel Ta warmomadgenl ebis Sekreba da erTiani

organizaciis Seqmna moexdinaT Tu 2)erT romel ime saxel mwifoSi mcx-ovrebi qarTvel ebis gaerTianebiT, cal ke damouki debel i ramdenime organizaciebis bazaze maRal i donis qmedi Tunariani organo SeeqmnaT. orive SemTxvevaSi, komunikaciisa da finansuri sirtul ebis gamo, qarTul i emigraciis l iderebi udidesi dil emis winaSe aRmoCnda. ramdenadac im etapze farTomasStabiani organizaciis Seqmna SeuZl ebel i xdeboda, upiratesoba adgil obrivi organizaciebis Camoyal ibebas mieniWa. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT uaRresad sayuradRebo masal ebia dabeWdil i gazeT `qarTul i azris- furcl ebze. Cems mier zemoT dasmul probl emasTan mimarTebaSi, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevs 1956 wl is Teberval Si l .dumbaZis avtorobiT gamoqveynebul i mowodeba. es dokumenti 18 ianvrit aris da TariRebul i. igi qarTul i emigraciis mtkivneul sakiTxebze pasuxis gacemas da misi gadawyvetis mcdel obas Sei cavs. mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis fonze, ganxil avda l .dumbaZe qarTvel Ta erovnul interesebis da iqve dasZenda: `qarTul i erovnul i interesebi srul iad emTxveva amerikul i pol itikis miswrafebebs da vaRiarebT ra am faqts, saWi rod migvaCnia aqedan gamodinare praqtikul i daskvnebic gavakeToT: Cavdget Tavisufl ebisa da demokratiisaTvis mebrZol Ta rigebsi da rogorc saerTaSoriso xasiatis ise qarTul saqmi anobaSi Cveni wvl il i SevitanoT.- am mimarTul ebiT warmatebul i saqmi anobis ZiriTad amosaval safuZvl ad, l .dumbaZes Semdegi Ronisz- iebebis gatareba miacnda aucil ebl obad: 1) dauyovnebl iv momxdariyo aSS- i myofi qarTul i Zal ebis gaerTianeba da dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad, Sesabamisi gzebi gamozebnil iyo; 2) saqarTvel os erovnul i saxel mwifoebriobis- saTvis brZol a, axal i pirobebis moTxovnaTa SesabamisobaSi moeqciat; 3) aSS- is sazogadoebrivi azris, qarTul i sakiTxisadmi mxardaWeris mosapovebl ad, emigraciis mxridan am sakiTxis farTod dasma da propaganda momxdariyo; 4) qarTul i emigraciis erovnul i Zal ebis gaerTianebi sa da saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebisaTvis brZol is efeqturad warmarTvisatvis amerikul i demokratiul i ideal ebis matarebel i organizacia unda Seqmnil iyo. dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebis ZiriTad pirobad, imave l .dumbaZes, erovnul i erTobis organizaciis daarseba aucil ebl obad miacnda. am mizans emsaxureboda 1956 wl is 25 marts misive iniciativiT mowveul i erovnul i erTobis organizaciis mxardamWerTa damfuZnebel i kreba (Tavmj - domare d. sindikel i).

gazeT `qarTul i azri-- Si dabeWdil i l .dumbaZis moxsenebi dan kargad Cans is miznebi da amocanebi, roml is aRsrul eba axl ad Seqmnil organizacias unda moexdina. amastan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSivkiTxul obT: `dRes dafuZnebul i organizaciis mizani unda iyos: 1) saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobis aRdgena da misi erovnul i ufl ebebis dacva; 2) saqarTvel os sakiTxi saerTaSoriso samarTlianobis sakiTxi a da iuridiul ad im kategorias ekuTvnis, romel Ta erovnul i saxel mwifoebrioba sadao ar aris da maTi avtomaturi aRdgena mxol od sabWoTa kavSiris dangrevis vadiT ganisazRvreb; 3) Cveni erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebel i brZol a unda daeyrdnos antikomunistursa da antiimperial istur Zal ebs; 4) am mizniT organizacia unda daukavSirdes yvel a im erebis emigraciebs, roml ebic ruseTma an meore omis win, an meore omis Semdeg dai pyro; 5) Cveni organizaciis moqmedeba unda SevufardoT yvel a

im qveynebis saqmi anobas, roml ebi c garkveul ad dganan erovnul i saxel mwi foebrivi damouki debl obis ni adagze; 6) xel mZRvanel i organo unda ecados kargi urTierToba da amyaros msofli oSi gafantul qarTvel obasTan da xel i Seuwyos saemigracio centris Seqmnas.- aq dasmul i yvel a debul eba, erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis Semdgom etapze sworad warmarTvis aTvis angari Sgasawev moTxovnebs ayenebda. mi si gaTval - i swineba, organizaciis xel mZRvanel obaze iyo damoki debul i. imave krebis mier miRebul rezoluciaSi vkiTxul obT; `krebam moismina b.n. I .dumbaZis moxseneba, programis proeqti da azrTa gacvl a- gamocvl is Semdeg daadgina Sei qmnas qarTul i erovnul i erTobis organizacia programaSi aRniSnul i principi bsa da gegmis mixedviT. arCeul aRmasrul ebel organos komitets eval eba am ideebis propaganda qarTvel Ta Soris da momaval Si ac yvel a pol itikurad da moral urad saRi adami anebis gaerTi anebis aTvis muSaobis gagrZel eba.- am rezoluciidan gamomdinare, principul ad ismeba ki Txva Turas warmoadgenda organizacia_ `qarTul i erovnul i erTobis- samoqmedo programa. dasmul ki Txvaze pasuxs nawil obrivad gazeT `qarTul azrSi- dabeWdil i imave organizaciis programis proeqti iZi eva. masSi muxl obrivadaa CamoTvl il i saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos damouki debl obis aRdgenis SemTxvevaSi mi si mowyobisa da usafrTxoebis garanti ebis Sesaqmnel ad saWi ro RonisZiebebi. konkretul adaa miTiTebul i sofli is meurneobisa da Sromis organizaciis mowyobis, ganaTl ebisa da rel igi is, vaWroba- mrewvel obisa da ucxoetsi muSaobis Sesaxeb gasatarebel RonisZiebaTa vrcel i nusxa.

marTal ia, sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i da im etapze qarTul i emigraciis wi naSe wamoWril TiTqmis yvel a mni Svnel ovan sferos moicavda, magram, Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciidan da emigraciul i cxovrebi s udi desi gamocdi- l ebidan gamomdinare, dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul ebaSi, gadamwyveti rol i organizaciis l iderTa avtoritetsa da zneobriobas eni Weboda. mi Tumetes, I .dumbaZisa da mi s gverdiT mdgom adami anebTan mi marTebaSi, gansakuTrebul i kritikul i damokidebul eba `saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis amerikul sabWos- gaaCnda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs am organizaciis saxel iT 1956 wl is 12 marts niu- iorkSi dabeWdil i vrcel i gancxadeba. es 7 gverdiani dokumenti, I .dumbaZisa da mi si j gufis saqmi anobis umkacres kritikas Sei cavs. am fonze, 7 punqtadaa CamoTvl il i is ZiriTadi mi zezebi, ris gamoc `saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis sabWo- SeuZi ebl ad Tvl ida I .dumbaZis j gufTan pol itikur TanamSroml obas. amasTan dakavSi rebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `1) `saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis sabWos- ar surs_ arc aqvs amis ufl eba Tavisi nebiT iTanamSroml os, mi Tumetes gaerTi andes iseT j gufTan romel ic: 1) gaurboda saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis pirdapir aRiarebas; 2) mi si sami pasuxi smgebel i wevri moxsnil i iyo saxel mwi fo samsaxuridan pol itikuri da moral uri undobl obis gamo; 3) 1953 wl is 26 mai ss, saj arod Seuracyves q.Col o yaSvil i da mi si razmi. isini `qaTmis qurdebad- moixsenies, xol o prof. zaval iSvil s fizikuri Seuracyofa mi ayenes; 4) abezRebdenen patiosan qarTvel ebs da fexqveS Tel avdnen adami anis ufl ebebs; 5) 1921 wl is saqarTvel os okupaciis Seswavl isa da Sesabamisi daskvnis gakeTebis mi zniT, aSS- is kongresis mier C.kerstenis Tavmj domareobiT Seqmnil komisi as, I .dumbaZis

j gufma mowmeebad mxol od berl in-mi unxenis j gufis wevrebi warudgi na da sxva aravin.- es faqti, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenis j gufis mier danaSaul ebriv qmedebad imi tom CaiTval a,rom l .dumbaZis j gufis wevrebma `TavianT CvenebaSi... mraVal j er gamoamJRavnes sakiTxis srul i ucodinaroba, an susti codna, dauSves ramdenime uxeSi, mZime Secdoma da ficisqveS komi tets miawodes ramdenime yal bi cnoba mavne qarTvel i xal xisaTvis da amerikis sazogadoeebrivi azris SecdomaSi Semyvani! zogierTma mowmem ise Sestopa tyuil ebSi, rom unobl ied gamoamJRavna Tavi, rogorc saeWvo warsul is mqonem saqarTvel oSi.~¹⁰

zemoaRni Snul i bral debidan gamodinare, amerikul i sabWos wevrebs, l .dumbaZis j gufTan urTierToba dauSvebl ad miacnda. mi Tumetes, imave sabWos mier gavrcel ebul gancxadebaSi motanil i faqtebi, berl in- mi unxenis j gufs saeWvo reputaciis mqoned, xol o TviT l .dumbaZes, am j gufis survil ebis monur Semsrul ebl ad miicnevda. amis Sesaxeb imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT; `mTel i ubedureba imaSia, rom l .dumbaZis gamoucdel oba pol itikursa da sazogadoebriv saqmi anobaSi, gansakuTrebi T misi susti nebiyofa, borotad gamoiyena erTma patara j gufma romel - sac... pirobiTad `berl in- mi unxenis- j gufs vuwodebT. am j gufma... amerikaSi Casvl istanave moiwadina `yvel afris xel Si Cagdeba- pirvel i ierisi miitana l .dumbaZeze... igi gaxda maTi yurmoWril i mona da brma iaraRi maT xel Si.- Tavisi poziciis si sworeSi sazogadoebis darwmunebis mi zni T, imave dokumentSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i im mavnebl uri saqmi anobis Sesaxeb, romel sac `berl in- mi unxenis- j gufis wevrebi eweodnen ameriku- l i sabWos wi naaRmdeg. amerikul i sabWos zemoaRni Snul gancxadebaSi amis damadasturebel i faqtebic iyo motanil i.

imave dokumentSi asaxul i faqtobrivi masal is mixedviT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas l .dumbaZis pol itikur sarbiel ze gamosvl isa da saqmi anobis safexurebrivi istoria iqcevs. niu iorkSi 1950 wl is 5 seqtembers Seqmnil `qarTvel amerikel Ta l igaSi- (Tavmj domare Teimuraz bagrationi, moadgi- l e pavl e kvaracxel ia, mdivani givi kobaxiZe) l .dumbaZec Sedioda. 1951 wl is 25 noembers, berl in- mi unxenis j gufis orma wevrma l .dumbaZe mi im- xres da aRni Snul i l igis mmarTvel oba Cai gdes xel Si. 1952 wl is 22 ivni ss, `berl in- mi unxenis- j gufis wevrTa Zal isxmeviT, l igis axal i gamgeoba iqna arCeul i da am saqmeSi l .dumbaZis maqsimal uri mxardaWera mi i Res. ma- Ti mxridan gadadgmul i yovel i nabij i, amerikul i sabWos wi naaRmdeg daund- obel i brZol is el fers atarebda. am sakiTxTan mi marTebaSi, `saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWos- gancxadebis Semdgenl ebi, `berl in- mi unxenis- j gufisa da l .dumbaZis mi marT xazgasmiT wer dnen, rom maT mi zans wadmoadgenda `amerikel ebi saTvis `daemtkebi na,- rom qarTvel Ta Soris aravinaa am j gufis garda moRvawe da saqmis gamZRol i da amitom... amerikel ebma mas unda mi marTon rogorc qarTul i saqmis `eqsperts- da qarTul i erovnul i saqmis `meTaurus.- mosal odnel i konkurentis gamocenis Tavidan asacil ebl ad, es j gufi ar erideboda araviTar saSual ebebs- dawyebul s provokaciebiTa da intrigebiT gaTavebul s utifari moqmedeb- iT... es muqarebi swored l .dumbaZis piriT iTqmoda: `gagasamarTI ebT!- `gagyriT saTvistomodan da gadagasaxl ebT amerikidan!- aseT si tyvebs eubneboda l .dumbaZe `mowi naaRmdegeebis- vi Tomda maT dasaSi nebl ad. ase

aswavl es mas `berl in- mi unxenis- wevrebma, daaSine da veraafers gabe-
daveno! `berl in- mi unxenis- j gufi nacistur germaniaSi marTI ac aseTI
daSinebiT, gestapoTI zurg gamagrebul i xSiraT aRwevda mi zans.-

am amonaweridan kargad Cans Tu ras warmoadgenda `berl in- mi unxenis-
j gufi. saqmi anobis ra skol a hqonda gavl il i da faqtobrivad emsaxurebo-
da Tu ara igi aSS- i mcxovrebe qarTvel Ta pol itikurad gaerTianebas da
sabWoTa imperiisadmi dasapirispirebel i safexuris momzadebas. dokumen-
turi masal iT dasturdeba rom es j gufi pirvel obisaTvis ibrZoda da qa-
rTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xel Semwyobi muSaobis
aRmavl obis gziT gagrZel ebis Semaferxebel barriers qmni da. Tavisi saqmi-
anobis Sesani Rbavad da aSS- i avtoritetis gasazrdel ad, `qarTul - amerikul i
l l i ga- Seqmnes, romel mac 1953 wl is 12 april s sagangebo ganxadebiT mi mar-
Ta aSS-i mcxovrebe qarTvel ebs, rom `qarTvel - amerikel Ta l l i ga, amerikaSi
mcxovrebi yvel a qarTvel Ta saerTo pol itikuri organizaciaao.- dokumen-
turi masal iT ar dasturdeba, rom am organizacias 1956 wl amde raime mni-
Svnel ovani saqmeebi ekeTebinos da rac mTavaria, qarTvel Ta pol itikuri
gaerTianeba moexdinos. ramdenadac am uaRresad mniSvnel ovani sakiTxis
adgil idan daZvra ver SeZl o, organizacia faqtiurad pol itikurad gako-
trda. swored amIT unda yofil iyo ganpirobepul i arsebul i krizidan
gamosvl is mi zniT, `berl in- mi unxenis j gufisa da l l i .dumbaZis mxridan `ero-
vnul i erTobis organizaciis- Seqmnis mcdel obisken gadadgmul i zemoaRniS-
nul i nabij i. isini Segnebul ad ar uwevdnen angariSs da ignori rebas ukeTebd-
nen 1952 wel s aSS- i Seqmni l l i `saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis ame-
rikul i sabWos- arsebobas. da rac mTavaria, am organizaciasTan yovel gva-
ri saxis urTierTobas Segnebul ad Zabavdnen.

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom `saqarTvel os damouki debl o-
bis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWos- wevrebis ZiriTadi debul ebebi, aSS- i
arsebul i qarTvel Ta pol itikur da upartio organizaciaTa gaerTianebas
isaxavda mi znad. amis utyuar dadasturebas am organizaciis wesdebi s #
4 muxl is # 1, 2, 4 paragrafebi warmoadgens. amis sail ustraci od, aRniS-
nul i muxl ebis Sesabamisi paragrafebis teqsts SevTavazeb mkiTxvel
sazogadoebas da Tavad gansaj os misi Rirseba. muxl i # 4: ` \$ 1. `saqarTve-
l os damouki debl obis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWo- xel s uwyobs da ex-
mareba yvel a amerikul organizaciebs, romel Ta mizani aris da iqneba
momaval Siac- bol Sevizmisa da msofi io komunizmis damxoba, wiTel i
ruseTis mier dapyrobi l i yvel a erebis ganTavisufl eba, maTi damouki de-
bl obis avtomaturad aRdgena da im erebis aTvis damouki debl obis mi ni-
Webas, romel nic amis survil s gamoTqvamen; \$2. `saqarTvel os damouki de-
bl obis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWo- TanamSroml obs sazRvargareT myof
saqarTvel os kanonier mTavrobasTan... da surs xel i Seuwyos saqarTve-
l os damouki debl obis aRdgenisaTvis brZol aSi... \$ 4. `saqarTvel os
damouki debl obis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWo- mWi dro urTierTobas am-
yarebs wiTel i ruseTis mier dapyrobi l erTa pol itikur organizacie-
bTan amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi, romel nic Tavianti damouki debl o-
bisa da Tavisufl ebis ni adagze dganan.-¹¹

aRniSnul i wesdebiT gaTval iswinebul i princi pebis umkacresad dacvis
mi uxedavad, qarTvel Ta pol itikuri Zal ebis aSS- i gaerTianeba `saqarTve-

I os damouki debl obis aRdgenis amerikul ma sabWom- ver SeZl o. es sakiTxi qarTul i emigraciis mousyidvel i da saRad moazrovne pol itikuri speq- tris winaSe gadauwyvetel i darCa. TiTqmis anal ogiuri mdgomareoba iyo dasavl eT evropaSi arsebul i qarTul i emigraciis winaSedac. amis Sesani S- nav dadasturebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvarg- areTul i organizaciebis 1957 wl is 19 oqtombris yril obis masal ebi war- moadgens. gansakuTrebul yuradRebas k.kandel akis moxseneba- `cveni yo- faqceva samSobl os ganTavisufl ebisaTvis brZol aSi- iqcevs. am uaRresad mniSvnel ovan dokumentSi dasabuTebul i formiTaa warmodgenil i urTierT dapi rispirebis is formebi, romel ic evropis qarTul i emigraciis rigebsi arsebobda. es faqti, k.kandel aks, qarTul i emigraciis erT pol itikur orga- nizaciaSi gaerTianebs xel SemSl el ZiriTad pirobad miaCnda. am fonze ganixil avda igi `mamebsa da Svil ebs- (Zvel sa da axal Taobas) Soris da- piri spirebis ganmapirobel mizezebs. arsebul i pol itikuri situaciis swori anal izidan gamomdinare, orive Taobis codnis samSobl os ganTavisu- fl ebisTvis brZol is samsaxurSi Cayenebas, k.kandel aki upirvel es moval eo- bad miicnevda. `uTanxmoeba, romel ic arsebobs- ambobda igi- emigraciaSi, ar aris Cveul ebrivi dava `mamebsa da Svil ebs- Soris, radgan aq maT yofs ara Jami, ara sxvadasxva epoqis garemocul oba. aerTeb ki erTi da igive saSinel eba, dawyebul i `mamebis- dros da dRemdis rom grZel deba. am tom, maT erTader- Ti saqme aqvT, erTi da igive daniSnul eba, yvel a TaobisTvis Zvirfasi da misaRebi: samSobl os ganTavisufl eba. amiTvis saWi roa sinTezi da gaerTi- aneba am niadagze sxvadasxva Sexedul ebaTa da ara maTi dapi rispireba.- aq sakiTxi sworadaa dasmul i im Tval sazrisiT, rom Tuki emigraciaSi myo- fi sxvadasxva mimarTul ebis pol itikur daj gufebes mi znad saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba hqondaT dasaxul i, okupanti qveynis wi naaRmdeg sabrZol ve- l ad da mi znis mi saRwevad, Zal Ta konsol idaci aze unda daTanxmebul iyvnen. am mimarTul ebit nabjis gadadgmis aucil ebl oba, yvel a pol itikuri mim- dinareobis l ideris moval eobas warmoadgenda. k.kandel akis zemoaRni Snu- l i moxsenebis ZiriTadi debul ebebi am principe iyo dafuznebul i. imave yril obis mier mi Rebul i dadgenil ebidan, ZiriTadi maTgani erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis da samSobl os damouki debl obis xel Sem- wyobi meqanizms Seqmnis aucil ebl obas isaxavda mi znad. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) yofil i erovnul i mTavrobis, rogorc saqarTvel os damouki de- bl obis kanonieri warmomadgenl ebisadmi mxardaWera da gverdsi dgomis gamocxadeba; 2) mWi dro kavSiris damyarebis survil is gamoTqma yvel a im saerTaSoriso organizaciebtan da pol itikur Zal ebTan, roml ebi c sa- qarTvel os damouki debl obis aRsadgenad ibrZodnen sabWoTa xel isu- fl ebis wi naaRmdeg, cnobden qarTvel i eris suverenul ufl ebaTa mis- wrafebebs; 3) qarTvel i eris interesebi dan gamomdinare, mxardaWeras ucx- adebdnen mezobel i kavkasiis erebtan mWi dro urTierTobis damyarebas da erTobl ivi Zal ebit sabWoTa imperiis wi naaRmdeg brZol as. yovel ive aRniSnul is miuxedavad, yril obis monawil e del egatebis ZiriTad sa- fiqral s, erovnul i frontis Seqmna warmoadgenda, radgan aseTi organi- zacia dasaxul i mi znis mtkice fundamentad hqondaT moazrebul i. `kon- ferencia adgens- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- mi Rebul i iqnas gadamWrel i zomebi emigraciaSi myofi yvel a pol itikuri Zal ebis ama Tu im formiT

erT organoSi gasaerTianebl ad. vinc TavianTi rwmeniT, programiT, moR-
vaweobiT emsaxureba demokratiul i respubl ikis aRdgenas, i brZvian sa-
qarTvel osTvis warTmeul i konstituciuri ufl ebebis mosapovebl ad,
aval ebs biuros gadadgas amis gansaxorciel ebl ad saTanado nabij i.-

Cems mier motanil i am amonaweris mixedviT kargad Cans qarTul i emigra-
ciis social - demokratiul i frTis l iderTa mxridan antisabWouri saqmi-
nobis xel mZRvanel obis makoordinirebel i organos Seqmnis mcdel oba. am
mxriv, garkveul i formiT wingadadgmul nabij ad unda CaiTval os qarTul i
emigraciis pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianeblis mizniT, 1958 wl is ivni ss Semu-
Savebul i ori umniSvnel ovanesi dokumenti: 1) qarTul i erovnul i cen-
tris proeqti. qarTul i erovnul i pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianeblisa-
Tvis mTavari debul ebebi - da 2) pol itikuri muSaobis princi pebi. - ram-
denadac orive maTgani erT ZiriTad daniSnul ebas emsaxureboda, TiToeu-
l i maTganis mizneblisa da amocaneblis Sesaxeb umniSvnel ovanesi ganacxadis
gadmocema_ mi zanSewoni l ad mi maCni a.

rac Seexeba `erovnul i centris proeqts,~ igi ori nawil isagan Sedge-
ba: 1) momaval i organizaciis mizani da 2) moqmedebis ZiriTadi wesebi.

1) organizaciis mizani: a) qarTul i erovnul i emigraciis mTavar mizans,
komunui sturi tiraniis daSl a, ruseTis batonobis gan saqarTvel os ganTa-
visufl eba da misi saxel mwifoebri vi suvereni tetis aRdgena war moadgenda;
b) komunisturi diqtaturis qveS myofi rusis eris pol itikuri da social -
uri Cagvris gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa imperiis sxva erebis
Tavisufl ebisaTvis brZol as, gadamwyvet momentSi igi mxardaWeras gamouc-
adebda; g) Cagrul i erebis sasicocxl o Zal ebis mobil izaciisaTvis da saerTo
ganmaTavisufl ebel i frontisadmi mxardasaWerad, propagandiTa da sxva Se-
satyvisi saSual ebebiT, dasavl eTis saxel mwifoebis aqtiuri CarTva unda
moexdinaT; d) qarTul pol itikur partiebS da organizaciebS, roml ebi c Ca-
grul i erebis interesebiT da qarTul i erovnul i sakiTxiT xel mZRvanel obd-
nen, pol itikuri dogmeblisa da doqtrinis gareSe, saqarTvel os damouki de-
bl obis droSiT, erT umaRI es organoSi unda gaerTianebul iyvnen; e) saqa-
rTvel os suverenul i saxel mwifos saerTaSoriso ufl ebebis aRsadgenad,
eris srul damouki debl obamde mi sayvanad da rusul i sabWouri okupaciis-
gan Tavis dasaRwevad, pol itikuri partiebS bazaze `saqarTvel os damouki de-
bl obis komi teti - unda Seqmnil iyo.

2) organizaciis ZiriTadi wesebi: a) axl adSeqmnil organizacias, yvel a
pol itikuri partiebS da dargobrivi profesiis special istebis gaerTianeba
unda moexdina. mis bazaze Seqmnil umaRI es xel mZRvanel organos, erovnul -
ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis da brZol is xel mZRvanel obaze pasuxi smge-
bl oba aeRo; b) dasaxul i mizniSvis, Sesabamisi ideol ogiuri bazis mosa-
mzadebl ad gamoyenebul i unda yofil iyo radio, presa, dipl omatiuri da
sxva saSual ebebi. aRniSnul i organo mxol od im qveynebs unda dakavSi re-
boda, roml ebi c rusul imperial izmsa da bol Sevizms ebrZodnen, scnobdnen
saqarTvel os damouki debl obas; g) `saqarTvel os damouki debl obis komi teti-
tis - mTel i saqmi anoba, saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebaze, erovnul i princi pebis
dacvaze, suverenul i saxel mwifos aRdgenaze, kavkasiis sammezobel erebT-
an SeTanxmebaze, gaerTianebul i Tavisufal i kavkasiis ideis ganxorciel e-
baze da saerTo kavkasiuri organos Seqmnaze unda yofil iyo orientirebu-

l i ; d) `saqarTvel os damouki debl obis komi tets,- mxol od im saerTaSoriso organizaciebis muSaobaSi unda mieRo monawil eoba, roml ebic saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebri obas, mis suvereni tets scnobda, mxars uWerda sabWoTa ruseTis imperiis winaaRmdog brZol as da erebis Tavisufl ebis ideas.

am dokumentis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, qarTul i emigraciis erT nawil s, qveynis Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad konkretul i xasiaTis debul ebebi hqonda SemuSavebul i. aucil ebl obas, misadmi pol itikuri Zal ebis mxardaWera da Cafiqrebul i komi tetis Seqmna warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, ZiriTad ganmsazRvrel faqtorad, Si da dapirispirebis barieris daZl eva iTvl eboda. es mourCenel i seni, qarTul i emigraciis Tandayol il Tvi sebad gadaiqca. martal ia, yovel i maTgani, ganurCevl ad pol itikuri mimarTul ebisa, saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebaze saubrobd, magram, roca Teoriul ad momzadebul i sakiTxi pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebis zRvr amde mi vidoda, am momentSi iCenda Tavs partiaTa Soris pol itikuri ufskrul i da warmatebul ad dawyebul i saqmis bol omde miyvana SeuZl ebel i xdeboda. anal ogiuri bedi xvda wil ad aRniSnul wamowyebasac.

Cems mier mikvl eul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT, pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTiamnebis da erTiani frontis Seqmnis mi znit, qarTul i emigraciis l iderTa mier 1960 wel s `pol itikuri muSaobis princi pebi~ iqna SemuSavebul i. mi uxedavad imisa, rom igi wina dokumentis zogierT sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi identuria, aris mTel i rigi ganmasxvavebel i princi pebi, roml ebic SedarebiT ufro pragmatul xasiaTs atarebs da im periodis emigraciis Sesazl ebl obebs maqsimal urad iTval iswinebs. es dokumenti pirobiTad or nawil ad SeiZl eba gaiyos: **1)axal i organizaciis miznebi da amocanebi da 2)organi zaciis mowyobis princi pi.**

rac Seexeba pirvel sakiTxs_ **1)organi zaciis miznebsa da amocanebs**, dokumentSi 5 punqtadaa warmodgenil i da masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegnairad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes; a) pol itikuri partiebhis SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze Seqmnil i erTiani pol itikuri centri_ `qarTul i emigraciul i demokratiul i erovnul i fronti,- saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis aRdgenas isaxavda mi znad; b)axl adSeqmnil organizacias, urTierToba unda daemyarebina evropis da amerikis demokratiul mmarTvel wreebTan, sabWoTa kavSirSi Semaval da damonebul erebTan, TviT ruseTis demokratiul wreebTan, roml ebic komunisturi diqtaturis winaaRmdogibrZodnen da scnobdnen saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebas; g)`qarTul i emigraciul i demokratiul i fronti~ finansurad sxva saxel mwi foebze ar unda yofil iyo damokidebul i. misi arseboba Semowirul obebiT Semosul Tanxas unda dafuZneboda. mas aSkara da Ria pol itikuri muSaoba unda ewarmoebina da aliansSi ar Sesul iyo ama Tu im samxedro organizaciebTan.

2)organi zaciis princi pebi: a)`qarTul i emigraciul i demokratiul i erovnul i fronti,- rogorc emigraciis uzenaesi organo, ufl ebamosil i unda yofil iyo sxva erebTan da saxel mwi foebTan daemyarebina urTierToba; b)aRniSnul i organizaciis umaRl es organod unda gamocxadebul iyo: **1)pol itikuri kol egia**, romel ic partiaTa warmomadgenl obiT dakompl eqtdeboda da umaRl esi organos funqciis Semsrul ebel i iqneboda. mas yvel a ZiriTadi da princi pul i sakiTxebi unda gadaewyvi ta. moexdina biuj etis damtkiceba, misi asrul ebis kontrol i, aRmasrul ebel i komi tetis da sxva warmoma-

dgenl ebi s arÇeva; 2) aRmasrul ebel i komitetis Semadgenl oba 10 wevriT gansazRvrul iyo. misi moval eoba mxol od kol egiis dadgenil ebebis Sesrul ebiT Semofargl ul iyo; g) SeTanxmeba Zal aSi im SemTxvevaSi Sevidoda, Tuki mas SeTanxmebis yvel a pol itikuri partieb is da organizaciebis wevrebi moawerdnen xel s.

imave dokumentis mixedviT, qarTul i emigraciul i demokratiul i erovnu- l i fronti- Semdegi organizaciebis gaerTianebebs isaxavda miznad: **sa- frangeTSi arsebul i organizaciebi**: 1) nacional - demokratebis partia, 2) so- cial ist- federal iste bis partia, 3) mweral Ta kavSiri, 4) samxedro kavSiri, 5) Tavisufal qarTvel Ta kavSiri, 6) qarTul i kol onia, 7) TeTri giorgis- gaerTianeba, 8) axal i Taobis demokratiul i organizacia. **sxva qveynebSi arsebul i organizaciebi**: 1) mi unxenis qarTul i kol onia; 2) radio Tavisu- fl ebi s reda qcia; 3) l ondonis qarTul i kol onia; 4) soSis qarTul i kol o- nia da social - demokratiul i organizacia; 6) l ondonis partiul i orga- nizacia social - demokratebis.

mi uxedavad imisa, rom es dokumenti ganxil vas eqvemdebareboda da conse- susze dafuZnebul i cvl il ebebis Setanis SesaZl ebl oba iyo daSvebul i, masSi dasmul i ZiriTadi debul ebebis Sesaxeb msjel oba ar momxdara. am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul i emigraciis garkveul ma nawil ma, ambiciuroba ufro maRI a daayena, vinem pol itikur Zal Ta konsolidacia da garkveul i pretenziebidan gamomdinare, erTiani frontiT sabWoTa xel isufl ebi s wi naaRmdeg brZol aze uari ganacxada. amis udao dadasturebas organi- zacia TeTri giorgis- da social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebs Soris oficial urad gagzavnil weril ebSi gamoTqmul i pretenziebi warmoadgens. rac Seexeba TeTri giorgis- organizaciis mTavari samdi- vnos mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel obi- sadmi gagzavnil (1967 wl is 20 agvisto) weril s, masSi gatarebul i ZiriTa- di debul eba SemdegSi mdgomareobda: a) pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTianebis saqmes, ramdenadac saTaveSi noe cincaZe edga, misi pirovneba TeTri giorgis- organizaciis wevrebi sTvis mi uRebel i aRmoCnda; b) am poziciis gamarTl eb- is motivad, n.cincaZis TiTqosda rusofil obas asaxel ebdnen; g) imave weri- l idan, aRniSnul i organizaciis wevrTa gansakuTrebul i ambiciurobac ikveT- eba: Cveni organizacia- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- mudam pirvel rigSi idga qarTul i emigraciis gaerTianebis saqmeSi-... dokumenturi masal iT dadas- turebul ia, pol itikur Zal Ta Turadonis gaerTianebas- eweoda 1925 wl i- dan Seqmnil i faSisturi ideol ogiis mimdevari TeTri giorgis- organi- zaciis wevrebi. misi warsul idan gamomdinare, am organizaciis l iderTa gansakuTrebul i pretenziul oba, qarTul i emigraciis ZiriTadi nawil isa da maT Soris social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebi sTvisac mi uRebe- l i iyo. amis udao dadasturebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis sazRvargareTul i biuros mier 1967 wl is 20 seqtembers, TeTri giorgis- samdivnosadmi gagzavnil i sapasuxo weril i warmoadgens. masSi dasabuTebul i pasuxia gacemul i n.cincaZis mimarT gamoTqmul usafuZvl o bral debebze da xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i: aseTi Tavdasxmebi qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis cnobil aqtiur pirovnebebze pirvel i ar aris Cve- ni qveynis mtrebis mier. samwuxar oa, rom aseTive Tavdasxmas dRes adgil i aqvs emigraciaSi arsebul i j gufebi sgan. imave weril ze P.S.-is saxiT darT-

ul damatebaSi vkiTxul obT: `pol itikuri emigraciis rigebis Sekvris da simtkicis mizniT, mudmivi mWidro kontakTis saSual ebiT, am weril is asl ebTan TandarTul ia parizis social - demokratiul i organizaciis sazogado kre-baze erTxmad miRebul i dadgenil eba, romel sac... aqvs saerTo pol itikuri emigraciis xasiaTi da aris nakarnaxevi saokupacio xel isufli ebis mier gaZl ierebul i SemoteviT_ pol itikuri emigraciis likvidaciis mizniT.- xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom saqarTvel oSi anti sabWouri moZraobis gaaq-ti urebi dan gamomdinare, sabWoTa kavSiris xel isufal T, qarTul i emigraci- is arseboba, erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis saqarTvel oSi gaaq- ti urebis faqtorad mi aCnda. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis daSl a, pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidaciisadmi xel SeSl a, sabWoTa uSiSroebis interesebSi Sedioda. Tuki qarTul i emigraciis SemorCenil i pol itikuri Zal ebis namsxvrevebis erTian makoordinirebel formatSi gaerTianeba ver moxerxdeboda, es faqti, yvel aze metad sabWoTa xel isufli ebisTvis iyo mi- saRebi. daqsagsul ad moqmedi emigraciis pol itikur Zal ebs, saqarTvel os erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis gareadan xel mZRvanel obis, an mi- admi gansakuTrebul i mxardaWeris funqcia daekargeboda. samwuxarod, sab- WoTa uSiSroebis Sesabamisi uwyebis aqtiuri moqmedebisa da qarTul emi- graciaSi pol itikuri Zal ebis urTierTdapirispirebi dan gamomdinare, qarTu- l i emigraciis pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidacia 1970 wel sac SeuZl ebe- l i gaxda.

Cems mier motanil i masal ebi da misi anal izi Semdegi daskvnebis gake- Tebis SesaZl ebl obas izl eva: 1)meore msofil io omis damTavrebis Semdeg, kapital isturi qveynebis kol oniuri sistemis rRvebis sapisrispirod, sa- bWouri imperiisadmi daqvemdebarebul i saxel mwifoebis raodenobis mkve- Tri zrdis procesi, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis pol itikuri el itis xel Sewyobam ganapiroba. maT mier SemuSavebul i formul irebebi: a)`vaWroba kanibal istebTanac SeiZl eba~; b)`mraval patara saxel mwifoebTan saq- mis daWeras, erT mTl ian saxel mwifostan sj obs saqmis daWera~; g)`da- savl eTisa- da `aRmosavl eTis- reJimebis Tanaarsebobis SesaZl ebl obis garduval oba, merkantil izmis principiye iyo dafuznebul i da `pol iti- kuri arSiyobis~ garegnul formas atarebda. dokumenturi masal iT das- turdeba, rom dasavl eT evropis l iderTa pol itikurad gameZavebul i kursi, sabWoTa imperiis Semadgenl obaSi moqceul i dapyrobil i erebis monobaSi yofnis gaxangrZl ivebas, imave imperiis pol itikurad da eko- nomikurad aRmasvl is safexuris Seqmnas ganapirobebda; 2)patara erebi- sadmi zemoaRniSnul i indiferentul i damokidebul ebis miuxedavad, qvey- nis xsnisa da mxardaWeris sferoSi, qarTul i emigracia iseve evropis ime- dad rCeboda. maT gacnobiebul i hqondaT, rom sabWoTa ruseTis wi naaRm- deg brZol aze uaris Tqma, eris ufl ebebze xel is aRebas da saqarTvel o- Si gamefebul i reJimisadmi Seguebis tol fas qmedebas warmoadgenda. aseTi nabiji, emigraciis axal TaobaSi, erovnul i sakiTxisadmi nihil i- zms daamkvidrebda da rac mTavaria, qarTvel ers Tavisufli ebis mopove- bisadmi rwmnas daakargvinebda. aseT urTul es pirobebSi, qarTul i emi- graciais mxridan kompromisze arwasvl am da samarTl ebrivi brZol is gagrZel ebaze uaris arTqmam, saerTaSoriso ufl ebebis sferodan aramo- Sl is da ucxo saxel mwifos batonobisadmi Seurigebl obis myari safex-

uris SenarCunebis xel Semwyobi funqcia Seasrul a; 3) sabWoTa uSi Sroeb-
 is Sesabamisi uwyebebis mier qarTul i emigraciis winaarMdeg ganxorci-
 el ebul i warmatebul i RonisZiebebis gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, qar-
 rTul i emigraciis Setxel ebul i rigebis gaerTianebis da konsesusze
 dafuznebul i samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebis aucil ebl oba, swor gadaw-
 yvetil ebas warmoadgenda. qarTul i emigraciis winaarMdeg evropis qvey-
 nebsi moqmedi `antisabWouri- fsevdo opoziciuri organizaciebis da
 j gufebis gaaqtiureba, evropis saxel mwifoTa l iderebis xel Semwyobi
 pol itikuri kursiTiyo ganpirobebul i. qarTul i emigraciis gasaerTi-
 anebel i sakoordinacio organos Seqmnis sakiTxis dayeneba, mimdinare
 pol itikur procesebs srul ad Seesabameboda. cal keul saxel mwifoebSi
 myofi qarTvel i emigrantebis adgil obriv organizaciebSi gaerTianebi-
 sadmi upiratesobis miniWeba, sakomunikacio da finansuri sirTul eebis
 gaTval iswinebaze iyo dafuznebul i; 4) `saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis
 amerikul i sabWosgan, `qarTul i erovnul i erTobis- organizaciisadmi
 dapirispireba, am organizaciis samxil ma dokumenturma masal ebma da
 `berlin- mi unxenis- saeWvo reputaciis mqone j gufisadmi daqvemdebare-
 bam ganpiroba. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia da saqarTvel os sinamd-
 vil e, qarTul i emigraciis l iderebisgan piradi ambiciebis daZl evas
 da Zal Ta konsolidaciaze daTanxmeebas moiTxovda. am sasicocxl o mniS-
 vnel obis probl emis mogvarebas iTval iswinebda `qarTul i erovnul i
 centris proeqti, qarTul i erovnul i pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianebi-
 sTvis mTavari debul ebebi- da `pol itikuri muSaobis princi pebis- sapro-
 gramo miTitebebi. qarTul i emigraciis garkveul i nawilis (`TeTri gior-
 gi-) mier partiul i interesebis erovnul ze maRI a dayenebam da am doku-
 mentebis ZiriTadi sakiTxebis ganxil vis ignori rebam, sabWoTa xel is-
 fl ebis winaarMdeg erTiani frontis Seqmnis xel SemSiel i faqtoris
 roli Seasrul a.

\$. 2. antisabWoTa gamosvl ebi da qarTul i emigracia

omis Semdegi periodis umkacresi represiebis da gadasaxl ebebis, adami-anebze fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedebis da dasinebis formebs gamoyenebis miuxedavad, Tavmoyvareobis, Rirsebis da erovnul icnobierebis amoSanTva qarTvel ebSi ver SeZl es. Tuki 1951- 1955 wl ebis qarTvel i axal gazrdobis politikiuri cxovreba garegnul ad mdore mdinaris dinebas waagavda, es srul ebItac ar niSnavda, rom sabWoTa total itarul ma reJimma sawadel s miaRwiada qarTvel obas erovnul Tavisufli ebaze fiqri daakargvina. am SemTxvevasi, gadamwyvet rols ori faqtori gansazRvravda: 1)ssrk- Si da dasavl eTis qveynebsi mimdinare politikiuri procesebis gaTval iswineba, qarTvel axalgazrdobas TavSekavebis aucil ebl obas karnaxobda; 2)i.stal inis gardacval ebis (1953 wl is 5 marti) da berias dpatimrebis (1953 wl is 26 ivnisi) Semdeg, represiebul Ta reabilitaciis (1953_ 1954 wl ebi) RonisZi ebebi, qveynis garegnul i liberal izaciisa da demokratiis dawyebis STabeWdil ebas qmni da axal ixel isufli eba_n.xruScovis meTaurobiT, kacTmoyvareobis wamosasxamit moqmedebda, rac qveynis axal gazrdobaze garkveul ideol ogiur zemoqmedebas axdenda. yovel ive zemoarNiSnulis miuxedavad, qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi gasaocari sizul vil iar Secvl il a. rusi Cinovnikebi, i.stal inis 30 wliani da l .berias mmarTvel obis Sedegebze pasuxismgebl obas- qarTvel ers akisrebda. qarTvel TamimarT gadmosrol ili daumsaxurebeli bral debebi, eris wonasworobidan gamoyvanaze da SurisZiebis safexuris momzadebaze iyo gaTval ili. moskovSi dagegmil am provokaciul qmedebas, qarTul i emigracia droul ad gamoexmaura da Sesabamisi sainformacio saSual ebebiT qarTvel oba gaafRTxil a. saqme exeboda spontanurad antisabWoTa gamosvl ebTan mimarTebaSi TavSekavebas, xruScovisa damisi garemocvisatvis qarTvel ebze SurisZiebis sababis ar micemas.

im periodSi mimdinare politikiur sakiTxebze gamoqveynebul samecniero SromebSi da emigraciul presaSi dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi, gamokveTili formiTaa nacvenebi is sapirispirosizul vil i, romel sac qarTvel oba rusuli Sovinisturi politikis mimarT icenda. am masal ebis miXedvit, qarTvel ebSi Sinagani saprotesto muxti imdenad aal ebad safexurze iyo, rom mtkivneul nervze fexis daWerit misi amoqmedeba garduval i xdeboda. am mxriv, gadamwyveti roli skkp XX yril obam (1956 wl is 14 - 25 Teberval i) Seasrul a. mXedvel obaSi maqvs i.stal inis pirovnebis kul tisa damisi mavne Sedegebis daZl evis Sesaxeb n.xruScovis mier partiis XX yril obaze gakeTebuli moxseneba da Sesabamisi rezol ucia. marTalia, arcerTi maTgani im periodis presaSi ar gamoqveynebul a, magram, maTi Sinaarsi mal eve gaxda cnobili. samecniero literaturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom meore msofli o omis Semdeg, i.stal inis saxeli qarTul i sazogadoebis didi nawil isaTvis erovnuli siamayis simbol od iqca. aqedan gamo mdinare, misi moulo dnel i kritika, qarTvel i eris didma nawil ma, erovnul Seuracyofad da damcrobad mi iRo. mi Tumetes, i.stal inis winaaRmdeg brZola iseTi formi mimdinareobda, rom 30 - 40- ian wl ebSi Cadenili yvel a borotebis Semoqmedad erTi pirovneba iqna gamocxadebul i, romlis erovnebas xazgasmit miuTitebdnen. arafers ambobdnen pirovnebis kul tis Seqmnis safexuris Semamzadebel partiis mcdar kursze. i.stal inis pirovnebis kul tis kritikam icval ebul is angari-

Ssworebis saxe mi iRo, xol o sistema xel uxl ebel i datova.¹ yovel ive es, i.stal inis gardacval ebis 3 wl isTavs daemTxva. ramdenadac, qarTvel i axal gazrdebis erT nawil Si stal inis pirovneba gafetiSebul i formiTiyo aRqmul i, qarTul i tradiciis Sesabamisad, Tbil isis stal inis saxel obis universitetis studentebi yovel i wl is 5- 6 marts, sanapiroze stal inis Zegl Tan mSvidobian sadResaswaul o Sekrebebs awyobda. wina wl ebisagan gansxvavebiT, 1956 wl is 5 martis studentTa RonisZieba masobrivi mitingSi gadai zar da.²

Tbil isis paral el urad mitingebi gaimarTa quTaisSi, baTumSi, soxumSi, cxinval Si. regionebidan xal xmravl obiT goris mitingis gamoirCeoda. es imiTaciyo ganpirobebul i, rom mis monawil eebscxinval is, axal goris, kaspisada qarel is raionebidan SeuerTda ufrosi da axal gazrda Taobis warmomadgenl ebi. qal aq gorSi, stal inis Zegl Tan mimdinare xal xmraval Sekrebebs, 16 kaciani Stabi xel mZRvanel obda. mas saTaveSi, imave raionis gazeTis redaqciis TanamSromeli mayval a oqropiriZe edga. Stabs kavSiri hqonda Tbil isis mitingis xel mZRvanel obasTan. `mitingis TiToeul monawil es- ambobda m.oqropiriZe- ainteresebda pasuxi erT kiTxvaze: xruScovi da mTavrobis zogierTi wevri rod is iyvnen marTi ebi, maSin roca agebdnen da adidebdnen stal ins Tu axl a, roca l anZRaven da tal axSi svrian mis saxel s; maSin roca qarTvel ebze werdnen da ambobdnen, rom am xal xs sadidebl ad isic eyofa, rom kacobriobas misca didi stal inio, Tu axl a, roca dacinvit ixsenieben qarTvel ebs rogorc stal inis mSobl iur xal xs.³ am amonaweridan kargad Cans: 1)ormag standartebe da orpirovani ianusisTvis damaxasiaTebel ideologiur- propagandistul saqmianobaze dafuznebul gadawyvetil ebebs, sazogadoebaze ra uaryofiti fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedebis moxdena SeuZl ia; 2)xel isufl ebis umaRl esi eSel onebis mxridan gadadgmul i nebsmieri nabiji, ama Tu im eris Rirsebis damcrobaze ar unda yofil iyo agebul i. xazgasmit minda aRvni Sno, rom 1956 wl is 5 marts dawyebul i saprotesto gamosvl ebi, Seuracyofil i da RirsebagaTel il i eris afeTqebis gamovl inebas warmoadgenda da ara skk partiis, leninis an stal inis zearmatebul i siyvarul iT ganpirobebul movl e-nebs.

am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Cemi yuradReba gazeT `qarTul azrSi- dabeWdi- l ma publ ikaciam `niu iorki, marti 1956- mi iqcia. `im TaobisTvis, romel sac 1921 da 1924 wel i axsovs, stal ini usaSinl esi mteri iyo- vkiTxul obT weril Si- qarTvel i eris, radgan 1921 wel Si saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis daRupva stal inis iniciativiT moxda. man miusia rusul i jari saqarTvel os da Tavisi samSobl o daumorcil a ruseTs (maSin erqva ruseTis sabWo- Ta respublika). 1924 wel Siac stal inis iniciativiT da misi piradi brZane- biT moxda qarTul i erovnul i intel igenciis ganadgureba. amis Semdeg mo- mxdari dausrul ebel i wmendebi da JI eta qarTvel ebisa mudam stal inis saqme iyo. es saqarTvel oSi yvel am icoda. amitom, did Secdomas uSvebs ucxoetis presa, roca ambobs, rom stal ini saqarTvel oSi gansakuTrebit uyvarTo.-

es amonaweri, 1921 wl idan 1953 wl is CaTvl iT yvel a im tragikul faqtebe mianiSnebs, roml ebic i.stal inis uSual o xel mZRvanel obiT, an mis mier arCeul i pol itikuri kursiTiyo ganpirobebul i. meore mxriv, 1956 wl is ma-

rtis movl enebis monawil eTa didi nawil i im Taobas ekuTvnoda, roml is
 oj axebma arsebul i xel isufl ebis gan umZimesi darty ma miiRo. am fonze,
 stal inisadmi gansakuTrebul i siyvarul is wamosasxamiT mitingis monaw-
 il eTa umravl esobis Semosva, romantizmis nebi smier CarCos scil deba.
 Cemi aseTi poziciis gamo ar gamovricxav, rom i.stal inis qomagebma, mi t-
 ingze gamotanil i l ozungebi Semaxsenon. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: `gaumar-
 j os skkp,~ `gaumarj os l enin- stal inis partias,~ `dideba stal ins- da
 a.S. xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom aseTi foni, saqarTvel os damouki de-
 bl obis sakiTxis dasayenebl ad moxerxebul ad iyo gamoyenebul i. momit-
 ingeTa winaSe si tyviT gamomsvl el Ta Soris,mraval mxrivi l ozungebiT
 j ansuR Carkviani gamoirCeoda. `xal xis neba- survil s_ acxadebda igi_
 veravin gadava. gaumarj os Tavisufal saqarTvel os. gaumarj os sabWoTa
 saqarTvel os... Cven gviyvars didi rusi xal xi, maTTan mxardamxar unda
 viaroT iseTi wesieri gziT, rogorc odes saqarTvel o dasabami dan... Cven
 qristianebi varT, Cven vaJkacebi varT, Cveni mama- papa gvaswavl ida, rom
 Cven Tavisufl ebi varT da viqnebi T marad!~⁴

j .Carkvianis si tyvidan Cems mier motanil i es amonaweri, uSiSroebis Sesa-
 bamisi uwyebis maRal Cinosnebis gan, sabWoTa xel isufl ebisa da rusi xal x-
 is qarTvel ebis mxridan mtrad gamocxadebis nebi smier mcdel obas saTave-
 Sive gamoricxavda. imavdroul ad, saqarTvel os damouki debl obis sakiTxi_
 `gaumarj os Tavisufal saqarTvel os~ gamokveTil i formul irebiT iyo day-
 enebul i. es idea, imave mitingze mis mier wakiTxul l eqsSiac iqna gatare-
 bul i. aRniSnul faqtebs ukeTebda ra anal izs, S.nozaZe savsebiT sworad
 dasZenda: `Carkvianis si tyvasa da l eqsSi l aparakia ara mar to stal inis
 siyvarul ze, ara mar to rus xal xTan mxardamxar siarul ze, aramed Tavisu-
 fal , damouki debl saqarTvel ozec.~⁵

miuxedavad imisa, rom martis movl enebma seriozul i saxe miiRo, sabWoTa
 sainformacio saSual ebebi simarTl es mal avda da mimdinare procesebs sa-
 sxvaTaSoriso formiT awvdi da sazogadoebas. swori informacia, ki dev ufro
 xel miuwvdomel i iyo ucxoeTis Jurnal istebisaTvis. aucil ebl oba, Caketil i
 sainformacio sivrcis garRvevas saWiroebda. am Tval sazrisiT, mitingis
 organizatorebma uaRresad gabedul i da dipl omatiuri svl a gaakeTa. mxedve-
 l obaSi maqvs CineTis saxal xo respubl ikis Tavmj domaris moadgil is j u
 des Tbil isSi yofnis faqtis gamoyeneba da masTan Sexvedris mi Rweva. mi ti-
 ngis monawil eTa 5 kaciani del egaciis Txovnaze_ monawil eoba mieRo stal inis
 Zegl Tan gamarTul i mitingis muSaobaSi, j u dem avadmyofobis momi zezebi T
 del egaciis survil i ver daakmayofil a, magram Tavisu warmomadgenel i mi t-
 ingze mainc gagzavna, romel mac iq Sekrebi l xal xs mokl e si tyviT mimarTa.⁶

msofl ios erT- erTi udidesi qveynis warmomadgenel is mitingze misvl a
 da misi monawil eebisadmi sol idarobis gamocxadeba, pol itikuri da ideo-
 l ogiuri Tval sazrisiT gansakuTrebul datvirTvas atarebda. am faqtorma,
 mitingis monawil eTa raodenoba ki dev ufro gazar da. am sakiTxTan mima-
 rTebaSi, dRemde gamoqveynebul samecniero l literaturaSi ori urTierT
 sawinaaRmdego cifrebis monacemebia motanil i: 1)50- 60 aTasi;⁷ 2)70- 80 aTa-
 si.⁸ momitingeTa raodenobis zr dam, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba sagonebel -
 Si Caagdo. respubl ikis imJamindel i cekas pirvel i mdivani v.mJavanaZe mo-
 mitingeebs ramdenj erme Sexvda da mosal odnel i umZimesi safrTxi dan gamo-

mdinare, momitingebs Txovni T mimaTa, rom daSl il iyvnen. xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom ju des warmomadgenel is mitingze misvl iT, momitingeTa zeaRmafrenis da SemarTebis ganwyobi dan gamodinare, isini ara Tu daSl as, aramed, mmdinare procesebis radioTi da presis saSual ebiT oficial - urad gaxmovanebis paral el urad, saqarTvel os damouki debi obis moTxovnas ayenebdnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Teatral uri institutis kursdamTaverebul is givi baramizis mier 8 marts, sanapiroze warmotqmul i sityva, romelic mowodebit daamtavra: `gaumarjos Tavisufal da damouki debel saqarTvel os, Zirs kol onial izmi!- ramdenadac momitingeTa ideurma mimaTul ebam, gamokvetil i erovnul - ganmatavisufi ebel i moZraobis xasiaTi miRo, am faqtdan gamodinare, saqarTvel os xel isufi eba panikam moicva da Tbil isis garnizonis ufross, general maior gl adk- ovs winadadebit mimaTa: uzrunvel eyo saxel mwifo mniSvel obis obieqtebis dacva. 1956 wl is 9 martidan kvSiringabmul obis Senoba Tbil isis garnizonis samxedro nawil is oceul ma daikava. imavdroul ad Tbil isSi gaZl ierebul i samxedro nawil ebi da j avSan- teqnika iqna Semoyvani i. es imis macvenebel i iyo, rom mci reodeni provokaciis SemTxvevaSi, ssrk- is Tavdacvis saministros qvemdebare samxedro SenaerTebi i araRs gamoiyenebda. im dokumenturi masal ebis mixedvit, romelic S.nozaZes aqvs Tavis monografiaSi motanili, kargad cans, rom saqarTvel os imJamindel ma xel isufi ebam, momitingeTa minimal uri moTxovnebis (mat Soris radioTi mitingis mmdinareobis gadacema) Sesrul eba ver SeZl o. amitiyo ganpirobebul i momitinge axal gazrdebis erTi j gufis mier 9 marts RamiT kvSiringabmul obis saxl isken daZvra im imedit, rom isini Ziritadi moTxovnebis oficial urad gaxmovanebas SeZl ebdnen. ramdenadac, moskovi dan movl inebul i maRal Cinosani samxedroebis mizans, qarTvel i axal gazrdebis sanimusod dasja, misi sisxl is darvra da morCil ebis artaxebSi moqceva warmoadgenda, bunebrivia, provokaciis ramdenime sqema hqondaT damuSavebul i. mitingis monawil eTa Cvenebebidan irkveva, rom sanapirosken ukandaxeul uiaraRo momitingebs rusma samxedroebma avtomatebidan cecxl i gauxsna. dokumenturi masal iT dasturebul ia, rom momitingeebi uiaraRoni iyvnen da dapirispirebis dros arcerTi rusi samxedro ar daRupul a. samedicino daskvnis mixedvit, yvel a mokl ul da dWril momitinges tyviebi zurgSi hqonda nasroli.

am tragikul i movl enis Sesaxeb, presis furcl ebze da samecniero l i- teraturaSi dabeWdil i masal ebis mixedvit, 1956 wl is 9 martis tragiku- l i movl enebis dros daRupul Ta Sesaxeb dazustebul i monacemebi dRem- de ar arsebobs. qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenel Ta mier presis fur- cl ebze dabeWdil i masal ebis mixedvit, daRupul Ta raodenoba 100- 160 kaciTaa gansazRvrul i. xol o ucxo qveynebis di pl o matebis cnobit, da- Wril - daxocil Ta raodenoba 300 kacss aRemateboda.⁹ rac Seexeba sax- el mwifo uSiSroebis komitetis oficial ur monacemebs, daRupul ad 22 kacia miCneuli. partiis XXVIII yril obaze eSevardnaZis mier gakeTe- bul moxsenebaSi 150 kacia dasaxel ebul i.¹⁰ ucxoetis erT- erTi saagen- tos monacemebit 400 kaci, xol o n.naTaZis daangariSebit 500- 1200 kacam- de unda daRupul iyo.¹¹ imave sakiTxs Seexo S.nozaZec. misi kategoriul i `mtkicebit, ~ 1956 wl is 9- 10 martis movl enebis dros mokl ul Ta raode- noba 22 kacs ar aRemateba. am SemTxvevaSi igi saxel mwifo uSiSroebis

komitetis monacemebis eyrdnobia da misi kiTxvis qveS dayeneba mi zan-
Seuwoni ad mi aCnda.

mSvidobiani momitingebisadmi umkacresi angariSworebis Semdeg, Tbil i-
sis garnizonis ufrosis gl adkovis # 14 brZanebis safuZvel ze, qal aqSi
samxedro patrul ireba SemoiRes. momxdari faqtis xel isufli ebis mxri-
dan gamarTi ebis mizniT, saqarTvel os kp central uri komitetis da
saqarTvel os al kk central uri komitetis erTobl ivi gancxadebiT, mit-
ingis monawil eebi dezorganizatorebad da provokatorebad gamocxad-
da. es dokumenti sazogadoebas 5- 9 martis saprotesto gamosvl ebis Zi-
riTad ganmapirobebel mizezebs umal avda. am qmedebiT, im danaSaul is mi-
fuCeCeba surdaT, romel ic mSvidobian momitingebTan mimarTebaSi iqna
gamoyenebul i da aTeul obiT axal gazrdis sicocxl e Seiwira. am qmedeb-
iT, central urma xel isufli ebam da mis mier saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnil -
ma samxedro uwyebis maRal Cinosnebma, qarTvel Ta mimarT biol ogiuri
siZul vil i oficial urad gamoavl ina.

Tbil isSi momitinge axal gazrdebis amoxocvidan erTi kviris Semdeg, sa-
qarTvel os partiul i aqtivis krebam (1956 wl is 17 marti) am sakiTxze saga-
ngebod imsj el a. misi monawil eebi, partiis cekas xel mZRvanel obisgan kiserze
Tokgamobmul i xbos mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndnen da am poziciaSi myofebma
Sefasebis im samarcxvino da Seuracmyofel terminol ogias (xul ignebi,
provokatorebi, mtrul i el ementebisgan wagezebul i brbo) dauwira mxari,
romel ic 5- 9 martis mitingis monawil eTa mimarT iqna gamoyenebul i. Se-
darebiT ufro saRi azrovnebiT, saqarTvel os komkavSiris aqtivis (1000
kaci) respublikuri krebis (1956 wl is 26- 27 marti) monawil eTa gamomsvl e-
l ebi gamoirCeoda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs g.banZel aZis sityva. 1956 wl is mar-
tis movl enebi man, intel eqtual uri azrovnebis fonze ganixil a da l ogi-
kur_ eTikuri kategoriebis momarjvebiT, sabWouri ideol ogiuri manqanis
dasamareba moaxdina. `rodesac vakritikebT romel ime miTitebas Tu de-
bul ebas, an maT avtors- ambobda igi- rogori avtoric ar unda iyos is, au-
cil ebel ia davasabuToT es mcdaroba. es el ementarul i l ogikuri da eTi-
kuri moTxovnaa, rac arasodes ar unda daviviwyoT... ar SeiZl eba kritikis
gaufasureba, amiT axal gazrdobaSi TviT Cven vkargavT avtoritets. isto-
ria ar iviwyebis arc damsaxurebas da Secdomebsac aravis apatiebs.-¹²

probl emisadmi aseTi midgoma da Sefasebis kriteriumebis l ogikur azro-
vnebaze dafuZneba, im periodis partiul i nomenkl aturisaTvis miuRebel i
iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, g.banZel aZis gamosvl a mcdarad da arapartiul i
azrovnebis gamovl inebad iqna gamocxadebul i. sakavSiro da adgil obrivi
partiul i organizaciebis mier ideol ogiuri xaziT qarTvel i axal gazrdebis
dasadanaSaul ebl ad aRebul i kursi, faqtobrivi masal iT dadasturebas moi-
Txovda. am mizniT, skkp central uri komitetis prezidiumis 1956 wl is 10
ivl isis dadgenil ebiT, 1956 wl is martis movl enebis Semswavl el i sagange-
bo komisia saqarTvel oSi iqna gamogzavnil i. mas ssrk- is Sinagan saqmeTa
ministris moadgil e ovsianikovi xel mZRvanel obda. komisiis mizans, yal bi
dokumentaciis Sedgena da momxdari tragediis qarTvel i axal gazrdebisadmi
gadabral eba warmoadgenda. `moskovel i eqspertebi Seecadnen, daxo-
cil i axal gazrdebi daedanaSaul ebinaT agresiul obaSi im faqtiT, rom maT,
TiTqos tyvia ara zurgidan, aramed pirdapir hqondaT nasrol i. es fal si-

fikacia mxil ebul i iqna. dadasturda, rom mani festaciis monawil e axal gazrdebs armiasTan Setakeba ar hqoniaT da isini zurgidan nasrol i tyvieb- is msxverpl ni gaxdnen...~¹³ aseTi `marcxis- mi uxedavad, skkp central uri komiteti qarTvel Ta mimarT SurisZiebaze xel is aRebas ar apirebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs skkp central uri komitetis prezidiumis 1956 wl is ivl isis dadgenil eba `saqarTvel os kp central uri komitetis aradamakmayofil ebel i muSaobisa da Secdomebis Sesaxeb.~ am dokumentiT, central urma xel isufil ebam qarTvel xal xs bral i nacional izmSi, `erovnul i gansakuTrebul obisadmi avadmyofur damokidebul ebaSi da yoyoCobaSi - dasdo. yovelive es iseTi formiT gakeTda, rom mas, qarTvel Ta Seuracyofa da damcroba wiTel zol ad gasdevda. am dokumentis SedgenaSi, kreml is mesveurebTan erTad, saqarTvel odan wargzavnil i karieristi xel mZRvanel ebic Rebul obda monawil eobas.¹⁴

1956 wl is martis movl enebis SefasebasTan mimarTebaSi, garkveul i adgil i ucxoETis sazogadoebriv- pol itikuri azris damokidebul ebis warmocenas unda mi eni Wos. sazogadoebis Tvis cnobil i unda iyos, sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel oSi ganxorciel ebul vandal ur qmedebebTan mimarTebaSi, Tu ra pozicia daiWira im periodSi dasavl eTma. Cems xel Tarsebul i masal ebis safuZvl ianad Seswavl idan irkveva, rom 1956 wl is 9 martis tragediisadmi dasavl eTis damokidebul ebam sami safexuri gaiara: 1) indiferentul i; 2) araswori Sefasebebi da 3) obieqturi Sefasebebi.

1) probl emisadmi indiferentul i damokidebul eba: 1956 wl is martis movl enebTan mimarTebaSi, ucxouri presis furcl ebze dabeWdil i publ ikaciebi, sabWoTa imperiaSi mTel i 30 wl is ganmavl obaSi pirvel ad momxdari ucveul o procesebi T iyo ganpi robebul i. rac Seexeba statiebis dones, gazeTi `qarTul i azris- (1956 wl is # 4) mowinave publ ikaciis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, zerel e Sefasebebi T xasiaTdeboda da arcerTi maTgani momxdari faqtis anal izis gakeTebis mcdel obas ar Seicavda. aseTi indiferentul i damokidebul eba gamoavl ina gaerTianebul i erebis organizaciam da ucxoETis qveynebis di pl omatiurma wreebmac. sazRvargareTul i presisa da saerTasoris organizaciebis sasxvaTasoris poziciis gamo, g.gabl iani statiasSi `ra moxda?- gul istkivil iT werda: `gudmanis j azis mogzaurobis dros `katiuSas- damRerebis gamo Tbil isel ebis sapsuxo yi Jinam, amerikis presasi da tel eviziaSi ufro meti yuradReba daimsaxura, vidre 1956 wl is martis movl enebma.~ ssrk- Si erovnul - ganmaTavisufil ebel i moZraobisadmi kapital isturi qveynebis zemoarNi Snul damokidebul ebas Seexo Jurn. `Cveni droSa--Si dabeWdil i publ ikacia: `sabWoTa sagareo pol itika.~ masSi garkveviTaa miTitebul i, rom ssrk- Si mimdinare antikomunistur procesebs, kapital isturi qveynebi pasiurad uyurebdnen, maTdami fuli- Ta da iaraRiT daxmarebas ver imetebdnen. `maTi devizi_ sxvisi Wiri Robes Cxiri xdeba msofil ios movl enaT... dasavl eTi da amerika emzadeba omisTvis... awyobs saerTo Stabebs, magram amas ar axl avs ideol ogiuri da pol itikuri muSaoba da miT niadagis momzadeba TviT sabWoTa xal xebSi omis mosagebaT.-

2) araswori Sefasebebi: qarTvel Ta erovnul i satkvariT gamowveul i 1956 wl is 9 martis movl enebisadmi indiferentul i damokidebul eba daedo safuZvl ad, momxdari faqtisadmi dasavl eTis mxridan araswor Sefasebebs. im pe-

riodis emigraciul presaSi gamoqveynebul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom germaniaSi, safrangeTSi da aSS- i gamomaval i gazeTebi, 1956 wl is 5- 9 martis saprotesto mi tingebis, stal inisadmi qarTvl Ta simpaTi iT xsnida. am SemTxvevaSi isini ZiriTadad moskovis sainformacio saSual ebebsgan gavr cel ebul masal ebs eyrdnoboden. am sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT, aSS- i dabeWdil i publ ikaciebis Sesaxeb gazeTi `qarTul i azri- statiaSi `ra moxda saqarTvel oSi?- xazgasmiT werda: `aqurma presam gaimeora moskovis versia da es brZol a axsna qarTvel i xal xis stal inisadmi simpaTi iT.~¹⁵ igive gazeTis momdevno nomerSi dabeWdil mowinave statiaSi `niu iorki, noemberi 1956 w.- vkiTxul obT: `ucxo presis didma nawil ma ar Seiwuxa Tavi movl enis Seswavl iT, misi anal iziT da Tavis mkiTxvel s gaimeora kreml is mier saeqsportod SeTxzul i versia, rom `qarTvel ebi aj anydnen- stal inis `kul tis damxobis- gamo da Tfil isSi moxda `prostal inuri demonstracia-- o. mxol od `herald tribunma- gamosTqva sawi naaRmdego azri, Tumca ver c man gabeda am `original obis- pasuxismgebl obis aReba da amoefara Cveni gazeTis niwier TanamSromel s, amJamad gansvenebul al .comias avtoritets da ganaxxada: `ase mogviTxrobs `orinion j orjias- redaqtorio.- samwuxaro is aris, rom dasavl eTis saxel mwifos l iderebma da presis TanamSroml ebma, sworad ver aRiqva kol oniur qveynebsi mimdinare erovnul is afeTqebis mniSvel oba. obieqturi Sefaseba ar misca Cagrul i erebis gamoRviZebas da Tavisufl ebisken swrafvis procesebs. es Seucnobel i faqtori daedo safuZvl ad maTi mxridan erovnul - gammaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis `titoizmad- gamocxadebas. arada, gazeT `zaria vostokas- furcl ebze dabeWdil publ ikaciebSi garkveviT iyo naTqvami, rom sabWoTa patriotizmisTvis ucxo iyo separatistul i azrovneba. am faqts ukeTebda ra komentars, gazeTi `qarTul i azri- statiaSi `ra moxda saqarTvel oSi?- xazgasmiT werda: `sabWoTa gazeTi adasturebs, rom saqme gvqonda erovnul i brZol is aqtTan.~¹⁶

1956 wl is 9 martis mi tingis umowyal od dambrbevi, pirvel i gvardiul i meqanizebul i diviziis podpol kovniki m.a.apkini, 5- 9 martis demonstraciebSi, qarTvel Ta erovnul i brZol is gamovl inebas xedavda. qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi misi mxridan siZul vil narevi gancxadebis gakeTeba aRniSnul i garemoebiTac iyo ganpirobebul i. `es xal xi- ambobda igi- adgil ze unda gasamarTI on da Seubral ebl ad daxvriton. unda gaiwmindos Tbil isi, sadac bevri usaqmuri, spekul ianti da damnaSavea. yvel a isini unda gaasaxl on da izul ebiT amuSaon. gansakuTrebiT es aucil ebel ia gakeTdes intel igenciis, studentebisa da nacional isturi gamosvl ebis mimarT. saqarTvel oSi armiis CareviT me kmayofil i var. qarTvel ebma dae gaigon, rom CvenTan aris sabWoTa mTavroba, moqmedebs sabWoTa xel isufl eba, rom mas hyavs armia, romel ic mzad aris daiavas sabWoTa saxel mwifos interesebi.~¹⁷ Tbil isidan qarTvel Ta moazrovne intel igenciis gasaxl ebis aucil ebl obas axmovanebda 147- e diviziis kapitani m.i.travkini, romel ic daufaravad da zizRnarevi formiT acxadebda: `Tbil isSi unda darCnen mSromel ebi, danarCenebi ki gaigzavnon yamirze da aizul on isini iqimuSaon.~ Cems mier motanil am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom samxedro uwyebis warmomadgenl ebi, mi tingis monawil eTa sanimuSod dasj as da miSua aziaSi gasaxl ebas, qarTvel Ta nacional isturi Sexedul ebebis dasama-

rebis mi zni T moi Txovdnen. gazeT `qarTul i azris- mier dabeWdil publ ikaciebSi motanil i monacemebis mixedviT, saqarTvel odan gasaxl ebul Ta raodenoba im etapze 60 aTasi kaciTaa gansazRvrul i. am sakiTxTan dakav-SirebiT, imave gazeTSi dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `ra moxda saqarTvel oSi?-vkiTxul obT: `aj anyebis Semdeg erTi Tvis ganmavl obaSi, srul iad sando cnobebiT, ruseTisken, e.i. cimbirisken wasul a patimrebiT datvirTul i 27 matarebel i (saSual o ricxviT sabargo matarebel Si 60 vagonia da vagonSi 40 kaci) rac udris 60 aTas kacs. saSinel i da Tavzardamcemi cno-bebia.¹⁸ dabej iTebiT Znel ia imis Tqma, Tu ramdenad Seesabameba sinamdvil es 9 martis movl enebis Semdeg, saqarTvel odan gasaxl ebul i adami anebis raodenobis Sesaxeb motanil i monacemebi. cnobil i faqtia da samecniero l iteraturi Tac dadasturebul ia, rom n.xruSCovis da g.Jukovis ocnebas, Sua aziaSi qarTvel Ta masobrivad gasaxl eba warmoadgenda. gamoricxul i araa, rom zemoaRni Snul i RonisZieba, Tuki igi sinamdvil es Seesabameba, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa mier Cafiqrebul i qarTvel Ta masobrivad gasaxl ebis veragul i gegmis mosamzadebel i safexuri rom yofil iyo.

3)swori Sefasebebi: zemoaRni Snul is fonze, qarTul i emigraciis saRad moazrovne nawil i, 1956 wl is 5- 9 martis movl enebis, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis formatiT ganxil avda. am faqtTan dakav-SirebiT, gazeT `qarTul azrSi- dabeWdil mowinave weril Si `niu iorki, marti, 1956 w.- vkiTxul obT: `sabWoTa kavSirSi dRes qarTvel ebis mdgomareoba cotaTi gansxvavdeba hitl eris germaniaSi uriebis mdgomareobidan. am saSinel i mdgomareobis Sedegi da gamoZaxil ia martis demonstracia. xal xma veRar aitana moskovis uxeSi pol itika, isargebl a Sesaferi momentiT Tavisi cxovrebi sa da ufl ebis dasacavad. stal inis suraTs amofareba xal xma miicnia erT, j er kidev nebadarTul l egal ur gzad aRviraxsnil i rusul i imperial izmis sawinaaRmdego protestisTvis. xal xma am xerxs mii-marTa.¹⁹ imave publ ikaciis avtoris sama-rTl iani mtkicebiT, 1956 wl is martis movl enebi, ruseTis saokupacio rejimis winaaRmdeg 1921 wl idan dawyebul i brZolis (aj anyebebis) gagrZel ebas warmoadgenda. anal ogiuri Tval - sazrisia ganvrcobil i p.sarjvel azis publ ikaciaSi- `stal inis kul ti saqarTvel oSi- `Tbil isSi momxdari axal gazrdebis mZl avri demonstraciebi- vkiTxul obT statiaSi- mxol od mowmobs erSi dagrovil ukmayofil ebas, stiqiur afeTqebas, revol ucionuri qarisxl is amovardnas.²⁰

Cems mier zemoT motanil i masal ebis anal izidan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas: a)1956 wl is 5- 9 martis movl enebi, iyo ara i.stal inis erTxel kidev gafetiSebis mcdel oba, aramed, erovnul i Tavmoyvareoba Sel axul i qarTvel i eris Rirsebis aRsadgenad mSvidobi ani formiT gabrZol eba; b)martis movl enebi unda Sefasdes, sabWoTa imperiis sivrceSi monobis uRel dadgmul i sasowarkveTil i eris, centrisadmi daumorCil ebl obis xmamaRal i SeZaxil i da saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebriobis aRsadgenad, im etapze mbJutavi nakvercxl is gasaRvivebel i safexuris momzadebis mcdel oba. g)qarTvel ma erma, momxdari faqtiT qvey-nierebis dasanaxad oficial urad Tqva uari ssrk- is Semadgenl obaSi darCenaze da Tavisi Seupovari qmedebiT, ruseTis gasabWoebul imperia-Si myofi miZinebul i erebis gamofxizl ebas daudo saTave.

1956 wl is martis mni Svel oba sworad aRiqva qarTul i emigraciis erovnul i sabWos 1956 wl is 19 maisis yril obis monawil eebma. erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis Tavmj domaris_ n.cincaZis Sesaval i si tyvisa da r.arse-niZis moxsenebis Semdeg, Tbil isis movl enebis SefasebaTan mimarTebaSi, yril obam sagangebo dekl aracia mi iRo. am dokumentis ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegnairad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)martis movl enebis dros, qarTvel ma xal xma gabedul ad da moxerxebul ad gamoTqva Tavisi gul iswyrroma saqarTvel os erovnul i da social uri Cagvris winaaRmdeg. teroristul i reJimis SiSis yinul i gatexa da sabWoTa saokupacio reJims daupirispirda; 2)i.stal inis pirovnebis kul tis damxoba, sababi da dasawyisi iyo qarTvel Ta ero-vnul i moZraobisa, romel mac spontanurad ifeTqa sazogadoebaSi. qarTvel i xal xis gamosvl ebis ZiriTadi motivebi iyo sabWoTa ruseTisgan mitacebu-l i erovnul i da social - pol itikuri Tavisufli ebis dabruneba, Tavis Tavis mesveurad gaxdoma, moskovidan ganTavisufli eba; 3)5- 9 martis mraval ricxo-vani mSvidobiani manifestaciebi T, qarTvel ma xal xma Tavisi uaryofiTi da-moki debul eba gamoavl ina moskovis sul SemxuTvel i reJimis winaaRmdeg; 4)qa-rTvel i xal xi Riad daupirispirda okupant qveyanas da civil izebul sam-yaros amcno Tavisi survil i_ damoukidebel i, Tavisufal i saqarTvel os aRdgenis Sesaxeb. sabWoTa xel isufli ebis maRal Cinosnebis mxridan, qarTve-l i xal xis mimarT Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis dafarvis mcdel oba uSedego aRmoCnda. `okupantebis mtarval uri qceva dagvi anebi T, magram mainc moefina msofil ios.-

`martis manifestaciebi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- axal i gamomJRavnebaa im brZol is, romel ic okupaciis pirvel i dRidan ar Seuwyvetia qarTvel xal xs. martis dReebi gagrZel ebaa 1924 wl is saxal xo aj anyebis da gamomx-atvel i qarTvel i xal xis dauSretel i wyurvili sa, iyos Tavisufal i da da-moukidebel i. qarTul i erovnul i sabWos yril oba mimarTavs mTel kacob-riobas, yvel a saxel mwifoTa mTavrobebs, gansakuTrebiT gaerTianebul i erebis organizacias, mimarTavs yvel as, visac swams da uyvars Tavisufli eba-yuradReba mi aqcion am patara, kul turul i da gabedul i eris usaSinl es tragikul mdgomareobas. komunisturi tirania, moskovSi gabatonebul i mo-evl ina mas 36 wl is winaT rogorc dampyrobeli da am xnis ganmavl obaSi wamebis j varze yavs gakrul i mTel i qarTvel i eri. yovel i si tyva Tanagr-Znobisa Cveni erisadmi_ mal amoT moxvdeba mis Wril obebs. yovel i si tyva dagmobi sa da zemoqmedebisa tiranebis mimarT, iqneba gamamxnevebel i, rogorc qarTvel i eris, ise sabWoTa sapyrobil eSi momwyvdeul i yvel a erisTvis.-

am vrcel amonawerSi ara mar to 1956 wl is martis movl enebia Sefasebul i, aramed garkveul i formiT gul iswyrromaa gamoTqmul i im dumil is Sesaxeb, romel ic dasavl eT evropisa da aSS- is oficial urma wreebma da presam rom gamoiCina im etapze. imavdroul ad igive dokumenti saerTasoris o r-ganizaciebs Seaxsenebda, Tu isini patara erebis kul turasa da mis erovnul Tavisufli ebas scemdnen pativs, xma unda aemaRl ebinaT im sisxli ani terror- is winaaRmdeg, romel ic ssrk- is Seiararebul ma Zal ebma Cai dina qarTvel Ta mSvidobiani momitingebis mimarT. am dokumentis mniSvel oba imaSi ac mdgo-mareobs, rom man saerTasoris o Jurnal istikis sferoSi gamomafxiZl ebel i funqcac Seasrul a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs aSS- is erT- erTi yvel aze serio-zul i organo- gazeTi `niu iork taimsi,- romel mac hari Svarcis vrcel i

weril i dabeWda 1956 wl is martis Tbil isis movl enebis Sesaxeb. adrindel i publ ikaciebi sagan gansxvavebiT, martis movl enebi, ruseTis imperiis wina- aRmdeg mebrZol i qarTvel ebis poziciidanaa Sefasebul i. hari Svarcis am statiaSi motanil ZiriTad debul ebebs, ukeTebda ra anal izs, gazeTi `qarTul i azri- saredaqcio weril Si `niu iorki, noemberi 1956 w.- werda: `niu iork taimsis redaqciam sakmarisad wera martis movl enebze... Tumca dagvi anebi T, magram amaSi Cven vxedavT erTis mxrit Tavisi pirvandel i mcdari versi- idan Tavis ganTavisufl ebis cdas, xol o meores mxriv, SeuZl ebl ad mi gvaC- nia `taimsis- mdidar sainformacio wyaros gamohparoda saqarTvel oSi arsebul i metad mZafri mdgomareoba da Cveni azriT es aris cda, raTa mo- mavl isTvis gza gakaful i iyos qarTul i movl enebis swrafad dasafase- bl ad.²¹

marTal ia, anal ogiuri saxis SefasebiTi publ ikaciebi evropis presis furcl ebzedac dai beWda, magram yovel ive es, dagvi anebi T moxda da man `ukan mi devnebul i l amparis- saxe mi iRo. aRni Snul i faqti imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom aSS- is da evropis qveynebi, qarTvel Ta erovnul satki vars TiTqmis ignori rebas ukeTebda, xol o imperiul i qveynebi sadmi patara erebis dapi rispirebas da sisxl is Rvras, sasxvaTa Soriso pozici- idan ganixil avda. Tavisufl ebis aTvis mebrZol i qarTvel i eris mimarT 1956 wl is 9 marts Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedeba, sabWoTa komunis- tur reJims gaeros tribunidanac ar Seaxsenes.

qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi, dasavl eTis zu- rgSeqcevis miuxedavad, qarTvel i axal gazrdoba ar cxreboda da antisab- Wour saqmi anobas i atakveSeTi dan ganagrZobda. amis dadasturebas, martis tragikul i movl enebidan ori Tvis Semdeg, 1956 wl is 26 mai ss, TiTqmis mTe- l i saqarTvel os masStabiT kedl ebze gakrul i prokl amaciebi war moadgen- da. es dokumentebi, saqarTvel odan rusul i j aris gayvanas da qarTul i sa- xel mwi fos damouki debl obis aRdgenas moiTxovda.

xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom umZimesi represi ebis miuxedavad, saqarTvel oSi aral egal uri antisabWouri muSaoba ar Sewyvetil a. amis damadasturebel i faqtebi mravl adaa motanil i S.nozaZis wignSi `1956 wl is tragikul i 9 ma- rti, ~ romel ic uSi Sroebis arqivis masal ebs emyareba. am SemTxvevaSi, Ziri- Tada aRni Snul naSromSi arqividan motanil i faqtebi T vsargebl ob da mkiTxvel sazogadoebas erTxel kidev Sevaxseneb im adami anTa saxel ebs, roml ebic j anmrTel obisa da sicocxl is gawirvis fasad, aral egal urad agrZel ebda erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisTvis damaxasiaTebel saqmi anobas. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas **petre pavi es Ze meunar- gia** iqcevs. `ganmaTavisufl ebel i komitetis- saxel iT, man 9 antisabWoTa bi- ul eteni Seadgina da sxvadasxva organizaciebs daugzavna. anal ogiuri sax- is antisabWoTa muSaobas eweoda **mixeil bakas Ze yi fiani**. orive maTgani dpatimrebul i da sisxl is samarTl is 58- e muxl is meaTe punqtis pirvel i nawil iT iqna gasamarTl ebul i. TiToeul maTgans 8- 8 wl is patimroba mi- usaj es. amis Semdeg gadaasaxl es mordveTis avtonomiur respubl ikaSi da i avasis Sinagan saqmeTa saministros `dubral vagis- patimarTa banakSi moaT- avses. imave S.nozaZis mier motanil i saarqivo masal ebi dan irkveva, rom **p.me- unargia da myi fiani**, gadasaxl ebaSi ac eweodnen antisabWour saqmi anobas. iq Seqmnes `saqarTvl os ganTavisufl ebis komiteti- da Sei muSaves `momava-

l i saqarTvel os wyobis wesdebac.-²²

giorgi ivanes Ze batiaSvil i 9 martis movl enebis aqtiuri monawil e iyo. 1956 wl is 7- 12 ivl isis CaTvl iT, man sastumro `qarTI is- Senobis kedl e- bze, afiSebisTvis gankuTvnil special ur dafebze da xeebze antisabWoTa xasiaTis prokl amaciebi gaakra, ris gamoc daapatimres da 5 wl iT Tavisu- fl ebis aRkveTa mi usaj es.

amiran gabriel is Ze afciaurma Tbil isSi, qarxnis dasaxl ebaSi 13 dasax- el ebis antisabWoTa xel naweri furcl ebi gaavrcel a. igi 1956 wl is 4 oq- tombers daapatimres, xol o 26 oqtomers 5 wl iT patimroba mi usaj es.²³

im periodSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xaziT gaweul i saagitacio- propagandistul i muSaobi dan, gansakuTrebiT gamorCeul ad unda CaiTval os irodion faCul iasa da givi baramiZis aral egal uri sa- qmianoba. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom maTi Zal isxmeviT, i.facul ias binaze (boWoriSvil is quCa # 45) patara stamba iqna mowyobi- li, sadac aral egal ur prokl amaciebs da mcire formatis broSurebs beWdavden. 1956 wl is maisSi, maT dabeWdes gazeTi `simarTI isaTvis- da Tbil isis saxel mwifo universitetis studentTa qal aqSi gaavrcel es. imave wl is noembris dasawyiSi, studentebSi gaavrcel es prokl amacia_ `7 nomembers arcerTi demonstraciazel- 1957 wl is ivniSi dabeWdes da gaavrcel es mcire formatis 12 gverdiani Jurnal i_ `sal aRobel i.- 1957 wl is dekemberSi, respubl ikis uSi Sroebam orive daapatimra da 1958 wl is 26 marts, 8- 8 wl iT patimroba mi usaj a.²⁴

gansakuTrebiT aRniSvnis Rirsia mixeil Sal vas Ze ficxel auris aral e- gal uri saqmianoba. igi axal gazrdobaSi Tbil isis teqnikumSi pol igra- fiul saqmes daeufi a. rac Seexeba mis Zmas- giorgi Sal vas Ze ficxel a- urs, man msubuqi mrewvel obis teqnikumi daamTavra. yazbegis raionSi, erT- erT gamoqvabul Si Zmebma saiduml o stamba moawyves da 1956 wl is oqtombri dan 1957 wl is maisis CaTvl iT 140- 150 cal is raodenobiT anti- sabWoTa xasiaTis ramdenime dasaxel ebis furcl ebi dabeWdes. gansakuTre- bul yuradRebas iqcevs: `Tavisufl eba saqarTvel os,- `brZol is xma saakaZi- sa,- `dadgenil eba srul iad saqarTvel os axal gazrdobis kavSirisa,- `srul iad saqarTvel os axal gazrdobis kavSiri, Tavisufl eba saqarTve- l os.- amj erad yuradRebas am bol o dokumentze SevaCereb. misi teqsti, Ta- visi SinaarsiT gansakuTrebul i Rirebul ebisaa im Tval sazrisiT, rom arse- bul i reJimis mxil ebis fonze, masSi qarTvel i erisadmi Tavisufl ebis mo- sapovebl ad brZol is mowodebis da adami anebze fsiqol ogi urad zemoqmede- bis gansakuTrebul i formaa gamoyenebul i. `Cveni mi zania_ vkiTxul obT do- kumentSi_ Cveni codna qarTvel i eris Tavisufl ebas movaxmaroT... Tavisu- fl eba, damouki debel i cxovreba, es aris erovnul i Tavmoyvareobis sakiTxi, es aris xel Seuxebel i rwmna, romel sac veravin uaryofs. qarTvel o xal xo! nu dai viwyebT qarTvel i axal gazrdobis sisxl s, romel mac SeReba 9 marts quCebi... droa gavi xsenoT Cveni gmi ri winaprebi da Cvenci maTebr gavisar- j oT samSobl osaTvis erTiani Zal iT. gaumarj is saqarTvel os damouki de- bl obas! gaumarj os saqarTvel os axal gazrdobas, romel ic ibrZol ebs qarTvel i xal xis sakeTil dReod!

ras Camonj darxar dadumebul i,
qarTvel o! ase sul ar gi xdeba,

xel i xmal s i kar da vefxis msgavsad
mtanj vel s ekveTe, is mogi xdeba,
i xsen samSobl o gaWi rvebi sgan,
naTess moi mki, ar wagi xdeba.-

Zmebi ficxel aurebis mier aral egal urad gavrcel ebul i furcl ebidan, nimuSisaTvis Cems mier motanil i es amonaweri, erovnul i cnobierebiT datvirTul i adamiანis Semoqmedebis nayofs warmoadgens. aseTi saxis furcl ebisa da prokl amaciebis Tbil isSi gavrcel ebis uzrunvel yofas, giorgi ficxel auri axdenda. xazgasmiT mi nda aRvni Sno, rom am donis saarqivo dokumentebi, 1956- 1965 wl ebis saqarTvel os erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi - iSvi aTobas warmoadgens. mi uxedavad amisa, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi mixeil da giorgi ficxel aurebis damsaxureba ignorirebul ia. wina pl anzea wamoweul i iseTi `organizaciebi,- roml is arseboba uSiSroebis saarqivo masal ebiT ar dasturdeba. mis Sesaxeb mxol od zogierTi pirovnebis mogonebebSia saubari. isini ver asaxel eben iseTi donis dokumentebis Seqmnisa da gavrcel ebis faqtebs, rasac Zmebi ficxel aurebi qmni da da akeTebda. saqarTvel os uSiSroebis TanamSroml ebs, ficxel aurebis saqmianoba SeumCnevel i ar darCenia. irive Zma, 1958 wl is 6 ianvars daapatimres da 6- 6 wel i mi usaj es.²⁵

Cems mier motanil i fatebi, saqarTvel os uSiSroebis TanamSromel Ta mopovebul masal ebs, TviT msj avrdebul Ta dakiTxvis oqmebsa da ganaCenis gamotaniTvis dazustebul monacemebs emyareba. aqedan gamomdinare, petre pavl es Ze meunargias, giorgi ivanes Ze batiaSvil is, amiran gabriel is Ze afciauris, irodion l evanis Ze faCul ias, givi iasonis Ze baramizis, mixeil da giorgi Sal vas Ze ficxel aurebis mier erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i xaziT gaweul i saqmianoba sinamdvil es Seesabameba. maTi Rvawl is ardafaseba da istoriis furcl idan mi zanmi marTul ad amoReba, istorikosTa mxridan danaSaul is tol fas qmedebad unda Sefasdes. mi-Tumetes, Cems mier zemoT CamoTvl il adamiანებს, yovel gvari fsevdo organizaciebis Seqmnis gareSe, praqtikul ad gaweul i saqmianobiT aral egal urad nabeWdi produqciis masobrivad gavrcel ebiT, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis saqmeSi l omis wil i aqvs Cadebul i.

1956 wl is 9 martis movl enebis Semdeg, anti sabWoTa saqmianobis asparezze cdil obda gamosvl as skol is moswavl eTa erTi j gufi (anatol i abesal omis ze mi qaZe, Tamaz tarasis Ze gunj ua, vl adimer vasil is Ze sixarul iZe, merab ivanes Ze kostava, Teimuraz dimi tris Ze metrevel i, Teimuraz giorgis Ze cercvaZe, guram giorgis Ze sxirtl aZe, guram petres Ze doCanaSvil i), romel sac saTaveSi zvi ad gamsaxurdi a edga. maT Sesaxeb, sasamarTI os ganaCeniSi motanil i faqtebiT irkveva, rom skol is 14 wl is moswavl eebis pirvel i Sekrebis dros (1953 wel i), sabWoTa xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i j gufis Seqmnis mcdel obas hqonda adgil i, magram dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel eba ver SeZl es. imave dokumentidan cnobil i xdeba, rom z.gamsaxurdi as xel mZRvanel obiT, 1956 wl is martis movl enebis Semdeg, 17 wl is axal gazrdebis mier dasmul i iqna sakiTxi, damouki debel i saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos aR-sadgenad aral egal uri anti sabWouri saqmianobis dawyebis Sesaxeb. mi si ve

iniciativi T Sei qmna aral egal uri j gufi (m.kostava, T.cercvaZe, g.doCanaSvil i, T.metrevel i, g.sixarul iZe). maTi pirvel i Sekreba, z.gamsaxurdias xel mZRv-anel obiT 1956 wl is ivl isSi ganxorciel da. misive iniciativi T iqna SeZeni- l i xel is sabeWdi manqana qarTul i SriftiT. 1956 wl is noembris bol o ri- cxvebSi, g.sxirtl aZis binaSi j gufma antisabWoTa Sinaarsis furcl ebi da- beWda, roml ebi c 1956 wl is 7 dekembers Tbil isis quCebSi (rusTavel is da pl exanovis gamzirebi) Tval saCinoebis adgil ebze gaakres. 17 wl is axal - gazrdebis es saqmi anoba, saqarTvel os uSi Sroebas SeumCnevel i ar darCeni a da isini, aRni Snul i faqtidan ramdenime dReSi daapatimres. Tbil isis sasa- marTI os 1957 wl is 3, 4 da 5 april is ganaCeniT, zemoaRni Snul i pirebis saqmi anoba sxvadasxva kval ifikacii T Sefasda da sasj el ic Sesabamisi (3, 4 da 5 wl iT patimroba) ganuweses.²⁶ am gadawyvetil ebis mizanSewonil ebis dasamtkicebl ad, Sesabamisma saxel isufl ebo uwyebebma, msj avrdebul i ax- al gazrdebis sazogadoebaSi diskreditacias Seecada. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gazeT `komunistSi- (1956 wl is 16 dekemberi) `sarevel as- saTauriT dabeWd- il i k.qebaZis statia. es puibl ikacia, erovnul i cnobierebiT datvirTul i zemoaRni Snul i axal gazrdebis cil iswamebiT da sabWouri ideol ogi isad- mi misaRebi epiTetebiT (`sarevel ebi, ~ `uRirsi axal gazrdebi, ~ `xul ignebi, ~ `usaqmurobisa da deboSis romantikosebi-) Semkobis kl asikuri ni muSia. meore mxriv, puibl ikaciisadmi SerCeul i saTauri_ `sarevel a, ~ mizanmi ma- rTul pol itikur datvirTvas atarebda. sayovel Taod cnobil ia, rom kul - turul mcenareebis, sarevel ebi sagan wmenden. igive Sinaarsis cneba i yo Cade- bul i k.qebaZis statiaSi ac. kerZod, z.gamsaxurdias j gufis, anu k.qebaZi seul i terminol ogi iT_ `sarevel ebi sgan- sabWouri sazogadoebis gawmendis auci- l ebl oba da k.qebaZis donis `moazrovneebis- datovebis mini Sneba i yo gake- Tebul i dasaxel ebul statiaSi. z.gamsaxurdias j gufis wevrebis aseTi for- miT damuSavebis Sedegad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam maTi aqtiuri saqmi- anobis 1970 wl amde SeCereba SeZl o.

rac Seexeba samecniero l iteraturaSi damkvidrebul `siRnaRis axal ga- zrda gvardiis- (sagi) (1961- 1964 wl ebi) da `samSobl os Tavisufl ebisa da damoukidebl obisTvis mebrZol i kavSiris- arsebobis faqts, j er- j erobiT, aseTi organizaciebis Sesaxeb, Cems kol egebs arcerTi saarqivo dokumenti ar daumowmebia. isini il uzi is seT fons qmni an, TiTqos maTi arseboba da saqmi anoba, saqarTvel os uSi Sroebas SeumCnevel i darCa. ZiriTad `wyarod, ~ Jurnal sa da gazeTSi dabeWdil mogonebasa da intervius iyeneben. maTi avtorebi, aRni Snul i `organizaciebis- mier aral egal urad dabeWdil da sazogadoebis farTo fenebSi gavrcel ebul , uSi Sroebis samsaxuris mier amoRebul da amJamad arqivSi dacul vercerTi saxebobis dokumentis ver asa- xel eben. i.patariZis interviuSi motanil i faqtis, TiTqos man da misma mego- barma rusTavel is Teatris iarusidan erT si tyvani _ `gai Rvi ZeT!!!- fur- cl ebi `gadmoYara-²⁷ an g.yorRanaSvil is mogonebaSi²⁸ `sagis- wevrebis saqmi- anobis Sesaxeb saarqivo dokumentebiT daudasturebel i faqtebis Cemi kol ege- bis mxridan gafetiSeba dauSvebl ad mimaCnia. mi Tumetes, es xdeba Znebi ficxel aurebis da misi winamorbedi axal gazrdebis saqmi anobis mi vi wyebis da istoriis furcl ebidan mizanmi marTul ad amoSl is xarj ze. aseTi qmede- ba, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis fal sifikaciis morig mcde- l obad unda Sefasdes.

sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mxridan erovnul i moZraobis aqtiuri wevrebisadmi umkacresma angari Ssworebam, saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebeli xaziT garkveuli vakumi Seqmna. erovnul i cnobierebiT datvirTuli asakovani axal gazrdobis udidesi nawili gadasaxl ebaSi an cixeebSi iyo gamomwyvdeuli. qveyanaSi Seqmnil i umZimesi politikiuri situacia da kremli is maRal CinosanTa mxridan qarTveli erisadmi biologiuri sizulvili, antsabWourad moazrovne adami anebis TavSekavebisken ubiZgebda. maT ZiriTad amocanas, qarTvel Ta winaarmdeg dagegmili sagadasaxl ebo politiki meore safexuris gansaxorciel eblad, kremli stvis sababis armicema warmoadgenda. yovelive zemoarni Snulis safuzvli anad gaanalizebidan gamomdinare, qarTuli emigraciis winase principul ad daisva sakiTxi: Tavisufli ebisavis brZolis gzaze, romeli saxel mwi fo gauwevda qarTvel ers Tanadgomas da saimedo partnirobas. am mxriv, qarTuli emigraciaSi pro-amerikul i da proevropuli mimdinareoba Camoyalibda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, romisini gansakutrebuli mnisvnelobas, aSS-isa da evropuli qveynis interesebtan, qarTvel Ta erovnul i interesebis Tanxvedras aniWebdnen. im periodis emigrantuli presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebuli publikaciebis mixedvit, proamerikel Tamtkicebit, qarTvel Ta erovnul i interesebi srulad emTxveoda ameriki SeerTebuli Statebis politiki miswrafebebs. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTuli emigraciis winase principul ad ayenebdnen sakiTxs, arni Snuli faqtisadmi gansakutrebuli yuradrebis miqcevisa da Sesabamisi daskvnebis gakeTebis Sesaxeb. aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, qarTuli emigraciaSi evropuli mimarTuli eba ufrosWarbobda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit gansakutrebuli yuradrebis mixaxmetel is moxseneba-`kavkasiis probl ema- iqcevs, romelic gazeTma` qarTul ma azrma- dabeWda. zemoarni Snuli sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, am dokumentSi vkiTxuli obT: `istoriuli urTierTobis vitarebis mixedvit, saqarTvel o ekuTvnis dasavleT evropiskultურის მსოფლიოს, saqarTvel o sulierad da ekonomურად umTavresad jer gadabmul i iyo saberZneT-romTan da Semdeg germania- safrangeTTan. dResac qarTvel oba, Tavisisul iskveTebita da kulturiT gadabmul ia dasavleT-Tan da TviT dasavleT evropistvis kavkasia Tavis ekonomikiT da komunikuri mnisvnel obiT warmoadgens usaWiroes damatebas. axl o momaval Si kavkasia gadaebmeba dasavleT evropas mokle da iafi pirdapiri xaziT... amitom, saqarTvel os miswrafeba unda iyos, romeli me dasavleT evropis unio nis kombinaciaSi SeWra.-²⁹

am amonaweris mixedvit kargad Cans, rom qarTuli emigracia, dasavleTTan qarTvel Ta tradiciuli urTierTobis arDgenas, saqarTvel oze gamaval i dasavleTisa da armosavleTis xidis maqsimal urad gamoyenebas, evropuli romeli me saxel mwi fos gaertianebaSi (uniaSi) adgili povnas unda cdili iyo. es mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda SesaZl ebeli, Tuki dasvleT evropis qveynebi ararusi erebis dacvisa da misi damoukidebl obisavis brZolis xel Sewyobis kurss aiRebdnen. am mimarTul ebit gansakutrebuli yuradrebis gadatana da Tanadgomis garantiis Seqmna, 1956 wl is martis movlenebis mware gamocdilebitac iyo aucil ebeli. Cemi azrit, es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi gazeT` qarTuli azrSi- dabeWdili mowinave statiis` niu- iorki, ianvari 1957 w.- avtors, roca qarTuli emigraciisa da saertod qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebeli moZraobis misamarTiwerdad: `dRes

Cveni istoriis yvel aze ufro kritikul momentSi qarTvel ebma unda gada-xedon nacad da istoriul ad gamarTl ebul brZol is taqtikas, Tanamedro-veobas Seuguon da ise gamoiyenon. Cveni matiane savsea rogorc aqtiuri ise pasiuri winaarMdegobebiT da orive SemTxvevisaTvis mocemul ia maRal i ostatebiT damuSavebul i formul a.~ am SemTxvevaSi, weril is avtors gansakuTrebuil i datvirTva, pasiuri winaarMdegobis taqtikaze gadaqonda da moqmedebis es forma, ssrk- Si im etapze Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciis Sesatyvi sad mi aCnda. mi Tumetes, omis Semdgomi periodidan, dasavl eTis saxel mwi foebi qarTul i emigraciis antisabWour saqmi anobas ver urigdeboda da gamarj vebul sabWoTa ruseTTan l acics pol itikuri meZavis doneze ganagrZobda. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT g.gabl ianis weril Si `qarTul i emigracia antibol Sevikur brZol aSi- vkiTxul obT: `omisgan daqancul i dasavl eTis demokratia j er kidev sakmarisad ar iyo garkveul i Tu ra real ur safrTxes warmoadgenda sabWoTa imperial izmi da qarTul i emigraciis sabWoeTisadmi Seurigebel i pozicia, mas ar moswonda. dasavl eTis demokratiam aramc Tu miatova qarTul i emigracia, aramed mraval i aTasi antikomunistur brZol aSi davaJkacebul i qarTvel i gadasca ruseTs. mi uxedavad amisa, qarTul i emigracia mTl ianad darCa antikomunistur poziciaze da verc dasavl eTis mcdarma pol itikam da verc bol Sevizmis macdurma Sepirebebma da ufro xSirad muqaram, Cvens emigracias antikomunistur brZol aze xel i ver aaRebina.³⁰ samwuxarod, dasavl eTis es pol itikuri kursi, gasul i saukunis 60- ian wl ebSiac metnakl ebi formiT grZel deboda. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis winase principul ad dai sva sakiTxi: qarTvel i erisTvis erovnul i Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad da provokaciebis asacil ebl ad, brZol is ra forma aerCi aT.

am uaRresad mni Svel ovan ki TxvasTan mi mar TebaSi, Cemi yuradReba g.gabl ianis zemoaRni Snul ma publ ikaciam `qarTul i emigracia antikomunistur brZol aSi- da 26 maisTan dakavSirebiT, qarTul i saTvistomos Tavmj domaris ozal dastani Svil is mier warmoTqmul ma sityvam miiqcia. Ti Toeul maTganis avtorTa ZiriTadi debul ebebi, Semdegi saxiT SeiZl eba iqnas warmodge- nil i: 1)Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebiT, qarTul i emigraciis SesaZl ebl obebi im etapze saagitacio- propagandistul CarCos ver gacdeboda. misi amocana unda yofil iyo: a)l egal uri saqmi anobis gamoyenebiT, dasavl eTis qveynebisatvis gaecno qarTul i sakiTxi, misi warsul i, kul tura, ekonomikur- pol itikuri da strategiul i mni Svel oba. SeeZina momxreTa da megobarTa ricxvi; b)mudmivi kontakti da Tanam- Sroml oba hqonoda sabWoTa ruseTis mier okupirebul erebTan, gansakuTre- biT kavkasiel ebTan. keTil mezobl uri damokidebul eba SeenarCunebinaT TurqeTTan; g)xel i SeewyoT emigraciis maRal i moral uri donisa da rusul komunistan brZol is aRmasvl is procesis SesanarCunebl ad; 2)emigraciis moval eobad unda qceul iyo: a)mimdinare pol itikuri procese- bis swori Sefasebisa da anal izis safuZvel ze qarTvel i erisatvis pragmatul i xasiaTis rCevebi mieca, raTa igi romel ime avantiuristis mier mowyobil i provokaciis msxverpl i ar gamxdariyo; b)mtrisaTvis, qarTvel Ta uazro sresisa da Jl etis sababi ar Seeqmna. maqsimal urad gamoeyenebina qarTvel Ta winaprebis brZol isa da Tavdacvis sibrZne; 3)qarTul i emigraciis intel eqtual urad moazrovne nawil isa da meTau-

rTa qmedebibi, pragmatul gadawyvetil ebebs unda dafuZneboda da Seqm-
 nil viTarebaze yofil iyo morgedul i. aqedan gamomdinare, erovnul i
 Tavisufl ebisTvis brZol is sayrdeni safexuri myarad SeenarCunebina.
 Sida dapi rispirebisaTvis bol o moeRo da erTobl ivi Zal ebiT dasaxu-
 l i miznis gansaxorciel ebel i RonisZieebis real izacia moexdina; 4)eris
 SemakavSirebel intel eqtual ur Zal ebs, droul ad unda ganesazRvra
 rusul - somxuri erovnebebis saqarTvel oSi masobrivad Camosaxl ebidan
 gamomdinare, qarTvel Ta erovnul Rirebul ebebze mizanimarTul i Set-
 eviT ganpirobeful i mosal odnel i katastroful i safrTxeebi. qarTul
 emigracias maqsimal urad unda ezruna saqarTvel oSi mimdinare antiqa-
 rTul i procesebis saerTaSoriso arenaze gasatanad. qarTvel Ta gasaWi-
 ri saerTaSoriso organizaciebis msjel obis sagnad gaexada da misi
 tribuna sabWoTa ruseTis imperiul i politikus samxil ebl ad gamoeyene-
 bina. progresul ad moazrovne da daCagrul i erebis gul Sematkivari Za-
 l ebisTvis daemtkicebina, rom okupaciis dRidan (1921 wl is Teberval -
 marti) dawyebul i 1965 wl is CaTvl iT, qarTvel i eri, sabWoTa reJimis
 winaarMdeg permanentul brZol as awarmoebda. Tuki XX saukunis 60- i ani
 wl ebis qarTul i emigraciis, gansakuTrebit qarTvel i social - demokrate-
 bis mier gaweul i saqmianobis Sesaxeb arsebul masal ebs gavecnobiT, da-
 vrwundebit, rom es politiki Zal a, nebismeri SesaZl ebl obis maqsi-
 mal urad gamoyenebas cdil obda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, venaSi 1957
 wl is 2 ivl iss gamarTul i social isturi internacional is mexuTe kon-
 gresze saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis del egaciis monawi-
 l eobis faqti warmoadgens. am forumze miRebul i rezol uci iT, sabWoTa
 ruseTis imperiul i politiki kursis dagmobasTan erTad, sol idaroba
 da mxardaWera gamoecxada Tavisufl ebisTvis mebrZol patara erebs. sa-
 qarTvel os sakiTxi gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis centrSi egzil social i-
 stebis konferenciis muSaobis dRis wesrigSi moeqca. am konferenciis Tavmj -
 domarem, poloneTis social isturi partiis meTaurma **zar embam**, damswre sa-
 zogadoebas mokled gaacno moskovel i dampyrobil ebis winaarMdeg qarTve-
 l i eris brZol is zogierTi epizodi da xazi gausva am brZol aSi qarTul i
 social - demokratiis rol sa da damsaxurebas. rac Seexeba qarTul i del -
 egaciis xel mZRvanel is nikoimnaiSvil is moxsenebas, SezRudul i regl ame-
 ntiT gaTval iswinebul i CarCos miuxedavad, saqarTvel os pirvel i respub-
 likis ganvil i warmatebul i wl ebis fonze, damswre sazogadoebas, okupan-
 ti qveynis winaarMdeg 1922- 1924 wl ebSi qarTvel i xalxis Seurigebl i
 brZol is mniSvnelovani detal ebi Seaxsena. xazgasmiT aRniSna 1956 wl is ma-
 rtis movlenebis istoriul i rol i qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel
 moZraobaSi. es faqti, mis mier saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenis
 mcdel obisken gadadgmul nabij ad iqna Sefasebul i. qarTvel i eri- ambob-
 da n. imnaiSvil i- dResacibrZvis saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRsad-
 genad. misi didi umravl esoba, dResac WeSmariti demokratiul i... ideebis
 niadagze dgas. mTel i simpatia da TanagrZnoba, gmiri ungreli eris, pol o-
 neTis da sxva erTa mxarezea, roml ebi cibrZvian sabWoTa imperial izmisa da
 tiraniis winaarMdeg. qarTvel i mSromel i xalxis saxel iT Tqvens winaSe
 vimeoreb: gaumarjos adamianis da eris Tavisufl ebas!...-
 aRniSnul konferenciaze saqarTvel os sakiTxis gatana da Sesabamisi re-

zol uci is mi Rebi sE faqti, qarTul i mxaris sasargebl od mxol od ideol ogi ur, pol itikur da moral ur datvirTvas atarebda. meore mxriv, maRal i saerTaSoriso tribuni dan sazogadoebas erTxel kidev Seaxsenes sabWouri kol onial izmis uRl is qveS mgminavi qarTvel i eris umZimesi yofa. rac Seexeba sabWoTa xel isufl ebis saxes, igi evropis qveynebi sTvis cnobil i iyo, magram garkveul i mosazrebebi dan gamomdinare, xSirad arsebul sinamdvil eze Tval s xuWavdnen da umniSvnel ovanes sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, sabWoTa ruseTTan kompromisze mi di odnen. mi uxedavad ami sa, ssrk- Si Semaval i erebis emigraciebis warmomadgenl ebi civil izebul i samyaros dasanaxad farxmal sar yridnen da sabWoTa saxel mwifos mTel i fizionomi is saaSkaraoze gamotanas cdil obdnen. ami T, patara erebis Tavisufl ebisTvis Sesabamis propagandas eweodnen. am mimarTul ebi T gatarებულ i Roni sZiebebi s Tval saCinoebis erT- erT magal iTs, 1957 wl is agvistos pirvel ricxvebSi, mi unxenSi gamarTul i `sabWoTa kavSirSi Semaval erovnebaTa ganTavisufl ebis ligis- (parizis bl okis) konferenci is muSaobis amsaxvel i masal ebi warmoadgens. am Roni sZiebaZe qarTul i emigraci is mxridan noe cincaZe, raJden arseniZe da sandro korZaia iyvnen miwveul ni. kavkasi is xal xTa saxel iT, moxsenebi T skorZaia gamovi da. konferenci is mier mi Rebul i rezol ucia ni u iorkSi gaeros gadaegzavna.

im dokumenturi masal is mixedviT, romel ic qarTul i emigraci is Zal isxmeviT Sei qmna da saerTaSoriso organizaciebis meSveobiT gaxmovanda, pragmatul i Tval sazrisiT, qarTvel i eris sasargebl od aranairi Sedegi ar gamouRia. sabWoTa ruseTi safexurebrivad agrZel ebda qarTvel Ta mimarT siZul vil isa da mizanmimarTul i genocidis tol fasovan qmedebebs. yovel ive aRni Snul idan gamomdinare, qarTvel i social - demokrati is ufrosi Taobis ukanasknel mohikanTa wi naSe, principul ad dai sva sakiTxi: ra saxis meqani zmis SemuSaveba iyo saWi ro, rom qarTvel i eri mosal odnel i provokaciebisa da ganadgurebis gan yofil iyo dazRveul i. es sakiTxi, mTel i sigrZe- siganiT saqarTvel os social - demokrati ul i parti is sazRvargareTul i organizaciebis 1957 wl is 19 oqtombris yril obamgani xil a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, k.kandel aki s moxsenebaSi_ `Cveni yofaqceva samSobl os ganTavisufl ebis aTvis brZol aSi- daskvnebis saxiT warmodgenil i Semaj amebel i nawil i. ramdenadac igi programul xasiaTs atarebs, misi avtoris naazrevisa da nafi qral is ukeT warmosaCenad, aRni Snul i teqstis srul ad motana mizanSewonil ad mi maCnia.

`Cemi moxsenebi dan da Cveni sakiTxis saerTaSoriso pol itikur mdgomareobasTan dakavSirebi T- ambobda k.kandel aki- Cven Semdegi daskvnebi unda gamovi yvanoT: 1)axl andel i pol itikuri mdgomareoba gvaal ebs, mtkiced davrCeT im poziciaze, romel zedac darCa Cveni xal xi saqarTvel os okupaci is Semdeg da misi pol itikuri emigracia ucxoETSi. ese igi, Cven unda davrCeT saqarTvel os damouki debl obisTvis brZol is ni adagze; 2)brZol a grZel deba. Tumca am brZol aSi mar to ar varT, magram man SeiZl eba kidev xangrZl ivi xasiaTi mi i Ros. ami sTvis saWi roa qarTvel erTan erTad, mTel ma emigraci am Seinarcunos erovnul i miswrafebani da ganamtkicos saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis aTvis Seurigebel i brZol is gadawyvetil eba; 3)saqarTvel os social - demokrati ul i parti is organizaciebi, sadac unda imyofebodes isini, Tavis moqmedebis dani Snul ebad saqarTvel os damouki debl o-

bis aRdgenas unda isaxavdes. rogorc amas isaxavdnen saqarTvel os okupaciis dRidan. imavdroul ad daicvas Tavisufal i eris yvel a suverenul i ufl eba, mis Sinaur da sagareo saqmeebSi sakuTari konstituciis fargl ebSi da am gadawyvetil ebas arasodes ar uRal aton; 4)Cveni xal xis wel Si gasatexad, Tavis qveyndan gadasasaxl ebl ad da ucxo el ementebis Cvens qveyanaSi Camosaxl ebiT, saokupacio xel isufli eba araviTar zomebs ar erideba. mters surs, saqarTvel o mas ekuTvnodes da misi miwa- wyal i ara qarTvel ebiT iyos dasaxl ebul i. mtris aseTi uniadago vel uri ganzraxvis mimarT, qarTvel xal xs marTebis didi sifrTxil e, rom provokaciis ankess ar wamoegos; 5)qarTul i emigracia imdenad mcirericxovania, rom qarTvel i erisadmi fizikurad da material urad daxmarebisTvis, igi ar warmoadgens Tval sacino Zal as. amitom, emigraciis xel mZrvanel Ta umTavres daniSnul ebad rCeba: gaacnos ganaTI ebul kacobriobas qarTvel i xal xis erovnul i sul iskveTeba da is gasaWiri, romel Siac Cayenebul ia axl a qarTveli i xal xi Tavis samSobl o qveyanaSi; aRimaRI os xma CvenSi gamefebul i Zal momreobis winaaRmdeg; amxil os ganaTI ebul i kacobriobis winaSe saokupacio xel isufli ebi muxanaTuri ganzraxvebi da daicvas qarTvel i eris saerTaSoriso ufl ebebi yvel gan, sadac mas xma miuwvdeba; 6)saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRsadgenad, sabWoTa kavSiris winaaRmdeg brZol aSi Cven SevdivarT saqmi an damoukidebul ebaSi Tu kavSirSi yvel a im erovnul da saerTaSoriso organizaciebTan, romel ni c: a)ibrZvian sabWoTa xel isufli ebi winaaRmdeg; b)udavod scnoben qarTvel i eris suverenul ufl ebas da miswrafebas TviT ganagon Tavis bedi damoukidebl obis aRdgenisTvis, aRiareben erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebas; g)sxva erebTan saqmi an `damoukidebul ebaSi Tu kavSirSi- dacul i unda iqnas damoukidebl oba qarTvel i eris,... araviTar SemTxvevaSi misi bedi ar unda gadaebas martod- marto erTi romel ime sxva eris beds, ramdenadac ZI ieri unda iyos igi; 7)Cveni moTxovnil eba erovnul sakiTxSi aris yvel a demokratiul i da social isturi partiebhis msgavsi. Cveni partiis xel mZRvanel i organoebi unda Seecadon,... mWidro kavSiri aRadginon meore internacional Si Semaval social istur partiebTan ise, rogorc es iyo ukanasknel i omis wina xanebSi; 8)garkveul i pol itikuri pl atformis ni adagze unda vecadoT: a)gavaerTianoT Cveni moqmedeba sxva qarTul pol itikur j gufebTan, upirvel es yovl isa TviT social - demokratiul i partiis SigniT; b)maTTan erTad SevZl oT Cveni sapropagando muSaobis gaZl iereba sxvadasxva wreebSi, sxvadasxva qveynebSi da upirvel es yovl isa iq, sadac saqarTvel o ukve nacbobi iyo damoukidebel saxel mwi fod; g)Cveni eris interesebi moiTxovs, raTa mWidro urTierTobaSi viyoT sabWoTa kavSirSi Zal iT SeyvaniI yvel a erebTan da upirvel es yovl isa Cvens mezobl ebTan; d)Cven unda SevideT sxvadasxva erebTan Tavisufal damoukidebul ebaSi, Cveni arCevani movaxdinoT da igi saerTo gzas SevuerToT. e)sasargebl od mi gvaCni a monawil eoba `amerikis komi tetis- muSaobaSi. saxel dobr, Tavisufal i si tyvis miwodebiT tyved myof mosaxl eobisTvis da sabWoTa sainformacio saSual ebebis mier gavr cel ebul i cru cnobebis gasafantavad. amisTvis Cven xel i unda SevuyyoT am muSaobas; 9)Cven mxars vuWerT da gverdsi vudgevarT yofil i erovnul i mTavrobis, rogorc saqarTveli os damoukidebl obis kanonier warmomadgenl obas qveynis ufl ebebis dacvis saqmeSi. Cven mxars vuWerT erovnul i sabWos muSaobas, rogorc pol itikuri

emigraciis gamaerTianebe l organizacias da vaval ebT Cvens warmomadgen-
l ebs, xel i Seuwyon misi muSaobis ganviTarebas; 10) qarTvel i eri ar Serige-
bia da arc Seurigdeba saokupacio xel isufl ebas; igi i brZvis da i brZol ebs
sxvadasxva saSual ebebiT ucxo qveynis batonobis uRl is gadasagdebad. sa-
qarTvel os social - demokratiul i partia, qveynis saxel mwifoebri vi da-
mouki debl obis aRdgenisTvis brZol aSi qarTvel erTan iyo da iqneba.-

am vrcel amonawerSi is ZiriTadi mimarTul ebebia motanil i, roml sac
qarTul i emigracia da misi xel mZRvanel i birTvi -erovnul i sabWo unda
dayrdnoboda. uki dures SemTxvevaSi, saokupacio reJimis winaaRmdeg da qa-
rTvel Ta erovnul i saxel mwifoebriobis aRdgenisTvis brZol aSi xel Semw-
yobis rol i Seesrul ebina. Tu rogor moxerxdeboda yovel ive es, ra qmedi-
Ti nabij ebs gadadgmas SeZl ebda im periodis pol itikurad dasustebul
mdgomareobaSi myofi qarTul i emigracia, amas dro warmoaCenda. AA

* * *

dapyrobi l i erebis Tavisufl ebi saken mi swrafebis mkacrma gamocdil ebam
(1956 wl is martis Tbil isis da imave wl is noembris budapeStis movl enebi),
qarTul emigracias Tval naTl iv ucvena, rom sabWoTa imperiis mesveurni,
gaTiTokacebul mdgomareobaSi myof respul i kebs advil ad gauswordeboda.
rac Seexeba `demokratiul samyarod- cnobil dasavl eT evropis
saxel mwifoTa pol itikur l iderebs, isini srul umoqmedobas i Cendnen
da Soridan mayurebl is mdgomareobis SenarCunebas amj obinebdnen. mo-
qmedebdnen ise, rasac TavianTi saxel mwifosa da eris interesebi karnax-
obda. aqedan gamomdinare, patara erebis gamosarCl ebis mcdel obas maqsi-
mal urad gaurbodnen. anal ogiuri pozicia eWira gaerTianebul i erebis
organizaciasac. sabWouri rusul i afTaris gaRizianebas yvel a eride-
boda. maTi mxridan pol itikurad meZavis ampl uaSi yofnam da sabWoTa
imperiasTan `dipl omatiurma arSiyobam,- qarTul i emigraciis pol itikuri
speqtri dil emis winaSe daayena. maT kargad dainaxes, rom 60- 70 - ian
wl ebSi, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisadmi mxar-
dasaWerad, dasavl eT evropas ar ecal a. Seqmnil i urTul esi pol itikuri
situacia, erovnul i ideal ebis- damouki debl obisken swrafvis safex-
uris msxvrevas aCqarebda. aseT pi robebSi, sabWoTa ruseTis imperiisadmi
dasapiri spi rebl ad, qarTul ma emigraci am erTaderT gamosaval saSual e-
bad, amierkavkasi is erTa gaerTianebis nacadi formis gamoyeneba CaTval a
mizansewoni l ad. dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebis pirvel safexurad, sab-
WoTa ruseTis mier amierkavkasi is dapyrobis progresul movl enad gamocx-
adebis ideol ogiuri barrieris daZl eva iqna miCneul i. am sakiTxTan dakav-
SirebiT, sabWoTa istoriografiis samxil i publ ikaciebis mTel i seria dabe-
Wda gazeTma `qarTul ma azrma.- amj erad, mxol od erT- erT maTganze_ `saqa-
rTvel o ustal inod da uberiod- SevaCereb mkiTxvel is yuradRebas. aRni S-
nul i statia imiTac aris saintereso, rom igi SesaniSnavad warmoaCens qa-
rTul sazogadoebri v azrovnebase gansakuTrebul zewol as da rusul i na-
cional izmis aRmavl obas. am publ ikaciaSi mravl adaa motanil i qarTul i
intel igenciis mxridan rusul i imperial izmis gafetiSebis zeaRmatebul

formebSi ayvanis faqtebi. samarTl iani sayveduria gamoTqmul i im adami-
anebis mimarT, roml ebic erT sityvasac ver imetebdnen, an kidev ar amete-
binebdnen im mavnebl uri saqmianobis Sesaxeb, romel sac mefisa da gasabWoe-
bul i ruseTis xel isufli eba iCenda qarTvel i erisa da misi saxel mwifo-
briobis mimarT.³¹

aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi Camoyal ibebul i es tendencia, sabWoTa xe-
l isufli ebis dasayrden mZl avr safexurad iqca. **emigraciaSi myofi kavkasiis**
xal xebis saRad moazrovne intel igencia kargad acnobierebda im moax-
l oebul safrTxebs, romel ic sabWoTa ruseTSi patara erebTan mima-
rTebaSi mzaddeboda. aqedan gamomdinare, maT winaSe mTel i princi pu-
l obiT ismeboda sakiTxi, mcire erebis mosal odnel i ubedurebi sgan xs-
nis meqani zmis SemuSavebis Sesaxeb. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul iniciativas
qarTul i emigracia iCenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs prof. mixaxmetel is mox-
seneba-`kavkasiis probl ema,- romel ic man 1946 wel s mi unxenSi gamarTul
qarTul - kavkasiur krebaze waikiTxa. es dokumenti, gansakuTrebul mni Svne-
l obas imiTac izens, rom masSi safuZvl ianadaa gaanal izebul i is ZiriTadi
mizezebi, ramac mTel i istoriis manZil ze kavkasiis erebis saxel mwifo-
briobis dacema da aRzeveba ganapiroba. `rogorc Soreul ma warsul ma-
ambobda maxmetel i- aseve axal ma istoriam gviCvena, rom rodesac kavkasiis
erebi erTmaneTs megobrobdnen, gaerTianebul ni, xel i- xel s mi cemul ni icavd-
nen Tavis saerTo samSobl o kavkasiis, maSin aRorZinebis gzas adgnen, xol o
rogorc ki maTSi Suri, RvarZl i da gaTiSva sufevda, rodesac isini sxvada-
sxva gareSe Zal ebze orientacias axdendnen, erTi meoris winaaRmdeg i brZodnen,
hkargavdnen Tavisufli ebas, iZarcvebodnen, ingreodnen da isrisebodnen. ruseTis
1917 wl is revol uciis Semdeg, rodesac kavkasiis erebma nacional uri damo-
uki debl oba moi poves, SesaZl ebel ia kavkasiis saxel mwifoTa ganvitareba
sxva gziT wasul iyo, rom maT saerTo politikiuri pl atformis Seqmna moexe-
rxebinaT. ami tom, saqarTvel os wminda moval eobaa am Sinaur mters mTel i
Zal RoniT SebrZol os da sZl ios. kavkasiis erTa Soris erTmaneTisadmi
ndoba aRadginos da daamkvidros. Tu kavkasiis erebma SeZl es amgvari me-
zobl uri cxovrebi Seqmna, maSin gareSe mtrebi ver SeuSl ian xel s kavkasiis
konfederaciis Seqmnas da ganmtkicebas.-

am vr cel amonawerSi, faqtobrivad kavkasiis erebis l iderTa samoqmedo
mimarTul ebaa mocemul i da misi praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba, kavkasiis erebis
saxel mwifoebriobis aRdgenisa da gadarCenis ZiriTad pirobadaa miCneul i.
yuradRebis centrSi, am ideis dauZinebel i mtrebi sawinaaRmdego qmedeba-
caa mocemul i. am fonze, kavkasiis erTa Soris winaaRmdegobebi Tarsebul
barierzedacaa miTitebul i. **ganvli i istoriul i procesebi T dadasture-**
bul ia, rom aRniSnul faqtors, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis Sesabamisi uwe-
bebi maRal doneze iyenebda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki am barieris daZl eva
moxerxdeboda, mxol od amis Semdeg gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i kavkasiis
erebis l iderTa mxridan konsesusze dafuZnebul i samoqmedo gegmis
SemuSaveba. mitumetes, istoriul i gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, poli-
tikurad saSual o doneze moazrovne adami anisTvisac cxadi unda yo-
fil iyo, rom ruseTis swrafva samxreTisken, samxreT- aRmosavl eTisa da
samxreT- dasavl eTisken, kavkasiis, rogorc aziisa da evropis damakav-
Si rebel i xidis gankargvis survil iT iyo ganpirobebul i. am Canafiqrze

mi si mxridan Tundac nawil obrivad xel is aRebi s mi Rweva, an nawil obri-
vad SeCereba, udi des sirTul eebTan da riskebTan iyo dakavSirebul i.
saukuneebis manZil ze, ruseTis batonobam kavkasiaze da axl oaRmosav-
l eTisken frTebis gaSl is swrafvil survil ma, rusul i pol itikuri moR-
vaweebi s cnobierebaSi kavkasi is gaTavi seba moaxdi na. aqedan gamomdi nare,
kavkasi is xal xebze batonobis SenarCunebas, Cveul ebriv movl enad aRiq-
vamdnen. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki am wredis gawyveta garedan, sxva saxel mwi-
foTa Carevi T moxdeboda, kavkasi a ubedurebis zonad ruseTisa da sxva
qveynis saomari moqmedebis moednad gadaiqceoda. im periodis qarTul i
emi graci is mesveurebs, es garduval i safrTxe kargad hqondaT gacnobi ere-
bul i da provokaciul i sababis micemas maqsimal urad gaurbodnen. imasac
iTval iswinebdnen, rom ruseTis xel isufal ni, mezobel i erebis damouki de-
bl obas tradiciul ad ver itanda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebi T, mi x.axmetel is
moxsenebaSi `kavkasi is probl ema- vkiTxul ob: `bumberazi ruseTis damr-
Rvevi rol i qveynebTan urTierTobaSi, msofi lom ukve sakmaod Seigno. igi
evl ineba mas rogorc sxva erebis dampyrobi, uxeSi cini kuri agresori, avan-
turizmis da msofi io konfl iqtebis wyaro... dRes igi SeiWra yvel a qveya-
naSi, emuqreba maT saxel mwi fos Signidan afeTqebi T,... uJl ets saukeTeso
Zal ebs. swaml avs msofi io haers rusul i nacional izmi T.^{~32}

am amonawerSi TiTqmis srul adaa warmoceni l i rusul i imperial izmis saxe
da sxva erebTan misi damokidebul ebis formebi. vfiqrob aq motani l i yove-
l i si tyva nebi smieri pol itikuri moRvawisTvis gasaTval iswinebel i unda
yofil iyo. mi Tumetes, ruseTis orpirovani ianusis saxe, 1920 wl is 7 maisis
ruseT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul ebis darRvevam ki dev ufro warmoaCi na. wa-
rsul is gamocdil ebis es faqti, qarTul i mxarisTvis saukeTeso gakveTil s
warmoadgenda. saerTaSoriso forumebze, saqarTvel os del egaci is zogier-
Ti warmomadgenl ebi, gadamwyvet momentSi warsul is gamocdil ebis gaTval -
iswinebas ver axerxebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs parizis bl okis qveynebis_ sa-
bWoTa kavSiris ararusi 8 eris warmomadgenl ebis konferencia, romel ic
1956 wl is 13- 17 Teberval s mi unxenSi Catar da. am forumis muSaobaSi monaw-
il eobdnen: somxeTidan_ tomasiani, azerbaij anidan_ mirza- bal am, bel orusi-
idan_ abramCiki, ukrainidan_ dovgal i, Crdil o kavkasi idan_ al .kantemiri da
axmed magoma, saqarTvel odan_ n.cincaZe da r.arseni Ze, Turqestani dan- verdi
murati, idel - ural idan_ sul tanovi. TiToeul i del egacia, TiTo xmis uf-
l ebi T sargebl obda. pol itikuri urTierTobebis sakiTxebis garkvevi sas,
konferenciaze ori urTierTsawinaarmdego pozicia Camoyal ibda: 1)parizis
bl oks TanamSroml oba unda qonoda amerikul komi tetTan. mi si Tavmj domare
serj anti, am urTierTobaze Tanxmobas acxadebda da bl okis xel mZRvanel o-
bisgan muSaobis gegmis wardgenas moiTxovda; 2)n.cincaZis mtki cebi T, pi rv-
el rigSi SeTanxmeba parizis bl oksa da `rusul i demokratiis- warmomad-
genl ebs Soris unda momxdariyo. mxol od amis Semdeg gadaedgaT moqmedeb-
is Sesatyvisi nabiji. es Sexedul eba danarCeni 7 qveynis del egatebi saTvis
miuRebel i aRmoCnda. mi Tumetes, n.cincaZe ar akonkretebda, Tu romel Zal ebs
gul isxmobda igi `rusul i demokratiis- cnebaSi. am faqtor ma, konferenci-
is monawil eTa mxridan qarTul i del egaci is mimarT, gansakuTrebul i uary-
ofiTi damokidebul eba Seqmna. mxedvel obaSi maqvs konferenciaze parizis
`bl okis- warmomadgenel Ta bazaze, prezidi umis arCevisas (Tavmj domare_

abramoviCi, Tavmj domaris moadgil e_ tovmasi ani, mdivani_ sazontievi) qarTul i mxaris ignori eba. n.cincaZisa da r.arseniZis mier prezidi umi sadmi wardgenil saprotesto weril Si, `bl okis- mxridan prezidi umi sadmi undobl oba iyo gamocxadebul i. rac Seexeba masTan urTierTobis gagrZel ebis gadawvetil ebas, weril is avtorebi qarTul i sabWos prerogativad Tvl ida. am faqts ukeTebda ra anal izs, gazeTi `qarTul i azri- werda: `Cvens mdgomareobaSi myofi erebis mier uaryofil i da gariyul i del egati_ qarTvel i rom ar yofil iyo, Cven am sakiTxs mxol od qronikaSi aRvni Snavdi T, magram b-ni cincaZe da b-ni arseniZe konferenci aze qarTvel ebis saxel iT l aparakobdnen da amitom saqme yvel a qarTvel s exeba. Cven aqamde sxvanairi magal iTebi gvaxsovs. qarTvel del egatebs mudam (kavkasiuri iyo Tu `prometes- fronti, sadac igive erebi Sedi odnen) Rirseul ad eWiraT Tavi, rom Zal ian xSirad yvel a sxva erebis azrisa da pozici is gamomsaxvel ad isini gamodi odnen. aseve iyo TviT `parizis bl okSi c,- sadac si kvdil amde mTavarrol s TamaSobda gansvenebul i evgeni gegeWkori. am organizciaSi qarTvel ebis aseTi gariyva usaTuod maCvenebel ia imisa, rom b-ni cincaZis pol itika, romel mac `visbadenis- konferenci is Semdeg qarTul emigraciaSi didi pol emika gamoiwvia, mi uRebel i yofil a Cvens bedSi myofi sxva erebisTvisac. rac ufro adre daij erebs amas b-ni cincaZe, miT ukeTesi iqneba qarTvel ebisa da piradaT misi saxel iTvisac.³³

Cems mier zemoT motanil i masal ebi adasturebs, rom amierkavkasi is erebis gaerTianebsa da rusul i imperiisadmi dasapirispirebel i droSa, romel ic qarTul i emigraci is l iderebs aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi xel T epyra, somxebisa da azerbaij anel ebis saxiT im pol itikurma Zal am miitaca, rom l ebi c mudamJams orpirovani ianusis rol s TamaSobda da pol itikurad meZavis kurss adga. momxdari faqti, qarTul i emigraci is avtoritetis seriozul ryevaze mi gvani Snebs. **TaobaTa cvl is procesi dan gamomdinare, pol itikur asparezze wamotivtivebul nakl ebad cnobil pirovnebebs, mimdinare procesebisadmi pol itikuri al Ros droul ad aRebis gamWriaxoba ar yofni da. aqedan gamomdinare, amierkavkasi is erebis gaerTianebs medroSis SenarCunebasac ver axerxebdnen. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i emigraci is pol itikuri kursi, ufrosi Taobis mier SemuSavebul mimarTul ebas unda dayrdnoboda da erovnul i damouki debl obis mosapovebl ad dawyebul i brZol a, sxva daCagrul i erebis mxardamxar gaegrZel ebina. es sakiTxebi, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i parti is sazRvargareTul i organizaciebis yril obaze (1957 wl is 19 oqtomberi) sagangebod iqna ganxil ul i. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevs k.kandel akis moxseneba_ `Cveni yofaqceva samSobl os ganTavisufl ebisaTvis brZol aSi.- am uaRresad mniSvnel ovan dokumentSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i: `Cveni upirvel esi ufl ebrivi mdgomareoba srul ebiT ar abrkol ebs Cvens damoki debul ebas ganTavisufl ebisTvis mebrZol sabWoTa kavSirSi Semaval sxva erebTan, maTTan sagnobriv_ mi znobriv kavSirs da kerZod mWi dro kavSirs Cvens mezobl ebTan kavkasi is erebTan. saerTo mtris wi naaRmdeg brZol aSi Cven maTTan varT da maTTan viqnebi T, xol o viqnebi T Cveni sakuTari saxiT da erovnul - ganTavisufl ebisTvis brZol is Cveni sakuTari erovnul i programiT, Cveni gansxvavebul i moTxovnil ebebi T zog SemTxvevaSi da amisTvis Cvens gankargul ebaSi arsebul Sesafer dasabuTebi T.-**

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom sabWoTa xel isufli ebis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi, qarTvel ers, kavkasiis erebis mxardamxar unda emoqmeda, ma-gram misi yovel i nabiji sakuTar erovnul programaze da qarTvel Ta Sesatyvis moTxovni ebepze yofil iyo dafuznebul i. es imas niSnavs, rom qarTvel obas, XX saukunis 20- 30- iani wl ebis msgavsad, amierkavkasiis erebis ganmatavisufli ebel i moZraobis mesaWeobis kursi gaegrZel ebina. yovel SemTxvevaSi, qarTvel Ta erovnul i interesebi sxvaTa kaprizebi-sadmi ar daeqvemdebarebina. aRniSnul i moxseneba imiTac aris sayuradRebo, rom masSi kavkasiis erebTan urTierTobis ramdenime saprogramo mi-TiTebacaa mocemul i. 1)ganTavisufli ebisTvis mebrZol i erebis gansxvavebul i gzis, fsiqol ogiisa da pretenziebis gamo, maTi warmomadgenl ebisgan erTi mudmivi organos Seqmna da moqmedebis gegma, maqsimal ur konsesuss unda dafuzneboda; 2)sxva erebis warmomadgenl ebis kanonier i moTxovnebis pativiscemas, qarTvel Ta erovnul i interesebis ignori reba ar unda dadeboda safuzvl ad; 3)ssrk- is Semadgenl obaSi moqceul i erebis cal - cal ke momzadeba, erTiani Zal ebiT antisabWoTa gamosvl ebisTvis myar safuzvel s Seqmni da. aseTi poziciis fonze, imave moxsenebis avtor_i kandel aki, garkveul i formiT gamafRTxil ebel miTitebsac izl eoda: `saWiroa_ vkiTxu- l obT dokumentSi_ sxva mebrZol erebTan mudmivi kontaqti da Tavis daW- era iseTi nabij ebidan, romel mac SesaZl ebel ia avnos saerto saqmes. sabWo- Ta kavSiris winaaRmdeg mebrZol sxvadasxva erebTan urTierToba... saTuTi sakiTxia, roml is gadaWra erTi xel is mosmiT da erTnairaT SeuZl ebel ia. Cvenis mxrit, sxva erebTan damokidebul ebis sakiTxSi... unda vixel mZRvane- l ot im debul ebit, romel ic erovnul i sabWos miera miRebul i: `saqmi ani damokidebul eba Tu kavSiri unda daviWiroT yvel a im... erebis warmomadgen- l ebTan, roml ebic: 1)udaod cnoben qarTvel i eris suverenul ufl ebeps, TviT ganagos Tvisi bedi; 2)aritareben saertod erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebas urezervod; 3)ibrZvian sabWoTa xel isufli ebis winaaRmdeg.³⁴

rusul i imperiisadmi dasapirispirebl ad Tu romel erebTan SeeZl o saqa- rTvel os urTierTobis damyareba, Cems mier motanil amonawerSi gamokveTil i saxiT aris dasmul i. miuxedavad amisa, masSi regionis saxel mwi foTa gaer- Tianebis forma dakonkretebul i araa. am xarvezis Sevsebis mcdel obas Se- icavs mi xaxmetel is moxseneba_ `kavkasiis probl ema.- xazgasmiT mi nda aRvni Sno, rom am dokumentis ZiriTadi debul ebebi programul i xasiaTisaa. igi kavkasiis erebis saxel mwi foebri vi gaertianebis model is Seqmnis da am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi miseul i xedvis dasabuTebis mcdel obas warmoadgens. masSi dasmul i ZiriTadi sakiTxebi Semdegi saxiT SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)pol i- tikuri situaciT ganpirobebul i izul ebidan gamomdinare, erovnul i damo- uki debl obis SenarcunebisTvis mebrZol patara saxel mwi foebis, suverenul i ufl ebepis garkveul i nawil i msxverpl ad unda gaeRo da regional ur far- gl ebSi sxva qveynebtan SeekavSirebina. maTi survil isamebr momxdariyo ga- erTianebis princi pis_ federacia an konfederacia arCeva. axl ad Seqmnil i pol itikuri gaertianebis moqmedeba_ saerto sagareo, samxedro da finan- sur- ekonomikur pol itikas unda dafuzneboda. aseTi kursiT, Tavianti sus- ti poziciebis gamagrebas da saerto Zal ebiT okupanti an imperial isturi qveynebisadmi Rirseul ad dapirispirebas SeZl ebdnen; 2)saqarTvel os geo- pol itikuri mdebareobidan da regionze ucxo Zal ebis gansakuTrebul i

interesi dan gamomdinare, qarTvel obas erovnul i saxel mwi foebri obis gan-
 martoebiT dacva ar SeeZl o. arsebul i real obis gaTval iswinebiT, igi iZu-
 l ebul i iyo, mezobel erebTan SekavSi rebiT, erTiani kavkasiis konfederaci-
 a Seqmna da saerTo Zal iT, kavkasiis saxel mwi foebri obis aRdgena-
 dacva moexdina; 3)m.axmetel is mtkicebiT, kavkasiis konfederaciis idea, saqarTve-
 l os istoriul i warsil idan (daviT kuropal ati, daviT aRmaSenebel i, Tam-
 ar mefe...) iRebda saTaves. igi damouki debel saxel mwifoTa kavSirad an
 federal uri kavkasiis saxel mwifod SeiZl eba Camoyal ibebul iyo. misi ganx-
 orciel ebis SemTxvevaSi, konfederaciis an federaciis yovel subieqts, Si-
 auri cxovrebis (marTva- gameoba, social ur- ekonomikuri, sul ier- kul tu-
 rul i) mowyobaSi damouki debel i moqmedebis ufl ebebi unda hqonoda. ram-
 denadac msofi io sameurneo urTierToba kavkasiis qveynebs axal i gamowveve-
 bis wi naSe ayenebda, kavkasiis konfederaciis saxel mwi foebri vi sakomunika-
 cio saSual ebebi, erTian sabaJos, satarifo da finansur politikas unda
 damyareboda; 4)kavkasiis konfederaciis SenarCuneba- gaZl ierebis sayrdeni
 safexuri, Sida da sagareo politikis erTian saxel mwi foebri v orienta-
 ciaz e unda yofil iyo agebul i. `orientacia kavkasiaze- ambobda m.axmetel i-
 unda iyos dogma kavkasiis erebis politikuri sul iskveTebis. centrofuga-
 l uri miswrafebani, fundamental ur sagareo urTierTobis sakiTxebSi pol iti-
 kuri separatizmi, daRupavs ara mar to kavkasiis konfederacias, aramed cal ke
 saxel mwi foebis sac.- kavkasiis erebSi im etapze moskovis sawi naaRmdago pol iti-
 kuri azris Seqmna da kavkasiuri patriotizmis mtkiced fesvgadgma, Tavi su-
 fl ebisTvis mebrZol i kavkasiuri erebis SesakavSi rebel i safexuris momza-
 debis SesaZl ebl obas qmni da. kavkasiuri erebis miswrafebis xel Semwyobi
 politikuri sivrcis Seqmnis daCqareba, msofi ios wmyvani saxel mwi foebis
 aqtiur moqmedebaze iyo damouki debul i. am SemTxvevaSi, ganmsazRvrel i rol i
 kavkasiis ekonomikur da geopolitikur faqtors unda Seesrul ebina. `msofi-
 l ioSi- ambobda m.axmetel i- iSvi aTad moi poveba kavkasiis odena teritoria,
 romelic ase mdi daria bunebrivi simdi dreebiT, mineral uri da original uri
 ganZeul obi T, Tavis sami mosvl o da saerTo geoekonomiuri da politikuri
 mniSvnel obi T... kavkasia war moadgens karebs, iafoxid- gzas mdi dari centra-
 l uri da Sua azi isken. Tu Cven amas mi vumatebT kavkasiis ganTqmul minera-
 l ur wyl ebs da mis bunebriv sil amazes, mis geopolitikur mniSvnel obas,
 maSin gavigebT, ruseTs kavkasiaze xel is aReba ratom ar surs.- 5)m.axmetel is
 mtkicebiT, kavkasiis konfederaciis amosaval i fundamenti_ `kavkasia ka-
 vkasiel ebis aTvis unda yofil iyo.- es imas ni Snavda, rom kavkasiis axl ad
 Seqmnil i saxel mwifo gaerTianeba, arcerT ucxo qveyanaze ar iqneboda damok-
 idebul i da misi sagareo politikuri kursi neitral itets daefuZneboda,
 anu, moxdeboda misi `Sveicari zacia.- im SemTxvevaSi Tuki dasaxul i mizani
 ganxorciel deboda, kavkasiis konfederacia regionSi mSvidobis Seqmnis
 garanti gaxdeboda. `kavkasiis konfederaciis neitral uri kursi- ambobda
 m.axmetel i- kavkasi as gadaaqcevs... mSvidobianobis Robed, al agmavs eqspan-
 sur Zal ebs, moaxdens dampyrobTa sul iskveTebis paral izebas da am gziT
 Seqmnis aucil ebel pirobebs mSvidobis ganmtkicebi saTvis. kavkasiis nei-
 tralizacia ufro mSvidobian nayofs gamoiRebs momaval msofi io proces-
 ebSi vidre Sveicari am gamoiRo warsul Si.-

m.axmetel is moxsenebi dan motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi, amier kavkasi-

is konfederaci is Seqmni sa da misi nei tral i tetis gansaku Trebul i mni S-
 vnel obis dasabu Tebis mcdel obas Sei cavda. magram, Ti Tqmis yurad Rebis
 mi Rma tovebda im wi naa Rmdegobriv real obas, romel ic teritoriul pre-
 tenzieb Tan aris dakav Si rebul i. mxedvel oba Si maqvs azerbaijan_ somxe-
 Tis mxridan saqar Tvel os Tan mimar Teba Si, kavkasiur da saer Ta Soriso
 konferenci ebze 1918, 1919, 1920 wl eb Si wamoyenebul i usa fuZvl o preten-
 ziebi. anal ogiuri procesi gagr Zel da 1921- 1938 da Semdom wl eb Si ac.
 warsul is mware gamocdil ebi dan gamomdinare, amier kavkasi is er Ta gaer-
 Tiane bis saki Txis XX saukunis 60- 70- ian wl eb Si dasmi s Tanave, sumxuri
 mxare teritoriul pretenziebs ma Sinve wi na pl anze wamoswevda da er-
 Tiani saxel mwifos Tvis sasicocxl o mni S vnel obis gadawyvetil ebebis
 mi Rebas xel s Seu Sl ida. ase moi qca igi 1918 wel s, amier kavkasi is demokra-
 tiul i federaciul i respubl ikis arsebobis period Si. es faqti, Sesa-
 bamisi samecni ero l iteraturi Ta da saar qivo masal ebi Taa dadasture-
 bul i. istoriul i gamocdil ebi dan gamomdinare, am gaer Tiane ba Si Semava-
 l i erebis (somxebis, azerbaijan el ebis) wi naa Rmdegobriv i qmedeba, qar Tv-
 el er Tan mimar Teba Si imdenad didi iyo, rom misi arseboba Tvi T qar Tvel eb-
 is Tvis gaxda mi u Rebel i. samwuxarod, es istoriul i real oba 1966 wel s
 aravis gaxsenebi a. mxedvel oba Si maqvs amier kavkasi is damouki debel i fed-
 eraciul i respubl ikis Seqmni dan (1918 wl is 22 april i) 48 wl is a Rmni S-
 vnel i sai ubil eo sa Ramo, romel ic gaer Tiane bul i kavkasi is organi zaci-
 is (gko) xel mZRv banel obi T ni u i ork Si gaimar Ta. gaer Tiane bul i kavkasi-
 is organi zaci is (gko) Tavmj domaris s. dardunis Txovni T, sazeimo krebas
 al .Cxenkel i xel mZRvanel obda. amier kavkasi is er Ta gaer Tiane bis aucil e-
 bl obis fonze, al .Cxenkel ma damswre sazogadoebas er Txel ki dev Seaxsena
 ruse Tis agresiul i pol itikuri kursi kavkasi is ereb Tan mimar Teba Si. `ruse-
 Ti_ ganacxada man_ Secvl il i ni Rbi T, magram igive tradiciul i veragobi T
 meorej er Semoi Wra kavkasia Si da rigri gobi T dai pyro damouki debel i re-
 spubl ikebi.~ imave al .Cxenkel ma xazi gausva im samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol-
 las, romel ic kavkasi is Ti Toeul ma erma dampy robel ruse Ts gauwi a vidre
 ricxovnebam Tavisi ar gaitana. `kavkasi is erebis damouki debl oba ruse Tma
 mospo, magram am brZol ebma ori ram daumtkices kacobri obas: 1) sabWo Ta ru-
 se Tis namdvil i kol oni uri buneba da 2) kavkasi is erebi ucxo batonobis wi-
 naSe qeds ar ixrian da dakargul i Tavisu fl ebis a Rsadgenad aravi Tar ms-
 xverpl sar eridebian.~ rusul i komunisturi imperial izmis sul Tamxu Tavi
 pol itiki dan gamomdinare, kavkasi is erebis gaer Tiane bis saWi roeba al .Cxe-
 nkel ma aucil ebl obad mi i Cni a. misi mtkicebi T, am mimar Tul ebi T gadadgmu-
 l i nabij i, kavkasi is er Ta sico cxi is Senar Cunebis myar fundaments Seqmni-
 da. imave Roni sZie baze, ua Rresad angari Sgasawe vi si tyva warmo Tqva hamil-
 ton fi Serma (anti amerikul i sagamo Ziebo komi tetis damaarsebel i, yofil i
 kongresmeni da l afaietis sxel obis amerikul i organi zaci is Tavmj domare).
 patara ereb Tan mimar Teba Si, rusul i imperial izmis agresiul i pol itikis
 daxasia Tebis fonze, man dadebi Tad Seafasa kavksi is er Ta gamZl eoba da da-
 mouki debl obisa Tvis l tol va. `Tqveni s Tana erebis suverenul ad cxovre-
 ba- ganacxada h. fi Serma- real obaa. mxol od droa saWi ro da kavkasi is ere-
 bi kvl av moi poveben suverenobas. me vici rom Tqveni qveynebi Cveul i vaJka-
 cobit itanen bol Sevikur sivel ures da barbarosobas. rac ufro mwarea

sabWoebis mier miyenebul i tkivil i, miT ufro didia Tavisufl ebi saTvis l tol va... Tqveni dampyrobli s dacema mxol od drois sakiTxi a... Tqven unda SeinarCunoT Tqveni miswrafeba. nu daiwiwyebT rom Tqven martoni aRara xarT, Tqven gematebaT axal i mokavSi reebi, sabWoeTi ki martovdeba... Tqveni ganTavisufl ebi ganTiadi axl ovdeba.³⁵

aseTive gamamxnevel i si tyviT mimarTa kavkasiel ebs ganmaTavisufl ebel i amerikel moqal aqeta organizaciis Tavmj domarem al fred kornim da niu iorkis Statis masonebis didi l oJis Tavmj domarem kap. vizerspuurma. gansakuTrebul i STabeWdil eba moaxdina aSS- is prezidentis j onsonis da sagareo saqmeTa ministris roskis misasal mebel ma depeSebma. marTal ia, oratorTa gamosvl ebi da depeSebi, imedis momcemi si tyvebiT mTavrdeboda, magram real uri Sedegi ar Canda. es RonisZieba Tavisit, xasiaTIT mxol od ideol ogiur datvirTvas atarebda, radgan, iq Sekrebi l T, kavkasiis erebis emigraciebis warmomadgenel Ta gasaerTianebl ad, pragmatul i xasiaTis aranai ri gadawyvetil eba ar miuRiaT. arsebul i mdgomareobis win wawevas isaxav da miznad `parizis bl okis- monawil e organizaciebis 1962 wl is 8- 12 ivl isis miunxenis konferencia. mis muSaobaSi saqarTvel os (n.cincaZe, d.sxirtl aZe, nik.imnaiSvil i, l .faRava), azerbaij anis, somxeTis, bel orusiis, ukrainis, yirimis, Turqestanis, idel - ural is (TaTar- baSkirebi), Crdil o kavkasiis 45 del egati monawil eobda. konferenciam 9 sakiTxi ganxil a. miRebul i rezol uci iT, mcire erebis nacional uri kul turebis winaARmdeg moskovis SeteviTi pol itikis SesaCerebl ad, saerTaSoriso organizaciebs mowodebiT mimarTa. imavdroul ad Seaxsena, rom ucxo Zal is mier patara erebisadmi warTmeul i damouki debl obis aRsadgenad, maqsimal uri xel Sewy oba gamoeCinaT.³⁶ am SemTxvevaSi, konferencia gansakuTrebul rol s, sabWoTa ruseTis gan damonebul i erebis erTsul ovan moqmedebas aniWebda. es idea iyo Cadebul i, saqarTvel os damouki debl obis 50 wl is Tavisadmi miZRvni l i qarTul i asociaciis parizis sazeimo sxdomaze (1968 wl is 26 mai si) qarTvel i erisa da qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciisadmi gakeTebul mimarTvaSi. masSi dasmul kiTxvaze: Seqmnil pol itikur si tuaciaSi Tu ra ekeTebina qarTul pol itikur emigracias, pasuxi konkretul ad iyo gacemul i: `Cven ra unda vakeToT Seqmnil pi robebSi? ai pasuxi: raime saxiT cal keul i, separa tul i gza Tavisufl ebisken SenTvis (Cvens droSi) ar arsebobs, gamoricx ul ia! Sen unda awarmoo pol itika megobroba- sol idarobisa, pirvel yov l isa, Sens bedSi, tyveobaSi myof erebTan. eseni arian: (somxebi da azerbaij anel ebi, Crdil o- kavkasiel ebi da Turqestanel ebi, ukrainel ebi da bel orusebi, l itvel ebi, l atviel ebi da estonel ebi), _ erTaSorisi keTil mezobl obisa da megobrobis Zafebi unda gadaebas TviT rusis xal xsac. amisTvis erTi aucil ebel i pi roba unda iqnas ganxorciel ebul i: man unda scnos udaod Cveni eris ufl eba damouki debel , suverenul arsebobaze, _ rusis eris qceva unda Seefardos, daemTxvas misi saxel ovani Svil is- gercenis devizs: `Tqveni da Cveni Tavisufl ebi sTvis.-

davaskvniT; yovel gvar kriziss Tu gadatexas Cveni eri mzad unda Sexvdes erTiani da mTl iani. darwmunebul i imaSi, rom eris beds sabol oo angariS- Si TviT eris uryevi nebi syofa gadawyvets.-

am vr cel amonawerSi motani l i ZiriTadi debul ebi siswores, XX sauku-

nis 70 – ian wl ebis saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciis da erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis amsaxvel i masal ebic adasturebs.

amrigad, naSromSi motanil i masal ebi da misi anal izi, Semdegi formiT SeiZl eba Sej amdes: 1) i. stal inisa da l .berias mier represirebul Ta sareabil itaci od 1953- 1954 wl ebSi gatarebul i RonisZiebebi, l iberall izmisa da demokratizmis il uziis Seqmnaze, pol itikuri sistemis mosal odnel i cvl il ebebis Sesaxeb sazogadoebaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis mosaxdenad iyo gaTvl il i.

pol itikurad momgebiani zemoaRniSnul i RonisZiebebis fonze, wina wl ebis danaSaul ebrivi saxel mwifoebri vi qmedebebis qarTvel i erisadmi aSkara Tu farul i gadabral ebebis permanentul i tendencia, eris jansaRad moazrovne nawil is wonasworobidan gamoyvanaze da qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg Suris saZiebl ad Sedgenil i gegmis amoqmedebaze iyo gaTvl il i. dasaxul i miznis xel Semwyobi safexuris funqcia, partiis XX yril obis gadawyvetil ebebma Seasrul a.

2) 1956 wl is 5- 9 martis mitingebze i. stal inisa da mmarTvel i partii- sadmi mxardaWeris l ozungebis fonze, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis sakiTxis dayeneba, pol itikurad gamarTul qmedebas warmoadgenda. xel isufli ebas, ucxo qveynis j aSuSebad momitingebis gamosacxadebl ad frTebis ukvecavda. mitingis monawil eTa 5 kaciani del egaciis CineTis saxal xo respublikis mTavrobis Tavmj domaris moadgil e j u de- stan Sexvedra, misi warmomadgenel is momitingeTa winaSe gamosvl a, pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri Tval sazrisiT gansakuTrebul datvirTvas atarebda. Teatral uri institutis studentis givi baramiZis mier 8 marts gamotanil i l ozungi_`gaumarj os Tavisufal saqarTvel os, Zirs kol onial - izmi!- qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis mSvidobiani formiT ganaxl ebis oficial uri ganacxadis CarcoSi Tavsdeboda.

3) kavSirgabmul obis saxl Tan rusi samxedroebis gan momitingeTa provokaciaze wamogebam da maTdami avtomaturi i araRidan 9 marts cecxli is gaxsnam, qarTvel Ta sanimusod dasj is da misadmi biol ogiuri siZul vil is demonstrirebis saxemi i Ro. skkp cekas 1956 wl is 10 ivl isis dadgenil ebiT Seqmnil i komisiis meSveobiT, central uri xel isufli eba sinamdvil is gayal bebas da qarTvel i axal gazrdebis samarTl ebrivad dadanaSaul ebas isaxavda miznad. am amocanis verSesrul ebaSi, qarTvel i eqimebis maRal ma principul obam da profesional izmma gadamwyveti roli iTamaSa.

sazRvargareTis qveynebis pol itikuri el itis da masmediis saSual ebebis mxridan, 1956 wl is martis movl enebis Sefasebam sami safexuri giara: a) indiferentul i damokidebul eba; b) sabWoTa sainformacio saSual ebebze dayrdnobiT araswori da tendenciuri Sefaseba, romelic patara erebis erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis `titoizmad- gamocxadebas daedo safuZvl ad; g) obieqturi Sefaseba, romlis damkvidrebaSi, qarTul i emigraciis Zal isxmevam gansakuTrebul i roli Seasrul a. 1956 wl is 5- 9 martis movl enebi, 1921 wl idan dawyebul i erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis gagrZel ebas warmoadgenda. igi ucxo qveynis gan RirsebaSel axul i qarTvel i xal xis mSvidobiani formiT gabrZol ebis demonstrirebad da sabWoTa imperiis sivrceSi monobis uRel dadgmul i

sasowarkveTil i eris centrisadmi daumorCil ebl obis xmamaRal SeZax-
il ad unda Sefasdes. momxdari faqtiT, qarTvel ma erma, sssrk- is Semad-
genl obaSi darCenaze oficial urad Tqva uari, riTac ruseTis gasabWoe-
bul imperiaSi miZinebul i erebis gamofxizl ebas daudo saTave.

4) dasavl eT evropis qveynebis mxridan, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTa-
visufl ebel i moZraobisadmi zurgSeqcevis miuxedavad, samSobl oze uzo-
mod Seyvarebul i axal gazrdebis antisabWouri iatakqveSa saqmianoba
(prokl amaciebis, bukl etebis, mcire mocul obis gazeTebis beWdva da ara-
l egal uri formiT gavr cel eba) 1956_ 1958 wl ebSi warmatebul ad gr-
Zel deboda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom XX saukunis 60- iani
wl ebis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi petre meunargias, giorgi
batiaSvil is, amiran afciauris, irodion faCul ias, givi baramiZis, gan-
sakuTrebiT Znebis_ mixeil da giorgi afciaurebis donis SemoqmedebiTi
da praqtikul i saqmianoba aravis gauwevia. miTumetes, am umZimes samuSaos,
sicocxl isa da j anmrTel obis sasworze dadebis safasurad, gansakuTre-
bul i represiebis pirobepSi eweodnen.

5) 1956- 1970 wl ebis qarTul i emigraciis praqtikul i saqmianoba, Ziri-
Tadad ori mimarTul ebiT Semoifargl eboda: a) mimdinare pol itikuri
procesebis Sefaseba- anal iziT da qarTvel i erisadmi Sesatyvisi rCeva-
darigebebis miwodebiT; b) sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mier qarTvel erTan
mimarTebaSi Sovinizmze dafuznebul i RonisziebebiT ganpirobepul i sa-
ziano Sedegebis_ saerTaSoriso organizaciebis saqmis kursSi Cayenebis
mcdel obiT. dasavl eT evropis qveynebis mxridan, sabWoTa ruseTTan `daT-
bobis- pol itikuri kursidan gamomdinare, aRniSnul i Canafiqris ganx-
orciel eba, qarTul ma emigraciam im etapze ver SeZl o. 6) 1956 wl is mar-
tis Tbil isisa da budapeStis movl enebma daadastura, rom dasavl eT
evropis saxel mwifoTa pol itikuri l iderebi, patara erebis gamosar-
Cl ebasTan mimarTebaSi srul umoqmedobas icenda. isini mxol od Tavisi
qveynisa da eris interesebiT moqmedebdnen. qarTul i emigraciis mxridan
amierkavkasiis erebis gaerTianebsken nabij is gadadgmis mcdel oba, sab-
WoTa ruseTis imperiul i zraxvebisgan TavdacviTi meqanizmis gamozeb-
niT iyo ganpirobepul i. qarTvel i eris gadarCenis SesaZl o garants,
kavkasiis erTa Soris konsesusze dafuznebul i samoqmedo gegmis SemuSa-
vebaSi da erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwifos warmonaqmnis SeqmnaSi xedav-
da. maTi koncepcia, kavkasiis erebis federaciis an konfederaciis princ-
ipebze gaerTianebas iTval iswinebda. am ideis Ziritadi dasayrdeni fun-
damenti_ `kavkasia kavkasiel ebisatvis- unda yofil iyo. igi axl adSeqm-
nil i saxel mwifos srul neutral itets damis `Sveicarizacias- gul isx-
mobda. kavkasiis erebis saxel mwifoebivad gaerTianebs gegma, garegnu-
l ad mimzidvel i Canda, magram, warsulis gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare
(1918, 1919, 1920, 1921- 1938 ww.) somex- azerbaijanel Ta mxridan qarTvel ebT-
an mimarTebaSi gauTavebel i teritoriul i pretenziebi, qarTul i miwebis
mitacebis dauokebel i swrafva, am erebTan konsesusze agebul i erTiani
saxel mwifos Seqmnis SesaZl ebl obas saTaveSive gamoricxavda. qarTul i
emigraciis mxridan, erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwifos Seqmnis mcdel obis
gafetiSeba, istoriul i gamocdil ebis miwiyebas da pol itikuri roman-
tizmis ufskrul Si gadavardnas niSnavda.

Tvi IX. erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis gaaqti urebis ganmapi robebel i faqtorebi da qarTul i emigracia (1971- 1990 ww.)

saerTaSoriso pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobi dan gamomdinare, adamianis ufl ebebis dacvis garantiis Seqmnis aucil ebl obis wina pl anze wamowevam, gansakuTrebul i ideol ogiuri datvirTva SeiZina. am faqtor ma, mTel rig qveynebsi `miZinebul i- erovnul - ganmaTavieufi ebel i moZraoba gamoacoxl a da misi safexurebrivad aRmasvl is xel Semwyobi funqcia Seasrul a. maTTvis xel CasaWid berketad `adamianis ufl ebaTa sayovel Tao dekl aracia- iqca. es umni Svnel ovanesi dokumenti, gaerTianebul i erebis organizaciis general uri ansambl eis parizis 1948 wl is 10 dekembri sxdomaze iqna miRebul i. masSi warmodgenil i moTxovnebis aRsrul eba, gaeros wevri qveynebis val debul ebas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, ssrk- i am organizaciis erT- erTi damfuZnebul i da dokumentze xel momweri qveyana iyo. es faqti, ssrk- is xel isufi ebas, 1970 wel s moskovSi Seqmnil ma adamianis ufl ebaTa komitetma `Seaxsena-. mxedvel obaSi maqvs komitetis mier SemuSa-vebul i dokumenti `adamianis ufl ebaTa princi pebi.- igi preambul isa da 5 muxl isagan Sedgeboda. mis amosaval safuZvel s `adamianis ufl ebaTa sayovel Tao dekl aracia- warmoadgenda. masze dayrdnobiT, aRniSnul i komiteti ssrk- Si mcxovrebi moqal aqeebis ufl ebrivi garantiabis dacvas isaxavda mi znad. dokuments xel s awerda: akad. a.d.saxarovi, a.n.tverdoxl ebovi, v.n.Wal iZe.¹

cnobil i pirovnebebis mxridan adamianis ufl ebebis dacvis miZniT ofi- cial urad gadadgmul ma pragmatul ma nabij ma, ssrk- Si mcxovrebi moqal aqeebis ufl ebaTa dacvis sainiciativo j gufis organizaciul ad formirebas Seu- wyo xel i. misi iniciatorebi iyvnen: v.borisovi, t.vel ikanova, a.l avuti, s.ko- val evi, t.xodorovi Ci da sxvebi. **momxdarma faqtma, erovnul - ganmaTavisu- fl ebel i moZraobis ideebi T STagonebul i axal gazrdebis gaaqti urebis saqmeSi stimul atoris funqcia Seasrul a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1974 wel s saqarTvel oSi adamianis ufl ebebis dacvis sainiciativo j gufis (z.ga- masxur dia, m.kostava, v.rcxil aZe da sx.) Seqmna. mis Zi ri Tad mi zans `adami- anis ufl ebaTa sayovel Tao dekl araciaSi- gacxadebul i ufl ebebis praqtikul ad ganxorciel ebisaTvis brZol a warmoadgenda.²**

saerTaSoriso samarTi ebrivi normebis fargl ebSi adamianis ufl ebebis dacva, ramdenadac sabWoTa kavSiris mmarTvel i wreebis interesebs ewina- aRmdegeboda, maT winaSe princi pul ad daisva sakiTxi: disidenturi moZraobis l iderTa dauyovnebl ivi diskreditaciis Sesaxeb. am mi zans emsaxureboda sabWoTa uSiSroebis mier moskovis metros erT- erT sadgurSi mowyobil i afeTqeba. momxdari faqti, Cekas agentis viqtor l uis mier gamoZiebis gareSe, baaden- mairxovis tipis teroristul i organizaciis namoqmedarad iqna ga- mocxadebul i. am bral debasTan dakavSirebiT, sabWoTa presaSi disidenturi moZraobis sawi naaRmdegod, TiTqmis Caqol vis donis publ ikaciebi dai beWda. Seqmnil i umZimesi situacia, disidenturi moZraobis l iderTa mxridan ofi- cial ur pasuxs saWi roebda. am uaRresad mni Svnel ovan sakiTxs, qarTu- l i emigraciac gamoexmaura. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Jurn. `Cveni droSa-- Si da- beWdil i disidenturi moZraobis l iderTa gancxadeba. am dokumentSi das- abuTebul i formi Taa warmodgenil i: 1) moskovis metroSi momxdari afeTqe-

bis disidenturi moZraobisadmi bral mdebel i viqtor l ui kagebes mier mo-
syidul i agenti iyo; 2)yovel gvari saxis Zal adobis dagmobiT, adami ani s
ufl ebebis samarTI ebrivi normebis dacvis fonze kategoriul ad iyo uaryo-
fil i im organizaciebTan da mimdinareobebTan disidenturi moZraobis kav-
Siri, roml ebic terorizmTan asociardeboda; 3)disidenturi moZraobisadmi
aRniSnul i afeTqebis dabral eba, misi aqtiuri wevrebis mimarT represiebis
dawyebaze iyo gaTvl il i. amasTan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxu-
l obT: `didi xani araa mas Semdeg, rac mil ionebs daswames j aSuSoba da
terroristoba. yvel ani daiWires da daxvrites... ra mizniTac ar unda iyos
mowyobil i moskovis metros afeTqeba, kagebe Seecdeba gamoiyenos di si den-
turi moZraobis sawinaaRmdegod da mas daupirisprios adami anebi... `Ceki-
stebi - dRe da Ram daZrwi an, daeZeben disidentebis, imis magivrad rom monax-
on namdvil i damnaSaveni. disidenturi muSaoba, maTi moqmedeba Ria... da l e-
gal uria. im dros roca es gancxadeba iwereba, axal gazrdebiT datvirTu-
l i avtomanganebi dReRami anad daraj oben prof. orl ovis binas. Jurnal is-
ti komunistebi, roml ebic disidentebisa da teroristebis garCevas ver
axdenen, xel s uwyoben aRadginon stal inis mkacri meTodebi, gansakuTrebiT
Tavisufal moazrovneTa wi naaRmdeg.~ dokumentis xel s awerdnen: hel sinkis
moskovis j gufi: orl ovi, ginsburgi, al eqsava, l anda; fsiqi atrTa gamomkv-
l evi komisia: grigorenko; morwmuneTa damcvel i qrist. komiteti: iakunini,
kapi tunCiki, varsonovi; amnisti internacional e: turCini, voinovici, kor-
nil ovi, Jel udkovi; hel sinkisaTvis ukrainel Taj gufi: rudenko; adami ani s
ufl ebebis damcvel Taj gufi: vel ikova; ebrael Taj gufi: azmel i, brail ovski,
meismani, sl epaki, ovsi neri; adami ani s ufl ebaTa damcvel i qarTvel Taj gufis
saxel iT: mkostava.³

am faqtTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i emigrasciis warmomadgenl ebma TavianTi
mxardamWeri pozicia weril obiT oficial urad daadastures. mxedvel oba-
Si maqvs imave Jurnal Si n.c.- s (noe cincaZe) mier dabeWdil i `komentarebi
da ganmar teba zemoT moyvanil i dokumentisa.~ avtoris samarTI i ani mtki-
cebi T, aRniSnul i dokumenti, 1)moskovis reJimis wi naaRmdeg mimar Tul mxil -
ebas warmoadgenda da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi axal etaps
qmni da; 2)igi gamokveTil i formiT gansazRvravda erovnul - ganmaTavisu-
fl ebel i moZraobis brZol is taqtikas, saj ar od emij neboda Zal adobasa da
terors. am fonze ganxil avda n.cincaZe saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil mdgomare-
obas da iqve dasZenda: `saqarTvel oSi reJimis wi naaRmdeg protestantul i
sul i izrdeba, ukanasknel xanebSi es cxovrebis zedapirzedac Seini Sneba,
es sxvadasxva saxiT gvevl ineba. mag. rusifikaciis wi naaRmdeg xmis amoReba
saj aro manifestaciaSi gadadis... es amtkicebs, rom sazogadoebrivi azri
amoZravebul ia da erTgvar sul ier frontad qceul a. amuSavebul ia adami-
ani s ufl ebaTa damcvel i komitetebi mTel i imperiis teritoriaze da saqa-
rTvel oSi ac did aqtivobas iCenen... aris cda Signidan da garedan (mag. `di-
sidentebis- didi kampania da sxv.) adami anebis da erebis ufl ebaTa da Tavi-
sufl ebis droSi T Seangri on rkini s kedel i! es yovel ive aris gza da xidi,
strategia da taqtika ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisa... unda gvaxsovdes,
rom aseT rTul droSi, mosal odnel ia provokaciis mizniT teroristul
aqts mimar Tos mterma... praqtika terorisa ganmaTavisufl ebel brZol aSi
amZimebs Tvi T moZraobis saqmes, da es maSinac ki, roca aRniSnul aqtebSi Ca-

qsovil ia udi des i Tavganwi rva uspetakesi i dei isaTvis.-⁴

qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebs kargad hqondaT gacnobi erebul i, rom sabWouri sistemis winaaRmdeg Zal adobis nebi smieri formis gamoyenebis mcdel oba, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis sawyis etapzeve dasamarebas ni Snavda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel oSi disidenturi moZraobis Tavkacebis misamarTiT gakeTebul i rekomendaciebi, brZol is mSvidobian meTodebze da saerTaSoriso samarTi is principi pebze iyo dafuznebul i. am mimarTul ebiT gabedul i moqmedebis SesaZl ebl obebi, qarTul i disidenturi moZraobis l iderebs, 1975 wel s hel sinkSi miRebul ma dokumentma_ `dekl aracia principi bisa, roml ebi Tac monawil e saxel mwifoebi ixel mZRvanel eben erTmaneTTan urTierTobaSi - misca. aRniSnul i dokumentis SemuSaveba hel sinkSi 1973 wl is 3 ivl iss daiwyo da JenevaSi gagrZel da 1973 wl is 18 seqtembridan- 1975 wl is 21 ivl isamde. sabol oo redaqtirebul teqsts 35 saxel mwifos, maT Soris ssrk- is warmomadgenl ebma 1975 wl is pirvel agvistos moeweres xel i. am umniSvnel ovanesi dokumentis mixedviT, xel Seuxebel i unda yofil iyo: 1) qveynis sazRvreb i (muxl i 3); 2) saxel mwifos teritoriul i mTl ianoba (muxl i 4); 3) saSinao saqmeebi (muxl i 6); 4) adami anis ZiriTdi ufl ebebi- azris, sindisis, rel igiis, rwmenis Tavisufl ad gamoxatvis (muxl i 7); 5) xal xTa Tanasworoba da sakuTari bedis gamgebl obis ufl eba (muxl i 8).⁵

aqedan gamomdinare, gaeros `adami anis ufl ebaTa saerTaSoriso dekl araciasTan- erTad, hel sinkis `dekl aracia principi bisa...- erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderTa moTxovnebs, saerTaSoriso samarTi is CarCoSi aqcevda. imavdroul ad, maT praqtikul saqmi anobas met gasaqans aZl evda. ramdenadac ssrk- i hel sinkis aqtis xel momwer qveynad iTvl eboda, es faqti, qarTvel ma disidentebma erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis erT muStad Semkvrel i organizaciis Sesaqmnel ad gamoiyena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel oSi moqmedi `adami anis ufl ebaTa dacvis sainiciativo j gufis- baze `hel sinkis j gufis- Seqmnis faqti. mis Semadgenl obaSi Sedi odnen: z.gamasxurdia, m.kostava, Tj anel iZe, n.nemsaZe, g.murRul ia da sxvebi. es nabij i sazogadoebaze ideol ogi urad da pol itikurad zemoqmedebis mosaxdenad iyo gadadgmul i. mi Tumetes, hel sinkSi miRebul aqtze dayrdnobiT, saqarTvel os `hel sinkis j gufis- mier SemuSavebul dekl araciaSi Cadebul i moTxovnebiT, saqarTvel os deokupacia sabWoTa rusets dauyovnebl iv unda moexdina. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os aneqsi as, imave dokumentiT saerTaSoriso samarTi is darRvevad iyo gamocxadebul i.⁶

cnobil i faqtia, rom `hel sinkis j gufis- ZiriTadi saqmi anoba, pirvel etapze aral egal uri gamocemebiT da misi gavrcel ebiT Semoifargl a. am SemTxvevaSi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas Jurnal ebi: `saqarTvel os moambe,- `oqros sawmisi,- da `saRvTismetyvel okrebul i- iqcevs. masSi dabeWdil publ ikaciebSi, arsebul i xel isufl ebis mankeri mxareebi iyo wina pl anze wamoweul i da im erovnul i Rirebul ebebis dacva- Senarcunebas uTmobda gansakuTrebul yuradRebas, romel sac ganadgurebis real uri safrTxe emuqreboda.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom imave aral egal ur gamocemebSi (`saqarTvel os moambe-), saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis usafuzvl o kritikac i beWdeboda. es xdeboda maSin, roca igive disidenturi moZrao-

bis I iderebi, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis droSas afeti Sebdnen, erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis embl emad aRiqvamdnen da rac mTavaria, erovnul i saxel mwifos aRdgenas 1918 wl is 26 maisis aqtis safuZvel ze moitXovdnen. am samarTI ebriv debul ebaze afuZnebdnen qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel moZraobas. am fonze, imave respubl ikis mmarTvel pol itikur Zal asa da mTavrobas damamcirebel i epiTetebi T moixseniebdnen. am mimarTul ebiT maTi praqtikul i saqmianoba da warsul is Sefasebis Teoriul i Sexedul ebebi, I ogikur winaaRmdegobaSi modioda. es gasakviri araa imdenad, ramdenadac saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobas saqmianobis Sesaxeb maTi codna, mxol od tendenciurad Seqmnil memuarul I literaturas efuZneboda. savsebiT swori iyo gr.urataZe, Journ. `saqarTvel os moambis- redaqqiis wevrebs, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis Sesaxeb arsebul i saarqivo masal ebis Seswavl isken rom mouwodebda. Journ `saqarTvel os moambis- `udi desi Secdomawerda igi- iqneboda erTi kacis naambobit dafaseba da msj avris dadeba Cveni qveynis erT- erTi yvel azed mimzidvel i da diadi movl enebiT aRsavse epoqisa, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis xanis. miT ufro samwuxaro da dasanania, roca Jurnal i am epoqas ratomRac uwodebs `Coxataurel i marqsistebis xanas.- saWi ro da umj obesi iyo `saqarTvel os moambis- moRvawebs jer Rmad Seeswavl aT am epoqaze arsebul i uamravi masal a, arqivebSi Senaxul i oficial uri dokumentebi, gamoqveynebul i wyaroebi da narkvevebi da maTi gaanal izebis safuZvel ze eTqvaT Tavianti si tyva, Tuginde negaturi. ki dev ufro did Secdomas scadis redaqqia, roca exeba saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis xanas da ambobs: `aseTi iyo nayofi uZal o demokratiiso.- am mcdar SefasebasTan mimarTebaSi, gr.urataZe iqve wers: `saqarTvel os demokratiia mtkice da ZI ieri iyo. mas wel s umagrebda Cveni qveynis mosaxl eoba mTI i-anad, ramdenime bol Sevikis gamokl ebiT. qarTul demokratias aravi Tari saSi Sr oeba ar emuqreboda Signidan... da Tu sabWoTa ruseTma Cven dagvi pyro uTanasworo omSi, gamoucxadebel i omis gaCaRebiT, es srul i adac ar I aparakobs qarTul i demokratiis sisusteze.⁷

uaxl esi periodis samecniero gamokvl eebma da axl ad aRmoCeniI ma saarqivo masal ebma gr.urataZis Sexedul ebis si swore daadastura. disidenturi moZraobis qarTvel i I iderebi, xel isufli ebaSi mosvl is Semdeg darwmundnen, Tu ramdenad rTul i iyo gareSe saxel mwifos dauxmarebl ad Sida da gare faqtorebisadmi `SiSvel i xel ebiT- gamkl aveba. rac Seexeba erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis qarTvel i I iderebis sazogadoebaSi aqtiur propagandistul da ideol ogiur saqmianobas, amis Sesaxeb z.gamsaxurdiasa da m.kostavas sabral debo daskvnaSi xazgasmi Taa miTiTebul i. imave dokumentSi antisabWouri I literaturis maTi mxridan SeZena- gavr cel ebas gansakuTrebul i adgil i aqvs daTmobil i. imave masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom z.gamsaxurdiam moskovSi bukinistur maRaziaSi 150 maneTad SeiZina al .sol Jenicinis `arqi pel agi gul agi-- s pirvel i- meore nawil ebis erTi da mesame- meoTxenawil ebis ori ekzempl ari. misive iniciativiT, ganxorciel da am wignebis ofseturi beWdva da gavr cel eba. 1976 wel s m.kostavam Targmna a.saxarovis briSura `qveynisa da msofi ios Sesaxeb- da xel is manqanaze nabeWdi formiT gaavr cel I a.⁹ samecniero I literaturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom qarTvel i disident-

ebis mxridan sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mier akrZal ul i l iteraturis gavr- cel ebam farTo masStabi mi iRo. misi SeCerebis erT- erT meqanizmad, sain- formacio saSual ebebiT `hel sinkis j gufis- wevrTa diskreditacia iqna miCneul i. am mimarTul ebiT gansakuTreb iT gazeTebi: `axal gazrda komunis- ti- da `komunisti- da `l iteraturul i saqarTvel o- aqtiurobdnen. mis fu- rcl ebze gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebi dan gansakuTreb iT Tval Si sacemia `moRal ate farisevel ni,~ `ara cil i swamo,~ `cil ismwamebl ebma da provo- katorebma pasuxi unda agon,~ `vis aZl evs xel s?~, `mokl e gza,~ `cxovrebi mware gakveTil i-. es aris arasrul i CamonaTval i im publ ikaciebi sa, rom- l ebic z.gamsaxurdiasa da m.kostavas dapatimrebamde da dapatimrebi s Sem- deg dai beWda. masSi disidenturi moZraobis l iderebi umsgavso epiTetebi- Taa `Semkul i-. zemoarNi Snul i publ ikaciebis avtorebi dRes rom cocxl e- bi iyvnen,erovnul i gmi rebis l afSi amosvrisTvis Seqmnil Taviant Semo- qmedebi T naRvaws sainteresoa rogor Seafasebdnen. erTi ram dabej iTebi T SeiZl eba iTqvas: msgavsi cil iswamebebi T datvirTul i sagazeTo wer- il ebi, z.gamsaxurdiasa da m.kostavas wi naaRmdeg uaryofiTi sazogadoe- brivi azris Seqmnaze da maT dasapatimrebl ad pirvel i safexuris mo- mzadebaze iyo gaTvl il i. gaz. `komunistis- furcl ebze dabeWdil i uam- ravi cil ismwamebl uri publ ikaciebi dan gansakuTreb ul juradRebas iqcevs v.qvaCaxias weril i_ `cil ismwamebl ebma da provokatorebma pasuxi unda agon.~ am publ ikaciaze juradReba imi tom SevaCere, rom masSi motanil i faqtebi, Tsu rektoratis gafarToebul i sxdomis msj el obis da erovnul - ganmaTa- visufli ebel i moZraobis l iderTa, gansakuTreb iT z.gamsaxurdias saqmi ano- bis, samecni ero wreebis mxridan dagmobi s sagani gaxda. v.qvaCaxias aRni Snu- l i weril isadmi gaz. `komunistis- reda qci isgan darTul mi nawerSi, univer- sitetis profesor- maswavl ebel Ta pozicia Semdegi formiTaa gadmocemu- l i: `z.gamsaxurdias mTel i piradi cxovreba imis magal iTia, rom mas mudam akl da moqal aqeobrivi pasuxismgebl oba. igi yovel Tvis raRaci T ukmayofi- l o da umaduri iyo, miuxedavad imisa, rom Tbil isis saxel mwifo univer- sitetSi mas yvel a pi roba hqonda Seqmnil i mecni erul i da pedagogi uri mo- Rvaweobi saTvis. universitetis saxel ovan kol eqtivSi igi mi iRes mami s kon- stantine gamsaxurdias Txovni T. magram man arc mami s amagi da arc kol e- qtivis mZrunvel oba ar daafasa_ sistematurad acdenda l eqciebs, qedmaR- l obda, erTdroul ad gadametebul pativmoyvareobasa da uprinci pobas iCe- nda. avdamyofurad Rebul obda amxanagebis samarTl ian Seni Svnebsa da rCe- va- dari gebebs da bol os ise daeca, rom cil i daswama kol eqtivsa da ko- l egebs.

axl a ukve ucil obl ad dadasturebul ia, rom z.gamsaxurdia ucxoeti s dazve- rvisa da antisabWoTa ideol ogi uri centrebis agentobasa da informator- obas daCveul i, usircxvil od cil s swamebs cnobil mecnierebs, mwerl ebs...

droa sagnebs Tavisi saxel i vuwodoT: zviad gamsaxurdiasa da mis TanamoazreTa moqmedeba samSobl os, social izmis wi naaRmdeg moqmedebad unda Sefasdes da maT mimarT kanoni T gaTval iswinebul i RonisZiebebi unda iqnas ganxorciel ebul i. aseTia Tbil isis saxel mwifo universite- tis didi saxel ovan kol eqtivis wevrTa saerTo azri.~⁹

imave wl is april is pirvel ricxvebSi `l iteraturul i saqarTvel o-- Si dai beWda saekl esio ierarqi s maRal CinosanTa weril i `ara cil i swamo!~¹⁰

igi Seuracmyofel i epiTetebi T damZimebul i publ ikaciaa da z.gamsaxurdias sicrueSi dadanaSaul eba- ganqigebas isaxavda miznad. aRniSnul i weril is gamoqveynebi dan erTi wl is Semdeg, mis avtorebs qarTul i ekl esiebis Zarcva daumtkicda. isini gansasjel Ta skamze dasves da gaasamarTI es. Tuki im periodis sagazeTo publ ikaciebs Tval s mivadevnebt, iseTi STabeWdil eba Seiqmneba, rom saero intel igenciisa da sasul iero ierarqiis zogierTi warmomadgenl ebi,erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderTa wina- aRmdeg brZol aSi erTmaneTTan Seficul is STabeWdil ebas tovebdnen. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom Tuki Tbil isis saxel mwi fo universitetis profesor- maswavl ebl ebis da sasul iero pirebis garkveul nawil s erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderTa mimarT zemoaRniSnul i uaryofi- Ti damokidebul eba gaaCnda, advil i warmosadgenia ra pozicias gamoavl enda fabri ka- qarxnebi s muSa- mosamsaxur eebi z.gamsaxur di asa da m.kostavasTan mimar TebaSi.

z.gamsaxurdiasa da m.kostavas pol itikurad `damuSavebi T- Seqmnil ma uaryofi Tma sazogadoebrivma azrma, Taviseburi asaxva sasamarTI os 1977 wl is 7 april is ganaCenSiac hpova. `sasamarTI o kol egias- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- dadasturebul ad miaCnia, rom gamsaxurdia da kostava moqmedebdnen ra sabWoTa xel isufl ebis Sesustebis mizni T, wl ebis ganmav- l obaSi eweodnen antisabWoTa agi taci asa da propagandas, am tom gamsa- xurdiasa da kostavas moqmedeba sworad aris dakval ificirebul i saqarTvel os ssr ssk 71- e muxl is pirvel i nawil iT.

sasamarTI o kol egia mi iCnevs, rom gamsaxurdiasa da kostavas mier Cadenil i gansakuTrebi T saSiSi saxel mwi fo danaSaul i warmoadgens did sazogadoebriv saSiSroebas, iwvevs yvel a patiosani sabWoTa adami anis gul iswyromas da imsaxurebs wardgenil i bral debis kval ifikaci iT ga- Tval iswinebul i sasjel is maqsimal ur zomas.~ mi uxedavad amisa, garkveul i mosazrebebi dan gamomdinare, sasamarTI om orive maTgans sam- sami wl iT patimroba mi usaj a mkacri reJimis Sroma- gasworebis kol oniaSi moT- avsebi T da 2 wl iT gadasaxl ebi T.~¹¹

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi, qarTul i emigraciis saRad moazrovne umetesobisTvis umZimes darty mas warmoadgenda. emigraciul Jurnal - gazeTeb- Si gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebis mixedvi T Tuki vimsjel ebT, z.gamsaxurdiasa da m.kostavas winaRmdeg sabWoTa presis furcl ebze agorebul i zemoaRniS- nul i bral debebi T damZimebul kampanias, qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgen- l ebma Sesaferisi pasuxi gasca. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas Journ. `Cveni droSaSi- dabeWdil i a.badriZis weril i- `zviad gamsaxurdias saqme- iqcevs. am publ ikaciis gansakuTrebul i Rirebul eba imaSia, rom misma avto- rma, z.gamsaxurdiasa da m.kostavasTan mimar TebaSi Tanadgoma gamoavl ina. imavdroul ad gaz. `axal gazrda komunistis- 1977 wl is 29 martis nomerSi dabeWdil weril s `moRal ate da farisevel ni- Seexo da misi avtorebi kri- tikis qarcecxl Si gaatar a. savsebi T kanonzomierad mi uTi Ta, rom erovnul i moZraobis l iderebis Sesaxeb gakeTebul i bral debebi saqarTvel os axal - gazrdobis azrs ar warmoadgenda da misi saxel iT l aparaki, sazogadoebis SecdomaSi Seyvanis mcdel obas Seicavda. `es l anZRva- ginebis furcel i- wers a badriZe- Tavis abda- ubdi T Rirsi ar iqneboda yuradRebis, rom is pirovnebebi, roml ebmac amxil es saekl esio ambebi, moi Txoves saqarTvel os

damouki debl obis aRdgena_ z.gamsaxurdia da m.kostava cixeSi ar iyvnen gamomwyvdeul ni.~ aqve xazgasmi Taa aRni Snul i, rom z.gamasxurdias mimarT `komsomol ebis- mier gamoyenebul i epiTetebi, yovel gvar safuZvel s iyo mokl ebul i, dasabuTebis nakl ebobas Sei cavda da aSkara cil i swamebas war-modgenda. imave publ ikaciaSi abadriZe, sasul i ero pirebis mier gaz. `l iter-eturul saqarTvel oSi- dabeWdil weril s- `ara cil i swamo!- Seexo da `RvTis msaxurT- Cekistebis gan 1922- 1924 wl ebSi ekl esiasTan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i barbarosul i namoqmedari Saxsena. imavdroul ad xazgasmi T mi-uTiTa erovnul i cnobierebis da zne- Cveul ebebis SenarCunebis, rusifikaci- isgan qarTul i erovnul i kul turis gadarCenis saqmeSi ekl esis rol ze. `dRevandel maxinj aTeistur garemoSi, ekl esia unda iyves eris sul ier- zneobrivi siwmindis TavSesafari, misi damcvel i da mfarvel i. bol Sevizmis bacil ebma gaavel ures adami anis buneba... da Tu aqa- iq gaiel vebs adami anis Rirsebis maSuqebel i sxivi, maSinve avardeba borotebis qarixal i, raTa wal ekos misi Canasaxi. usaTuod WeSmariteba aris didi mwerl is sol Jeni- cinis mier wamoyenebul debul ebaSi- `bol Sevizmis senis gan gankurneba mxol od qristes sarwmunoebas SeuZl iao.-¹²

aRni Snul i weril is Rirseba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom mi sma avtorma axa- l gazrda komkavSiri ebis da ekl esis zogierTi msaxuris mimarT sa- j arod ganacxada: `Tqven SegeSal aT misamarTi!- da iqve principul ad dasva ki Txva: `mRvdel mTavrebi gan da `komsomol ebis gan- wamoyenebul i bral debebi dan mainc ra darCa z.gamsaxurdias wi naaRmdeg?- da iqve upa- suxa: `uSveri l anZRva- gineba... ramdenic ar unda monaTl on z.gamsaxurdia `moRal ateT- da `farisevl ad~, erTi cxadia, man amxil a rusifikatoru- l i moskovis pol itika, moiTxova saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdge- na, gaamJRavna saekl esio ambebi da es ver apativa mas sabWoTa xel isu- fl ebam, __ moxda is rac mosal odnel i iyo. qarTul i sabWouri presa trabaxiT... wers, rom xel isufl eba asrul ebs hel sinkSi miRebul val de- bul ebebs, xol o dasavl eTi fexqveS Tel avs humanuri xasiaTis xel Sek- rul ebebso. swored am ukanasknel is dasacavad daarsebul i iqna... Tbi- l isSi `adami anis ufl ebaTa dacvis organo- roml is damaarsebel ni z.gamsaxurdia, m.kostava da sxvebi dRes cixeSi sxedan.

Cven moviTxovT dauyovnebl iv iqnan ganTavisufl ebul ni zemoaRni Snu- l i pirebi. mieceT maT saSual eba ganagrZon moRvaweoba humanuri i deebis, erovnul i Rirsebis, adami anis da eris ufl ebaTa dasacavad.-¹³

Cems mier motani l i es vrcel i amonaweri, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebe- l i moZraobis l iderebis moZul eTa mxil ebasTan erTad, maTdami Rir- seul pasuxsac warmoadgens. meore mxriv, igi emigraciis erTi nawil is mxridan z.gamsaxurdias TanamebrZol Ta mxardasaWerad oficial urad gakeTebul i ganacxadi iyo. es faqti im etapze gansakuTrebul datvirTvas izenda Tundac im mi zezebis gamo, rom z.gamsaxurdias wi naaRmdeg cnobil ma qarTvel ol ogma devid l angma gail aSqra. marTal ia, z.gamsaxurdia mas Ri- rseul i pasuxi gasca¹⁴ magram, qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebis mxri- dan imave z.gamsaxurdiasa da misi TanamebrZol ebis admi oficial urad mxa- rdaWera, im etapze garkveul pol itikur da ideol ogi ur datvirTvas atarebda. am SemTxvevaSi isic unda iqnas gaTval iswinebul i, rom ucxoel i qarTvel ol o- gi mecnierebis avtoritets, sabWoTa uSi Sroebis Sesabamis uwebebis war-

momadgenl ebi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis winaaRmdeg war-
matebul ad iyenebda. maTi saxel is afiSirebiT, disidentebis qcevis normeb-
is Sefasebas, fsiqikuri daavadebebis Sesabamisi terminol ogiis misadage-
biT cdil obdnen. es meTodi z.gamsaxurdiasa da m.kostavas mimarTac iqna
gamoyenebul i. miTumetes, amis safuZvel simave z.gamsaxurdi as Sesaxeb Seqm-
nil sisxl is samarTI is saqmeSi Cadebul i 1956 wl is avadmyofobis istoria
iZl eoda. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT nyi fSiZe da s.totoCava erTo-
bl iv publ ikaciaSi `sabWoTa fsiqiatra da disidentebi - dokumentebze da-
yrdnobiT werdnen, rom z.gamsaxurdi as avadmyofobis istoriaSi gakeTe-
bul CanawerSi aRniSnul ia: `is avl enda ucnaurobebs da mkurnal obda
fsiqiatrTan. 1958 wl is 2 dekembridan 1959 wl is 27 ianvramde gadioda
sasamarTI o fsiqiatruil - stacional ur eqspertizas Tbil isis fsiqi-
atriul savadmyofoSi, ra drosac eqspert- fsiqol ogebi mividnen im
daskvnamde, rom gamsaxurdia Rmad fsiqopaTiuri pirovnebaa da rom
warsul Si gadatanil i aqvs Sizofrenia.¹⁶ am faqtis ukomentarod aseTi
formiT datoveba dauSvebl ad mimaCnia, radgan: 1)erovnul moZraobaSi
aqtiurad monawil eobis gamo sxvebTan erTad 1956 wel s z.gamsaxurdi ac
daapatimres; 2)erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis warmomadgenel Ta
qmedebebi, n.xruSCovma `sayovel Taod aRiarebul i qcevis normebi dan gada-
xevad- da `adamianis fsiqikis moSI ad- gamoacxada. `erTeul ebi, komu-
nizmis winaaRmdeg rom ibrZvian, an ukmayofil ebas gamoTqvamen sabWoTa
xel isufl ebis mimarT, fsiqikurad daavadebul ebi arian.¹⁶ 3)gasaTval -
iswinebel ia konstantine gamsaxurdi as didi mwerl is faqtori. zemoaRniS-
nul i diagnozis dasma da viTam mkurnal oba, im etapze 17 wl is axal ga-
zrdi s cixidan daxsnis mxol od erTad- erT saSual ebas warmoadgenda.
aqedan gamomdinare, z.gamsaxurdi as fsiqikur j anmrTel obasTan mimarTe-
baSi qarTvel fsiqiatrTa daskvna, WeSmari tebad ar unda iqnas miCneul i.
miTumetes, serbskis saxel obis sasamarTI o- fsiqiatruil i samedicino
kvl eviTi institutis mier 1977 wl is 30 noembers gacemul daskvnaSi
vkiTxul obT: `gamsaxurdia fsiqikurad daavadebul i ar aris. is aris
fsiqopaTiuri pirovneba Sepyrobil i `gandidebis maniiT- da axasiaTebis
emociuri aramdgradoba. mas ar udasturdeba droebiTi fsiqikuri aSI i-
l obac ki. am garemoebebis gaTval iswinebiT daadgines, rom is fsiqikurad
Seracxadia.¹⁷ es imas niSnavs, rom sasamarTI os mier gamotanil i sasj e-
l is moxdas z.gamsaxurdia eqvemdebareboda. meore mxriv, dokumenti imaze-
dac mianisnebs, TurisTvis dasWir daT z.gamsaxurdi asadmi 1956 wel s
Sizofreni is diagnozis dasma.

disidenturi moZraobis l iderebis dapatimrebi s miuxedavad, maT mier ga-
weul i saqmianobis dadebiTma Sedegebma, axal gazrdebi s did nawil Si iCina
Tavi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os konstituciis axal i proeqtisadmi
studenti axal gazrdebi s negaturi damokidebul eba. es dokumenti, saqarTve-
l os xel isufl ebam gansaxil vel ad 1978 wl is dasawyisSi gamoitana. qarTu-
l i sazogadoebis da gansakuTrebiT studenti axal gazrdebi s gansj is sag-
nad konstituciis 75- e muxl is formul ireba iqca. xel isufl ebi sgan sazo-
gadoebisadmi SeTavazebul proeqtSi ewera: `saqarTvel os ss respubl ika
uzrunvel yofs qarTul i enis xmarebas saxel mwi fo da sazogadoebriv orga-
nizaciebSi, kul turul da sxva dawesebul ebebSi da axorciel ebs saxel m-

wi fo zrunvas misi yovel mxrivi ganvi Terebi saTvis.

saqarTvel os respubl ikis yvel a am organosa da dawesebul ebaSi Tanasworufl ebianobis safuZvel ze uzrunvel yofil ia Tavisufal i xmareba rusul i, agreTve sxva enisa, roml ebi Tac mosaxl eoba sargebl obs. raime prive l igiebi an SezRudvebi ama Tu im enis xmarebaSi ar daiSveba.-

konstituciis proeqtis am formul irebaSi qarTul i enis saxel mwifoebriobis nacvl ad misi xmarebis uzrunvel yofa iyo Setanil i, ri Tac saqarTvel oSi qarTul is mniSvnel oba da Rirebul eba nul amde dayavdaT. meore mxriv, uzrunvel yofil ad cxaddeboda rusul i enis Tavisufal i xmareba. Znel i saTqmeli a, gafuqsavatebul i maSindel i qarTvel i intel igenciis ufrosi Taobis did nawil s, gacnobierebul i hqonda Tu ara is mosal odnel i safrTxeebi, romel ic qarTul enas saxel mwifoebri vi standarte bidan amogdebi T da rusul is Canacvl ebi T rom emuqreboda. yovel SemTxvevaSi, maTi didi nawil i zemoaRni Snul formul irebas uWer da mxars da tragedias veraferSi xedavda. iseT kritikul momentSi, roca erovnul - ganmaTavisuf l ebel i moZraobis l iderebi patimrobaSi imyofebodnen, gadamwyveti si tyva student- axal gazrdobas unda eTqva. am mxriv Tbil isis umaRl esi sa swavl ebl ebis studenti aqtiivistebis j gufebma imarj va. maTi Zal isxmevi T, studentoba gaerTi anda, erT muStad Seikra da saprotesto mi tingebma mr av al aTasiani saxemiiRo. studenteb s skol is moswavl eebic SeuerTda da ru sTavel is gamziri qarTul i enis saxel mwifoebri vad aRdgenis momTxovnel - Ta gankargul ebaSi aRmoCnda. 1978 wl is 12- dan 14 april s, aTiaTasobi T axal gazrda, roml ebsac profesor- maswavl ebl ebi c SeuerTda, mTavrobis saxl - isken daiZra erTad- erTi moTxovni T: konstituciaSi qarTul i enis saxel mwifoebri oba Caweril iyo. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti rol i eSevardnaZis mxridan gadadgmul ma nabij ma_ disidentebTan Sexvedram, maTi azris mosmenam da rac mTavaria, sabWoTa ruseTis central uri xel isuf l ebis pirvel pirebTan mol aparakebam da centris `kompromisze- wasvl is aucil ebl obaSi darwmunebam Seasrul a. yovel ive amis Semdeg, saqarTvel os ssr mecxre mowvevis umaRl esi sabWos riggareSe merve sesi is monawil eni (1978 wl is 14 april i) iZul ebul ni gaxdnen, angariSi gaewiaT arsebul i sinamdvil isadmi. saqarTvel os konstituciis 75- e muxl is pirvel ive abzacSi Caiwera: `saqarTvel os sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis saxel mwifo ena aris qarTul i ena...-

momxdari faqti, XX saukunis 80- iani wl ebis disidenturi, studenti- axal gazrdebisa da erovnul i cnobierebis matarebel i profesor- maswavl ebl ebis erTobl ivi Zal isxmevis nayofs warmoadgenda. aSkarad warmoCnda: Tuki ufrosi da axal gazrda Taoba erovnul i sul ierebis gadasarCenad xel i- xel Cakidebul i imoqmedebdnen, mTel rig mniSvnel ovan sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, sabWoTa imperiis xel isufal T garkveul kompromisze wasvl is aucil ebl obaze daiTanxmebdnen.

* * *

sabWoTa kavSirSi ganxorciel ebul ma saxel isuf l ebo cvl il ebebma (1985 wl is marti) da skkp central uri komitetis 23 april is pl enumze m.gorbaCovis mier gaxmovanebul ma gardaqmnis kursis ZiriTadma mimarTul ebebma, sazoga-

doebaSi momavl is ukeTesi cvl il ebebiT rwmena Seqmna. aseTi damoki debu-
 l eba gamoavl ina erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderTa did-
 ma nawil ma `axal reformatorul pol itikur kursTan~ mimarTebaSi. es fa-
 qtori disidenturi moZraobis aRmavl obis xel Semwyob imeds qmni da erovnul i
 cnobierebis matarebel qarTvel axal gazrdebSi. sabWoTa imperiis e.w. ga-
 rdaqmnis idea, qarTul i emigraciis mxridan gabedul nabij ad iqna Sefase-
 bul i. amasTan dakavSirebiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevs Jurn. `Cveni
 droSa-- Si dabeWdil i publ ikacia `ras l aparakobdnen da sweren ucxoeT-
 Si sab. kavSirzed mTI i anad da kerZod mixeil gorbaCovze.~ weril is avto-
 rs citatis saxiT moaqvs erT- erTi gazeTis korespodentis Tval sazrisi,
 sadac vkiTxul obT: `gorbaCovma gabeda da Caeba umsxvil es biurokratia-
 sTan namdvil ... brZol aSi. biurokratias surs darCes cocxal i da imefos,
 magram gorbaCovi iseT daskvnamde mi vi da, rom sakiTxi dgas Semdegnair ad: an
 biurokratiis sicocxl e, an ssr kavSirisa.~¹⁸

m.gorbaCovis es `reformatorul i~ RonisZiebebi, izul ebiTi faqtore-
 biT iyo ganpirobebul i da ara keTil i nebiT. dasavl eTTan demokratiz-
 mis niRbiT moqmedebis aucil ebl obam, sabWour total itarul sistemaSi
 aRni snul i kursis Semocureba mizanSewoni l i gaxada. Tu ra doziT sur-
 da m.gorbaCovs demokratizmis el ementebis sazogadoebisadmi SeTavaze-
 ba da ra doneze SemoiWra igi Tavisufl ebas monatrebul adami anTa
 cnobierebaSi, amis Sesaxeb uaRresad sayuradRebo mosazrebaa gamoTqmu-
 l i l .faRavas publ ikaciaSi `saqarTvel os Znel i dReebi.~ `m.s.gorbaCovma-
 wers l .faRava- mxol od Tavisufl ebis sarkmel i gamoaRo da Sig misi
 odnavi sio SeuSva, romel ic grigal ad iqca, amtvrevs, amsxvrevs kedl ebs,
 karebs da SesaZl ebel ia misma koriantel ma TviT gorbaCovi c STanTqas
 da vin icis vin ra mimarTul ebis pirovneba dai dgams mmarTvel obis
 taxts kreml Si.~¹⁹

aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, qarTul i emigraciis winaSe principul ad da-
 isva sakiTxi, m.gorbaCovi seul i `gardaqmnis- pol itikuri kursi Seexeboda
 Tu ara erovnul sakiTxs. es yvel aze metad mtkivneul i probl ema, qarTul i
 emigraciis warmomadgenl ebs gansakuTrebiT aRel vebda. isic angari Sgasaw-
 evia, rom XX saukunis 80- iani wl ebis ssrk-Si, erovnul i sakiTxis simwvavem
 gansakuTrebul i forma mi iRo. amSTan dakavSirebiT al .sol Jenicinma 1974
 wl is 16 noembers ci uixSi gamarTul pre- konferenci aze ganacxada: `naci o-
 nal uri probl emis sicxade dRes sabWoTa kavSirSi ufro mwvavea, vidre es
 mefis ruseTSi iyo. Tu nacional ur winaaRmdegobaTa simwvaves mi wisZvris
 Tormetbal iani Skal iT ganvsazRvravT, maSin ruseTSi es iqneboda sadRac
 or bal ze, xol o dRes sabWoTa kavSirSi aT bal ze... Cveni zrunva iqeTken
 unda iyos mimarTul i, rom es gansakuTrebiT sabWoTa kavSirSi ase gamwvave-
 bul i nacional uri probl ema, rogorme ar davuSvaT afeTqebamde, ar mi viyva-
 noT xanZramde.~²⁰

es real oba arc `gardaqmnis- iniciators da arc mis mxardamWerebs safuZ-
 vl i anad ar hqondaT gacnobierebul i. amis udao dadasturebas, bal tiispi-
 reTSi da Suaaziis respubl ikebsi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis xel m-
 ZRvanel ebis ganmier wamoyenebul i moTxovnebisadmi m.gorbaCovis uaryofi-
 Ti damoki debul eba warmoadgens. am sakiTxiTan dakavSirebiT sabWoTa si na-
 mdvil is erT- erTi anal itikosi ioseb ridmil eri werda: `nacional uri um-

ciresobebi, roml ebic saSi Sroebas Seuqmni an saxel mwi fos erTianobas, gorbačovSi TavianT damcvel s ki ara,... sastik mters i povnian. erovnul sakiTxSi mixeil gorbačovi dgas centristebis mxareze.²¹

zemoaRni Snul is miuxedavad, qveyanaSi demokratizmis wamosasxami T SefuTul ma qveynis xel isufal Ta pol itikurma kurssma, erovnul ad moazrovne patriotul i Zal ebis gaaqtiurebas Seuwyo xel i. miTumetes, 1987 wl is dasawyiSi, cixeebidan qarTvel pol itikosTa didi umravl esoba ganTavisufl da. am faqtorma, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis safexurebrivad aRmasvl is process udidesi biZgi misca. maTi moqmedebis ZiriTad mi zans im mtkivneul i sakiTxebis wi na pl anze wamoweva warmoadgenda, romel ic erovnul Rirebul ebebsa da eris satkivars ukavSirdoboda. am mxriv, momgebian Temad daviT garej is samonastro kompl eqsis gadarCenis sakiTxi iqna sazogadoebi sadmi SeTavazebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Tbil isis saxel mwifo universitetis studentTa masobrivi mitingi (1988 wl is Teberval i), roml is monawil eebma, daviT garej idan saartil erio pol igonis gadatanis sakiTxi daayenes. paral el urad, mwvave diskusiis sagnad, transkavkasiis rkinigzis mSenebl obis sakiTxi aqcies. mis ganxil vaSi aqtiurad Caerto saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa akademi a. qarTvel mecnierTa daskvnis safuZvel ze, rkinigzis magistral is mSenebl obis proeqtis ganxorciel eba dauSvebl ad iqna miCneul i.²²

samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom qarTul i intel igenciis ufrosi Taobis zemoaRni Snul poziciaze, garkveul i zemoqmedeba erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderTa mier saprotesto tal Ri s aRmasvl amac Seasrul a. rac Seexeba rkinigzis mSenebl obis SeCerebas, qveynis SigniT qarTul ebul ima pol itikurma procesebma ganapiroba.

erovnul i Zal ebis gansakuTrebul i aqtiuroba 1988 wl is noembridan daiwyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs xel isufl ebasTan mimarTebaSi, imave wl is 12 noembers, momitingeTa mxridan kategoriul i formiT 3 ZiriTadi sakiTxis dayeneba: 1) dauyovnebl iv gaeuqmebinaT saqarTvel os sss uzenaesi sabWos prezidumi s 1988 wl is 12 agvistos brZanebul eba, romel ic, winaswari nebarTvis gareSe xel isufl ebis sawinaaRmdego mitingebisa da demonstraciebs krZal avda; 2) sssrk- is konstituciaSi ar SeetanaT cvl il eba, roml is mixedvitac, sssrk- dan respublikebis gasvl is sakiTxis gadawyveta, sssrk- is `saxal xo deputatTa yril obis- prerogativad iyo aRiarebul i; 3) Seewyvi taT svaneTSi giganturi wyal sacavisa da hidroel eqtrosadguris mSenebl oba, roml is aSeneba, svaneTsa da srul iad dasavl eT saqarTvel os ekol ogiuri katastrofis wi naSe daayenebda. marTal ia, zemoaRni Snul i mitingis mowyo- bis iniciatori i. WavWavaZos sazogadoeba iyo, magram, Cems mier motanil samive moTxovnas im etapze moqmedi TiTqmis yvel a pol itikuri partiis l ideri (z.gamsaxurdi a, mkostava, gWanturia, i.wereTel i, i.baTiaSvil i, T.qoriZe, n.naTaZe, e.saRl iani, i.Sengel aia...) uWerda mxars. samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom mitingis monawil eTa kategoriul i moTxovniT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas samive sakiTxi erT kviraSi unda gadaewyvi ta. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, `masobrivi saprotesto manifestaciebis ganaxl ebiT imuqrebodnen.²³ es moTxovnebi im etapze arsebul i sinamdvil is Sesabamisobis CarCoSi ar j deboda, radgan meore da mesame sakiTxebis gadawyveta, sakavSiro xel isufl ebis prerogativas warmoadgenda. rac Seexeba saqa-

rTvel os mTavrobas, igi am SemTxvevaSi nominal uri ufl ebebiT iyo aR-
Wurvil i da mas mxol od Suamdgoml obis donis SesaZl ebl obebi gaaCn-
da. aqedan gamomdinare, erovnul i moZraobis l iderTa mxridan maTi
moTxovnebis erT kviraSi dakmayofil ebis droiT gansazRvra, al ogikur
saxes izenda. Tuki im periodis pol itikuri partieb is l iderTa mxridan
gakeTebul mowodebebs an adgil obrivi xel isufl ebisadmi wayenebul
moTxovnebs qveyanaSi arsebul i pol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebis
fonze ganvixil avT, umetesi maTgani pragmatizms CarCos scil deboda,
sul swrafvisa da mouTmenl obis STabeWdil ebas tovebda. quCis Zal -
ismieri procesebis demonstrirebiT cdil obdnen adgil obriv xel isu-
fl ebaze zemoqmedebas. ignori rebas ukeTebdnen qarTul i intel igenciis
did nawil s, roml ebsac respubl ikis Tu sakavSiro masStabiT gabedul i
si tyva eTqmodada da angari Ssac uwevden. samwuxarod, erovnul i moZraobis
l iderTa gansakuTrebul i ambi ciurobi dan gamomdinare, am or `pol uss-
Soris damakavSirebel i rgol is Sekvra SeuZl ebel i gaxda. amis saukeTe-
so nimuSs, Tbil isiSi hipodromze gamarTul i mraVal aTasiani mitingi
(1988 wl is 12 noemberi) warmoadgens. si tyviT gamomsvl el ebSi, pol iti-
kuri partiebisa da organizaciebis l iderTa warmomadgenl ebis garda,
arcerTi cnobil i mweral i, mecnieri da kul turis sferos muSaki ar
iyo.

qarTul i intel igenciis ufrosi da saSual o Taobis umetesobasTan sa-
erTo enis vergamoZebniT da mi si mi zanmarTul i ignori rebiT, erovnu-
l i moZraobis radikal uri frTis l iderebi,nebsiT Tu unebl ied qarTvel -
Ta intel eqtual uri da sakavSiro arenaze wonadi si tyvis srul ad gamoy-
enebis xel ovnurad bl oki rebas axdenda. ufros da saSual o Taobas, ko-
nkurent Zal ad aRiqvamda da ara mokavSired. maTi ambi ciuroba da pi rvel -
obisaTvis brZol a, 1988 wl i dan ki dev ufro Sors wavi da. `Cvenma ambi ci-
urobam- ambobda j .Rvinj il ia-... daqsaqsa Zal ebi, daaqucmaca sazogadoeba
mikro dasebad, sazogadoebebada, asociaciebad da gafanta eri... l ideroba
avadmyofobad iqca.²⁴ mi Tumetes, 1989 wl is monacemebiT, saqarTvel oSi 50-
mde pol itikuri organizacia da araformal uri daj gufeba funqcionireb-
da.²⁵

1988- 1989 wl ebSi, saqarTvel oSi axl adSeqmnil i pol itikuri organizacie-
bi dan, Tavisi qmedi TunarianobiT gamoirCeodnen: social - demokratiul i pa-
rtia (g.muCaiZe), stal inis sazogadoeba (gr.oniani), erovnul i erTianobisa
da social uri Tanasworobis partia (g.WinWaraul i), social uri samarTli ano-
bis kavSiri (a.iosel iani), pol itikuri organizacia l emi (a.margiani), erovnu-
l i Tanxmobisa da aRorZinebis kavSiri (a.advaZe), saxal xo fronti (n.naTaZe),
l iberal ur- demokrtiul i erovnul i partia (m.naneiSvil i), respubl ikuri
partia (v.ZabiraZe, l . da d.berZeniSvil ebi), qarTvel i tradicional istTa
kavSiri (a.asaTiani), erovnul i damouki debl obis partia (ir.wereTel i), kon-
servatiul i (monarqistul i) partia (T.JorJol iani), merab kostavs sazoga-
doeba (v.adamia), saqarTvel os mwvaneTa moZraoba da sxva.²⁶

amdeni pol itikuri partieb is l iderebTan da sxvadasxva daj gufebeb-
is xel mZRvanel ebTan saerTo enis gamoZebna, konsesusze dafuZnebul i
erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSaveba, udid es sirTul eebTan iyo dakav-
Sirebul i. mi Tumetes, pol itikuri partieb is yvel a l ideri pi rvel oba-

ze acxadebda pretenzias da xel qvei Toba damci rebad mia cnda. xSirad, ambiciebi erovnul interesebs Crdil avda da im momentSi `aviwydebo- daT~, rom TiToeul i maTganis pirvel ad misias, sabWouri imperiis mono- bisgan qveyinis daxsnis gzebisa da saSual ebebis Zieba warmoadgenda. samecniero l literaturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom zemoaRniSnul i par- tiebis umravl esoba radikal izms aniWebda upiratesobas, gonivrul da evol uciur gzas miuRebl ad da xSirad Ral atis tol fasovan qmedebad aRi qvamda. erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis xaziT ganvl il i pro- cesebis SefasebasTan mimarTebaSi, akaki baqraZe mogvi anebi T savsebi T kanon- zomierad dasZenda: `qarTul i erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraoba evol uciis, TandaTanobis gzas rom dasdgomoda, igi ZmaTa sisxl iT ar Sei- Rebeboda, bunebrivi ganviTarebis process gahyveboda. Tavisufl eba, romel - ic RmerTma gviboZa, ucreml od da usisxl od damkvidrdeboda saqarTvel o- Si, magram sul wasul obis gamo, qarTvel ma xal xma uaryo TandaTanobi Tobis gza, ucbad da erTbaSad moindoma imis miReba, ris mopovebasac didi moT- mineba, wesrigi, Sroma, siyvarul i da goniereba sWirdeba.-²⁷

marTal ia, es Sefaseba sworia, magram igi momxdari faqtis Semdgomi eta- pis anal izs warmoadgens da ara mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis dros gamoTqmul Sexedul ebas. samwuxarod, ufrosi, saSual o da umcrosi Tao- bis warmomadgenel Ta Soris, im etapze pol itikuri msopl mxedvel obis xidi iyo Catexili. misi gamrTel eba da erTiani gonebrivi sibrZniT da- mZimebul i samoqmedo gegmis SemuSaveba SeuZl ebel i xdeboda. am faqto- ridan gamodinare, erovnul i moZraobis l iderTa samoqmedo gegma, ra- dikal izmze da emociebze iyo dafuznebul i. im etapze, maTi aseTi qmedeba, farTo sazogadoebaze fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedebis uZl ieres instrume- nts warmoadgenda. meore mxriv, miRebul i gadawyvetil ebebis umetesoba, `pol itikuri xtunvis- gauazrebel spontanur saxes atarebda, rac cen- trisTvis yvel aze metad iyo misaRebi. am fonze, ki dev ufro damZimebul suraTs qarTvel Ta urTierTdapirispireba warmoadgenda. am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis praqtikul ad gamtarebl is rol Si, saqarTvel os adgil obrivi xe- l isufl eba da mmarTvel i pol itikuri partia gamodioda. amis utyuar da- dasturebd, saqarTvel os partiul i aqtivis krebaze (1989 wl is 8 april i) miRebul i gadawyvetil eba gamodgeba. `saswavi o dawesebul ebebis yovel kursze- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- skol ebis ufros kl asebsi Sei qmnas eqstremistul ad ganwyobil i moswavi eebisa da studentebis wi naaRmdeg moqmedi j gufebi.-²⁸ aRniSnul i gadawyvetil eba, axal gazrdebis ara mar- to urTierTdapirispirebaze, aramed, fizikurad angariSsworebazedac iyo gaTvl il i. es dokumenti, partiul i aqtivis krebis monawil eTa sa- marcxvino l aqad unda CaiTval os. isic ar unda daviviwyoT, rom am krebis monawil eTa did nawil s, im periodis saqarTvel os naRebi in- tel igencia warmoadgenda. momxdari faqtiT, krebis monawil e qarTul ma intel igenciam, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis erovnul i pol itikiT ukmayofi- l o axal gazrdebs, Sefarviti omi gamoucxada da saqarTvel os uaxl es istoriaSi Savi l aqa datova. meore mxriv, respubl ikis xel mZRvanel o- bas, axal gazrdebis gaxl eCisa da urTierTdapirispirebis kursis gaR- rmavebisTvis Sesabamisi Ronisziebebis gatarebis SesaZl ebl oba samarT- l ebrivad daukanona.

saqarTvel os partiul i aqtivis krebisgan miniWebul i ufl ebebi, saxel isufli ebo rgolis mier, pol iteqnikur institutTan gamarTul i studentTamSvidobiani aqciis winaaRmdegiqna gamoyenebul i. cnobil i faqtia, rom 1989 wl is 18 Teberval s, komkavSirel ma aqtivistebma, Tavianti Tanatol ebis mSvidobiani mitingi daarbia. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `Tbil isSidabeWdil publ ikaciaSi `moral i erTi unda gvqondes!- naira gel aSvil i xazgasmiT miuTiTebda: `pol iteqnikuri institutis asamde komkavSirel s daaval es 18 Tebervl is mitingis darbeva, Tavianti Tanatol ebisa da amxanagebis cema da Seuracyofa. maTac `pirnaTI ad- aRasrul es daval eba. komkavSirel Ta aqtiuri monawil eobiT, xel isufli ebam sastikad, daundobl ad daarbia mitingi, romel ic mi znad isaxavda mi emarTa afxazi xal xisaTvis mowodebiT: ar ahyol oda provokatorebs, roml ebic afxazebs gadajisebisken mowodebdnen. ai am keTil Sobil uri Sinaarsis mitings xel isufli eba sastikad gausworda da mas erTa SuRI is gaRviveba, Sovinizmi da nacional izmi daswama. 18 Tebervl is... aqciaze, qarTvel ma axal gazrdebma, qarTvel ive Tanatol ebis scemes. moral uri Tval sazrisiT, momxdari faqti gacil ebIT did erovnul tragedias warmoadgenda, vidre 9 april is Rame, roca qarTvel ebierTad iyvnen marTal ni, keTil Sobil ni da amaRI ebul ni.³⁰

qarTvel Ta pol itikuri urTierTdapi rispireba da qveynis damoukidebl obisaTvis brZol aSi erTiani moqmedebis saerTo gegmis ver SemuSavebis faqti, kreml ma separatizms asamoqmedebl ad da qarTvel Ta erovnul i moZraobisadmi barieris Sesaqmnel ad gamoiyena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs afxazuri da osuri separatizms safexurebrivad aRmasvl is procesisadmi xel Sewyoba. samecniero literaturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom afxazuri da osuri separatizmi, mefis ruseTis pol itikuri kursidan gamomdinare XIX saukunis 50- iani wl ebidan iRebs saTaves. misi gaaqtiureba, qarTvel Ta erovnul i saxel mwi-fos aRdgenisaTvis brZol as, an gaZl ierebisTvis Sesabamisi Roni sZiebebis gatar tebis xel SeSl as ukavSirdeba. ase iyo 1918- 1920 wl ebSi. es `tradicia- afxazebma da osebma arc XX saukunis 80- ian wl ebSi daarRvia. am mxriv, pirvel etapze afxazebi gaaqtiurdnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1989 wl is 18 martis sof. I xnis yril obis mier miRebul i gadawyvetil eba. am dokumentis mixedviT, yril obis monawil eni saqarTvel os Semadgenl obidan afxazeTis gasvl as da ruseTis federaciaSi gaerTianebas moiTxovdnen. am SemTxvevaSi, afxzma separtistebma (k.osgani, s.Samba, v.arZinba), pol itikuri gamWriaxobiT, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis liderებს (z.gamsaxurdia, m.kostava..) pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri brZol amougo. qarTul pol itikur romantizms, afxazurma pol itikurma pragmatizmma aj oba. am SemTxvevaSi, savsebiT I ogikurad da marTebul ad msjel obs g.wiqariSvil i, roca I xnis yril obasTan mimarTebaSi, qarTveli radikal ebis damokidebul ebas da moskovisadmi wayenebul pretenziebs- Tu ratom ar aRkveTa es yril oba- Sefasebas rom iZl eva: `afsuanuri pol itikis mTavari Tvisება pragmatizmia. qarTul i pol itika ki, samwuxarod `romantikul i- iyo. pragmatul i pol itika yovel Tvis daamar-cxebs romantiul pol itikas. arada, sabol ood swored pragmatul i pol itika aRwevs romantiul mizans. afxazebi pragmatul pol itikas atarebdnen, samagierod dRes Tavisufal ni, amayni da gamarjvebul ni arian. Cven romantiul `keTil Sobil ur- pol itikas vatarebdiT, yvel afers ar vka-

drul obdiT, ami tom, damarcxebul ni da damcirebul ni varT.³⁰

dRevandel i gadasaxedi dan gamomdinare, g.wiqari Svil is zemoaRni Snul i Sefaseba srul WeSmaritebas Sei cav. qarTvel Ta TviTdj erebul ma da pol itikaSi romantizmiT gadatvirTul ma gauazrebel ma moqmedebam, sisxl is Rvris paral el urad, qveyanis garkveul i teritoriebi separat-istebis saj ij gnad gaxada da am teritoriebi dan qarTvel ebis gamodevnamde miyvana. sabWoTa imperiisadmi dasapirispirebl ad moqnil , windaxedul da situaciis Sesabamisad sibrZneze dafuZnebul moqmedebas, erovnul i moZraobis l iderebma, muStis da Zal ismieri meTodebis gamoyeneba am- j obines. aseT radikal izmSi xedavdnen isini gamosaval s. saqarTvel os central uri komitetis pirvel mdivans (j .patiaSvil i) da erovnul i moZraobis l iderebs (z.gamsaxurdia, m.kostava) Soris miRweul i SeTanxmeba (1989 wl is 3 april i) _ afxazeTSi situaciis daregul irebamde Tbil isSi mitingebis gamarTvisadmi TavSekavebis Sesaxeb, radikal ebma meore dResve daarRvia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs i.WavWavaZis sazogadoebis iniciativiT, mTavrobis sax- l is win 4 april s dawyebul i permanentul i mitingebi. samwuxaro is aris, rom zemoaRni Snul i SeTanxmebis sawinaaRmdegod, samedicino institutis `preskl ubis- iniciativiT, `afxazeTis sakiTxTan- dakavSirebiT 1989 wl is 4 april s gamarTul 20000 kacian mitingze, z.gamsaxurdi am principul ad daay- ena sakiTxi_ respubl ikaSi masobrivi gaficvebis da manifestaciebis gagrZe- l ebis Sesaxeb. imave dRes, saRamos 7 saatze, Tbil isis saxel mwi fo univer- sitwetis saaqto darbazSi kidev erTi mitingis Sedga. misma monawil eebma erTxmad miRes rezol ucia_ `afxazeTis assr sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT saqar- Tvel os ssr mTavrobisadmi erovnul i daumorcil ebl obis, saqarTvel os dro- ebiTi mTavrobis Seqmnis, saqarTvel oSi avtonomi ur formirebaTa gauqmebis Sesaxeb.³¹ momxdari faqti imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom erovnul i moZraobis l iderTa Soris erTiani azris SemuSaveba da qveynis xval indel i dRis sa- sicocxl o interesebTan mimarTebaSi konsesusis miRweva SeuZl ebel i iyo. iseTi STabelidil eba iqmneba, rom radikal izmiT damZimebul gadawyvetil ebe- bs, erTmaneTis jibrze iRebdnen. maTi yovel i qmedeba, pol itikuri moRva- wisatvis damaxasiaTebel i Tvi sebebidan iyo amovardnil i. aqedan gamomdi nare, nebsiT Tu unebl ied xSi rad qarTvel Tamtrebis sasargebl o saqmes akeTebd- nen. miTumetes, gonivrul i azris SemTavazebel s eWviT uyurebdnen da masSi konkurents xedavdnen.

afxazeTis saol qo komitetis pl enumis mier (1989 wl is 5 april i) mdivnis moval eobis Tanamdebobidan badl eibas gaanTavisuflebam da mis nacvl ad SedarebiT proqarTul i orientaciis v.xi Sbas daniSvnam, Tbil isSi mdgomar- eoba kidev ufro daiZaba. arada, afxazeTis mTavrobis Sevl is aucil ebl o- ba, TviT momitingeTa moTxovnis erT- erT punqts wadmoadgenda. samwuxaro is aris, rom Tbil isSi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis msvl el obas, Wkuad- amj dari adami anebis gan dakompl eqtebul i erTiani makoordinerebel i cen- tri ar gaaCnda, roml is dadgenil ebebi yvel asadmi saval debul o iqneboda. pol itikuri partieb- is l iderebi, piradi Sexedul ebebi samebr wyvetdnen saki- Txs da ar iTval iswinebdnen mitingze mdgomi adami anebis mosal odnel sa- frTxes. arc imaze fiqrobdnen, Tu ra Sedegis momtani iqneboda umwifari axal gazrdebis mier miRebul i gadawyvetil ebebi. saubedur od, mitingis msvl el obis sadaveebi aseT adami anebis epyraT xel T. maT mier wamoyenebul i

winadadebiT da l ozungiT isazRvreboda yvel aferi. amis erT- erT dama-
dasturebel faqtad, pol itikur situacias morgedul i afxazeTis sakiTxis,
dRis wesrigi dan 28 wl is ir.wereTel is mier TviTneburad moxsna, saqarTve-
l os damoukidebl obisa da arsebul i xel isufl ebisadmi sayovel Taod
daumorCil ebl obis l ozungiT Canacvl eba gamodgeba.

mitingis monawil eebis 6 april s tel eviziiT saqarTvel os umaRI esi sab-
Wos Tavmj domarem o.Cerqeziam, xol o 7 april sj .patiaSvil ma mi marTa. orive
maTganma probl emis mSvidobiani da civil izebul i meTodis gamoyenebiT
gadaWrisken mouwoda momi tingeebs. samwuxarod, TviT mitingis organizato-
rebi da misi monawil eni imdenad egzal tirebul `rel sebze- iyvnen Semdga-
rni, rom sakiTxis gadasawyvetad si tyvis- mSvidobiani formis xsenebasac
gaurbodnen. pol itikur romantizmSi CaZirul ni, darwmunebul ni iyvnen, rom
qarTvel i axal gazrdebis am did SemarTebas, aSS- is da safrangeTis xel i-
sufl ebis warmomadgenl ebi oficial urad gamoucxadebdnen mxardaWeras.
am motiviT iyo ganpirobepul i, am ori saxel mwi fos prezidentebisadmi ga-
gzavnil i sagangebo mimarTvebi, roml ebSiac principul ad iyo dasmul i mo-
Txovna_ mati mxridan momxdariyo sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os demo-
kratiul i respubl ikis 1921 wl is Teberval Si dapyrobis faqtis aRiareba.³²

samecniero l iteraturaSi motanil i dokumenturi masal iT cnobil ia: 1)m.go-
rbaCovi da e.SevardnaZe, ingl isidan moskovSi 7 april s gvian RamiT dabru-
nda; 2)e.SevardnaZe da razumovski Tbil isSi 8 april s ar Camosul an; 3)saqarTve-
l os partiul i aqtivis 8 april is krebase miRebul i gadawyvetil ebiT, mi ti-
ngis monawil e `gaTavxedepul i- axal gazrdebi sanimuSod unda daesaj aT.
imavdroul ad, mitingis xel mZRvanel i l iderebi eqstremistebad da xul igne-
bad iqna gamocxadepul i. am faqtis si swores g.gumbariZis mier moskovSi ga-
gzavnil i depeSebic adasturebs.³³

samecniero l iteraturidan irkveva, rom momi tingeTa wi naaRmdeg umkacre-
si zomebis mi saRebad, Sesabamisi safexuri mzaddeboda. g.wiqariSvil s Tuki
verwmunebiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros warmomadgenel ma ir.wereTel i sa-
iduml od gaafRTxil a: `dRes dagarbeven TavsuSvel eT.- xol o `suk-- is
TanamSromel ma saiduml od weril i gadasca- `sportis sasaxl e ruisis j ariT
aris savse. amaRam movl en. xal xs amoJl eten.³⁴ samwuxarod, am mniSvnel ovan
gafrTxil ebas ir.wereTel ma yuradReba ar mi aqcia. misi asakidan gamomdi-
nare, es arc aris gasakviri, radgan pol itikuri sibrZnis arqonis paral el -
urad, bol Sevikebis teroristul i saqmianobis istoriis codnac ar gaaCn-
da. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mier sazogadoebis fsiqol -
ogiurad dasaterorebl ad, 30- 50 iani wl ebSi gatarebul i RonisZiebebi.
amis dadasturebas, mogvianebiT mis mier gakeTebul i ucveul o gancxadebac
warmoadgens: `Cven vfiqrobdiT, rom dagvarbevdnen da amistvis mzad viyav-
iT. adrec araerTxel davurbevivarT. msxverpl s ki ar movel odiT. es rom
gvcodnoda, maSin sxvagarad vi moqmedebdi T.³⁵

samSobl oze uzomod Seyvarebul i mitingis monawil eni, pol itikanebis
doneze moazrovne adami anebis Semyureni aRmoCndnen. imave pol itikaneb-
is `damsaxurebad- unda CaiTval os, rom qveynis kaTol ikoz- patriarqis
Segoneba arafrad Caagdes. qvaSveTis ekl esi isken Sebrunebas, iqve mis
ezoSi Sesvl as da l ocvas, SiSvel i xel ebiT, gaveSebul i mtrisadmi dax-
vedra da `sisxl isRvra amj obines.-

ssrk- is Tavdacvis ministris diazovis 1989 wl is 8 april is brZanebi T, Tbil isSi mimdinare mi tingis aRsakveTad general - pol kovniki rodi onovi iqna dani Snul i. momitingeTa darbeva 9 april is gamTeni is 4 saatze daiwyo. Tu ra sisastiki T moqmedebda ruseTis specdani Snul ebis qvedanayofi uiar- aRo, mSvi dobiani momitingeebis wi naaRmdeg, ami s Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari 9 april is movl enebisadmi mi ZRvnil samecni ero Sromebsi, sagazeTo da saJurnal o publ ikaciebSi. mi uxedavad ami sa, dResac gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevs momxdari faqtis TviTmxil vel is, rusi Jurnal istisiuri rostis is fotosuraTebi da publ ikacia, romelic gazeT `Молодыеж Грузии-- aSi (1989 wl is 13 april i) daibeWda saTauriT `Трагическая ночь в Тбилиси.- gazeTis aRniSnul i nomris umetesoba xel isufl ebis mxridan ganadgurebul i iqna. gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imsaxurebs gal ina sidorovas vrcel i publ ikacia `Трагедия, которой не должно было быть-, romelic Jurnal `Новое время-- Si (1989 wl is # 17, 21 april i) daibeWda da ruseTis mosaxl eobas im Semzaravi danaSaul ebrivi faqtis Sesaxeb auwya, romelic rusi dedebisa da mamebis mier aRzrdil ma Svil ebma Cai dina mSvi dobian da udanaSaul o qarTvel momitingeebTan mi marTebaSi.

cnobil i faqtia, rom 9 april is tragediis dros, oficial uri monacemebi T 16 adami ani dai Rupa. xol o sazogadoebrivi samedicino saeqsperto komisi is monacemebis mi xedvi T, respubl ikis j andacvis saministros saavaadmyofoebsi mowamvl is niSniT registrirebul i iyo- 66 kaci, basri da bl agvi sagnebi T miyenebul i sxvadasxva Wril obebi T- 24, Tavis tramvebi T- 67, motexil obebi T- 11, tyvi iT daWril ebi - 3 kaci. samedicino dokumentaciis mi xedvi T, 9 april idan 16 april amde, samedicino dawesebul ebebis stacional Si moTavsebul i iqna 257 kaci. gardaicval a sami. 133 kaci savadmyofodan gaewera, radgan mkurnal obis Sedegad maTi j anmrTel obis mdgomareoba gaumj obesebul i iqna. 16 april s dil is 9 saatisaTvis savaadmyofoebsi 121 avadmyofi_ maT Soris 51 qal i da 10 axal gazrda mamakaci imyofeboda.³⁶

1989 wl is 9 april is tragikul i movl enebis Semdeg, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis radikal urma frTam, ieriSi qarTul i intel igenciis ufros da saSual o Taobaze mi itana da isini `samSobl os moRal atis- epiTetebi T Seamko mxol od imi sTvis, rom brZol is radikal uri meTodebis mSvi dobiani formebi T Canacvl ebas moiTxovda. radikal Ta mxridan intel igenciisadmi damokidebul ebas, mweral ma naira gel aSvil ma `sakuTari intel igenciis wi naaRmdeg j varosnul i l aSqroba-- uwoda. am fonze, radikal ebma 1989 wl is 29 oqtomers `erovnul i xsnis mTavari komi teti- Seqmnes. mis Semadgenl obaSi gaerTi andnen: 1)saqarTvel os hel sinkis kavSiri; 2)wmi nda il ia marTI is sazogadoeba; 3)saqarTvel os erovnul i damouki debl obis partia; 4)saqarTvel os erovnul - demokratiul i partia; 5)erovnul i sama-rTI iano- bis partia; 6)monarqistul i partia; 7)saqarTvel os demokratiul i partia; 8)qristian- demokratiul i asociacia; 9)saqarTvel os Rirsebis kavSiri.

am gaerTianebis mier dabeWdil `erTobl iv komuni keSi,~ saqarTvel os damouki debl obis, erovnul i xsni sa da aRorZinebis paral el urad, pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianebis aucil ebl obisadmi mxardaWera iqna dayenebul i. misi aRsrul eba, dokumentis semdgenl ebma merab kostavas saxel sa da ocnebas daukavSires.³⁷ im periodis mimdinare pol itikuri procesebi adasturebs,

rom pol itikur zal Ta erTianobis Sesaxeb ofical urad gamoTqmul i sur-
vil i, mxol od gancxadebad darCa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `erovnul i xsnis mTava-
r komi tetSi~ il ia WavWavaZis sazogadoebis mi zanmi marTul ad armi Reba.
am SemTxvevaSi radikal ebma, zomieri da gawonasworebul i pol itikuri mim-
dinareobis Camocil eba scades.

radikal ebis mxridan anal ogiuri damokidebul eba iqna SenarCunebul i
`saxal xo frontTan~ (Seiqmna 1989 wl is ivniSi) mi marTebaSi. arada, qvey-
nis saxel mwifoebriobis aRsadgenad, samarTI ebrivi safexuris momzade-
bis mizniT, `saxal xo frontisa~ da `dasis~ zewol is Sedegad, saqarTvel
l os uzenaesi sabWo umniSvnel ovanes daTmobebze wavida. mxedvel obaSi
maqvs: 1) saqarTvel os uzenaesi sabWos 1990 wl is 9 martis `dadgenil eba
saqarTvel os saxel mwifo suvereni tetis dacvis garantiabis Sesaxeb.~ am
dokumentiT, sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan 1921 wl is Teberval - martSi saqa-
rTvel os winaarmddeg ganxorciel ebul i saomari RonisZiebebi qveynis
okupaciad da aneqsiad iqna Sefasebul i.¹⁷ 2) 1990 wl is 20 ivniSi dadge-
nil eba: `saqarTvel os saxel mwifos suvereni tetis dacvis garantiabis
Sesaxeb 1990 wl is 9 martis dadgenil ebaSi damatebebis Setanis Taoba-
ze.~ masSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i: `saqarTvel os uzenaesi sabWo acxa-
debs ukanonod da baTil ad yvel a im dadgenil ebas, romelic auqmebda
saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis pol itikur da sxva institutebs,
cvl ida maT gareSe Zal aze damyarebul i pol itikuri da samarTI ebrivi
dawesebul ebebiT.³⁸

am ori dokumentis gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs,
rom TviT sabWoTa saqarTvel os sakanonmdebl o organom, ofical urad
aRiara sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os damoukidebel i saxel mwif-
os Zal datanebiTi gziT dapyrobis faqti, riTac misi arsebobis mi-
zanSewonil ebas samarTI ebrivi ganaCeni gamoutana.

zemoaRniSnul i dokumentebis Seqmnis miuxedavad, radikal urad ganwy-
obil i pol itikuri Zal ebis SigniT konsesusis miRveva da qveynis gada-
sarCenad, qarTvel Ta niWi erebasa da si brZneze dafuZnebul i erTiani samo-
qmedo gegmis SemuSaveba SeuZl ebel i gaxda. im periodisaTvis aucil ebe-
l i pol itikuri gamWrioxoba da sidinj e ukana pl anze iqna gadatani l i
da pirvel obisaTvis brZol am Seiwira.

warsul is mware gamocdil eba isev mi viwyebas mieca da gaTiTokacebul i
formiT moqmedeba, radikal ebma pol itikuri saqmi anobis prioritetad `aRi-
ara~. mxedvel obaSi maqvs erovnul - ganmaTavisufi ebel i moZraobis radi-
kal uri frTis mier erovnul i xsnis mTavari komi tetis TviTI ikvidaciad
gamocxadeba da mis bazaze erovnul i forums Seqmna (1990 wl is 15 marti).
samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom imave forums mesame sxd-
omis momentSi (1990 wl is 27 marti), erovnul i forumi 22 pol itikuri parti-
iisa da organizaciis warmomadgenl ebs aerTianeabda. maTi erTobl ivi saqmi-
anoba mxol od erT Tvesa da aT dReSi_ 24 april s dasrul da. mxedvel obaSi
maqvs oTxi wamyvani pol itikuri organizaciis (hel sinkis kavSiri, winda
il ia marTal is sazogadoeba, monarqistul i partia, merab kostavas sazogad-
oeba) mxridan forums datovebis faqti.³⁹ aRniSnul i organizaciebi 1990
wl is 7 maiss axal pol itikur gaerTianebaSi Sevidnen. 1990 wl is 28 oqto-
bers, saparl amento arCevnebSi gmarj veba swored radikal Ta aRniSnul bl o-

ks xvda wil ad.

amrigad, 1) moskovSi Seqmnil i (1970 wel i) `adami nis ufl ebaTa dacvis komitetis gan- Semu Savebul i `adami nis ufl ebaTa ZiriTadi principi be-, gaeros `adami nis ufl ebaTa sayovel Tao dekl aracias- efuzneboda da ssrk- is moqal aqeebis ufl ebeis dacvas isaxavda miznad. saqarTvel oSi 1974 wl idan moqmedi `adami nis ufl ebaTa dacvis sainiciativo j gufis- amocanas, respubl ikaSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis aRmav- l obisTvis safexuris momzadeba warmoadgenda; 2) 1975 wl is 1 agvistos hel sinkSi miRebul ma dekl araciam da saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil ma `hel s- inkis j gufma- (1976 wel i), erovnul ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraoba axal safexurze aiyvana. maT mier aral egal urad gamocemul xel nawer Jur- nal ebSi (`saqarTvel os moambe-, `oqros sawmisi-, `saRvTismetyvel o kre- bul i-) dabeWdil i publ ikaciebi, arsebul i xel isufl ebis mankeri mxa- reebis kritikas, erovnul i faseul obebis dacvisadmi mowodebas da far- To sazogadoebis erovnul i sawyisebisaken Semobrunebas iTval iswineb- da; 3) `hel sinkis j gufis- wevrebis (z.gamsaxur dia, m.kostava) Sesaxeb pre- sis furcl ebze dabeWdil i Seuracmyofel i bral debebi, erovnul - gan- maTavisufl ebel i moZraobis diskreditaciis mcdel obaze, sazogadoebis mxridan misi l iderebisadmi zurgSeqcevaze da dasapatimrebl ad Ses- bamisi safexuris momzadebaze iyo gaTvl il i. am kompanias, qarTul i emi- graciis warmomadgenl ebma Rirseul i pasuxi gasces. emigraciaSi gamocemul Jurnal ebSi (`veni droSa-, `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-) dabeWdil publ ika- ciebiSi dasabuTebul i formiT amxil es z.gamsaxurdias da m.kostavas cil - ismwamebl ebi. meore mxriv, sazogadoebas garkvevi T mi ani Snes, rom erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderebis wi naaRmdeg agorebul i bral de- bebi, Tavisufl ebisTvis mebrZol Ta fsiqol ogiurad da fizikurad ga- nadgurebis mcdel obas emsaxureboda; 4) qarTul i enis saxel mwi foebrio- bis dasacavad studenti axal gazrdebisa da ufrosi Taobis erTobl ivi moqmedeba (1978 wl is 14 april), arsebul xel isufl ebaze erovnul - gan- maTavisufl ebel i moZraobis gamarj vebis pirvel safexurs warmoadgen- da; 5) `gardaqmnis- kursis gatarebam da cixeebidan disidentebis gamoS- vebam, saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebl i moZraobis aRmavl o- bas Seuwyo xel i. maTi mxridan eris kul tutul i memkvidreobis gadarCe- nis moTxovnebis wi na pl anze wamowevam, disidenturi moZraobis l ider- Ta avtoritetis zrda ganapiroba. qarTul i intel igenciis ufrosi Tao- bisa da erovnul i moZraobis xel mZRvanel Ta Soris saerTo enis verga- moZebnam daadastura: a) qarTul i intel eqtual uri da sakavSi ro arenaze wonadi si tyvis mTqmel Ta mizanmi marTul i bl okireba, erovnul i moZrao- bis warmomadgenel Ta ambi ciurobi T da pirvel obis dakargvis Si Si T iyo ganpirobepul i; b) pol itikuri procesebis msvl el obam, disidenturi moZraobis l iderebsa da ufrosi Taobis intel igenciis umetesobas Soris, pol itikuri ms ofmxedvel obis xidCatexil oba warmoaCina. misi gamrTel eba da sibrZneze dafuznebul i erTiani samoqmedo gegmis Semu Saveba SeuZl e- bel i gaxda. disidentTa radikal izmi, pol itikuri moRvawisadmi damaxa- siaTebel T visebebs scil deboda; 6) 1989 wl is april is mitingis monawi- l eTa sanimuSod dasj is Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os aqtivis krebaze miRebul i gadawyvetil eba (1989 wl is 8 april i), danaSaul is tol fasi qmedeba iyo

da saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriis Sav l aqas warmoadgens. 9 april is tragediam, ssrk- is demokratiul sawyisebze `gardaqmnis~ politikur kurss, niRabi Camoxsna da erovnul - ganmaTavisufi ebel i moZraobis l iderTa winaSe, brZol is axal i formebsa da saSual ebebis SemuSavebis aucil ebl oba daayena.

SoTa vadaWkor i a qarTul i emigracia da erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraoba saqarTvel oSi (1921- 1990)

daskvnebi

saarqivo da presis masal ebis amomwuravad damuSavebam da safuZvl ianma anal izmma Semdegi daskvnebis gakeTebis Sesazl ebl oba momca:

1) saqarTvel os revkomis 1921 wl is 25 Tebevli is dekreti #1- iT, qveynis damoukidebl obis SesanarCunebl ad mebrZol i politikuri Zal ebis saqmi- anobis `borot moRvaweobad- gamocxadeba, politikuri partieb is LiderTa ideologi urad gani araRebaze da sabWoTa xel isufli ebasTan TanamSroml obisTvis izul ebiTi kursis aRebaze iyo gaTvl il i. emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis samomavl od moqmedebis gegmis (erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZral bisadmi xel mZRvanel oba da saqarTvel os okupaciastan dakavSirebiT sabWouri propagandisadmi dapi rispireba) gasaj ar oebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1921 wl is april Si gakeTebul i gancxadebiT daedo safuZvel i. am faqtiT, saqarTvel os devnil ma xel isufli ebam, dampyrobel i qveynisadmi qarTvel i eris Seurigebl obis politikuri mesiji gaugzavna saerTaSoriso sazogadoebas.

baTumis interpartiul i komisiis mier dasmul i sakiTxi_ politikur Zal - Ta konsolidaciisa da erTiani samoqmedo gegmis miRebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb, im etapze evropasi mimdinare politikuri procesebisa da saqarTvel oSi arsebul i sinamdvil is siRrmi seul anal izs efuZneboda; 2) qarTul i social - demokratiis LiderTa moTxovna_ qveynis deokupacia dadeboda safuZvl ad politikur Zal Ta gaerTianebas, swori debul eba iyo da arsebul situacias im etapze srul ad Seesabameboda.

erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mxridan saqarTvel os devnil i kanonieri mTavrobisadmi undobl obis gamocxadeba, misi Semadgenl obis Secvl isa da koaliciuri mTavrobis Seqmnis moTxovna, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis konstituciis # 46, 47, 67, 68 muxl ebis darRvevasTan erTad, politikur Secdomas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, evropis saxel mwi foTa Sesabamisi uwyebebi, emigraciaSi myofi qarTul i politikuri speqtris gadawyvetil ebebiT gansazRvravda saqarTvel os devnil mTavrobasTan TanamSroml obis Sesazl ebl obas. ramdenadac saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavroba, qarTvel i xal xis erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis Liderisa da despansis funqciis Semsrul ebel s warmoadgenda evropasi, nebi smieri politikuri moRvawe misi reitingis maqsimal urad gazrdas unda cdil iyo. amis aucil ebl obas, im etapze ucxo Zal isgan okupirebul i saqarTvel os politikuri interesebi moiTxovda; 3) genuis saerTaSoriso konferenciis muSaobis dawyebamde, emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os politikuri partieb is (social - demokratebi, erovnul - demokratebi, social ist- federal istebi) gaerTianebis faqtis erToblivi deklaraci iT (1922 wl is 6 marti) da interpartiul i konferenciis sxdomaze (1922 wl is 9 marti) miRebul i dadgenil ebiT dadas- tureba, politikurad wingadadgmul nabij s warmoadgenda. am gadawyvetil ebiT, qarTul ma emigraciul ma politikurma speqtrma, saqarTvel os devnil kanonier xel isufli ebas, genuis konferenciis monawil e saxel mwi foebis Lider ebT-

an Tavisufal i urTierTobisaTvis samarTI ebriv bazisze dafuZnebul i moqmedebis SesaZI ebl oba SeunarCuna.

II. 1) sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqrTvel os okupaciasTan mi marTebaSi evropasi gavr cel ebul i yal bi informaciis gamoaSkaravebaSi, saqrTvel os emigraciul mTavrobas daxmareba mxol od meore internacional ma gauwia. maTi presiTa da radios gamoyenebiT gaxda SesaZI ebel i, dasavl eT evropis mosaxl eobisadmi obieqturi masal ebis miwodeba. erTa l igis VI yril obis VIII sxdomaze (1922 wl is 20 seqtemberi), sabWoTa ruseTis agresorad gamocxadebis rezol uiciis miRebis mcdel oba, devnil obaSi myofi saqrTvel os xel isufli ebis marcxiT damTavrda. dapyrobi l i saqrTvel os Sesaxeb miRebul rezol ucias, evropis qveynebis warmomadgenl ebis Zal isxmeviT, zogadi da zedapirul i saxe misces. agresori qveynis qmedeba obieqturad ar Seafases. 2) gasabWoebul i saqrTvel os xel isufli ebis winaarmdeg mowyobil i 1922 wl is 26 maisis saprotesto aqciebis maStaburoba, qarTvel i eris Tavisufli ebisTvis swrafvis zearmatebul formebsi gamoavl inebas warmoadgenda. umkacresi represiebis miuxedavad, bol Sevikebma misi cakvl a ver SeZI o. antisabWouri erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis l ogikur gagrZel ebas, svaneTis 1922 wl is aj anyeba warmoadgenda, romel sac eris Tavisufli eba da erovnul i Rirseba edo safuZvl ad. winaswari mosamzadebel i RonisZiebebis gautarebl obam da moZraobisadmi srul i ad kavkasiuri saxis armicemam, aj anyebis damarcxeba ganapiroba.

genuis konferenciis msvl el obis periodSi, saqrTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis mier svaneTis aj anyebis winapl anze wamowevam da sabWoTa ruseTis dampyroburi politikiis mxil ebam, evropel ebze ideologiuri zemoqmedebis datvirTvis funqcia Seasrula. miuxedavad amisa, momxdar faqtTan mi marTebaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis sawinaarmdegod, evropis l iderebs pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebi ar miuRia. 3) 1921- 1922 wl ebis antisabWouri gamosvl ebi, erTiani saorganizacio centris xel mZrvanel obasiyo mokl ebul i. mis meTaurebs, moqmedebis winaswari samxedro gegma ar gaaCnda da gadawyvetil ebebs piradi Sexedul ebisamebr iRebdnen. aRni Snul ma faqtorebma, saqrTvel os Sesabamis uwyebes, erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebl i moZraobis aqtiivistebis `SemorigebiT,~ maTi patimrobaSi ayvanis da ganadgurebis SesaZI ebl oba misca. regionebsi Seqmnil i `sagangebo xuTeul ebis~ saqmi anoba, mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis umkacres represiebbe da fsiqol ogiur daterozeze iyo gaTvl il i.

III. 1) saqrTvel oSi Seqmnil i mZime politikiuri da ekonomikuri situaciis fonze, qarTvel i xal xis erovnul i Tavisufli ebisaken swrafvis aRmavl obis procesi, warmodgenil dokumentebSi maqsimal uradaa gaTval iswinebul i; 2) dasavl eT evropasa da ruseTs Soris mmdinare ekonomikuri daaxl oebis ganapirobebel i faqtorebis siRrmi seul i anal izis fonze, saqrTvel os ganTavisufli ebis mSvidobiani gza (evropis mxridan Seiararebul i Zl iT daxmareba, muSaTa saerTaSoriso internacional is Zal isxmeva da kreml is dacema) uperspeqtivod da il uziadaa miCneul i; 3) srul i ad kavkasiis masStabiT Seiararebul i aj anyebj sadmi prioritetis micema da am saqmeSi saqrTvel osadmi xel mZrvanel is funqciis dakisreba, dokumentebis Semdgenel Tamxridan damaj erebel i argumentebiTaa warmodgenil i. konkretul adaa miTitebul i aj anyebis mosamzadebel i safexurebis da misi srul ad ganxorciel ebisatvis

saWi ro Roni sZiebis Sesaxeb; 4)aj anyebis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis morigi agresii sagan damcavi meqanizmi s is saSual ebebi, roml ebic dokumentebSi a warmodgenil i, im periodis (pol itikuri, samxedro strategi ul i, finansuri, kavkasi is respubl ikebis erTobl ivi moqmedebis potenci uri SesaZl ebl obebi da a.S.) moTxovnebs Zi riTadad pasuxobda da srul fa sovan gegmad unda Cai Tval os. marTal ia, es dokumentebi Sei araRebul i aj anyebis momzadebisa da misi ganxorciel ebis mokl evadian (1922 wl is gviani Semodgoma_ 1923 wl is adre gazafxul i) monakveTze iyo gaTvl il i, magram, vj uRel is 1923 wl is Tebervl is samxedro moxsenebam da saj ariso Senaer Tebis Sesaxeb masSi Setani l ma damatebi Tma monacemebma, am gegmas momdevno wl eb Si moqmedebis xangrZl i oba SeunarCuna. mi Tumetes, dasaxul i mi znis mi saRw evad gasatarebel i Roni sZiebebis yvel a niuansi, masSi maqsimal urad iyo gaTval iswinebul i; 5)1921- 1922 wl ebis represiebi T Camkvdari aral egarul i antisabWouri saqmi anobis safexurebrivad gamosacocxl ebl ad, umkacresi discipl inis, informaci is gasaiduml ebis da konspiraci ul i muSaobis forme bis SemoReba, n.xomerikis diqtatorad, eqstremistad da avanturistad gamocx adebis safuZvel s ar iZl eva. sabWour provokaciaze arwamogebis Sesaxeb, social - demokrati ul i partiis l iderebi sgan `samxedro centris- xel mZR vanel Ta mraval gzis gafrTxil eba, qveyneis mosaxl eobisadmi axal i represiebis acil ebas iTval iswinebda; 6)saokupaci o reJimis wi naaRmdeg Sei araRebul i aj anyebis mosamzadebel i Roni sZiebebi da moqmedebis taqtika, gamarTl ebul l ad mxol od im SemTxvevaSi Cai Tvl eboda, Tuki `samxedro centris- mier mi Rebul i gadawyvetil ebebi, aj anyebis samxedro gegmi T gaTval iswinebul moTxovnebs daakmayofil ebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)auCqarebl oba, Sei araRebul i gamosvl ebis safuZvl iani momzadeba da ruseTsi Seqmnil i xel - sayrel i pol itikur- ekonomikuri situaci is maqsimal urad gaTval iswine ba; b)srul iad kavkasi is masStabi T, qarTvel Ta mxardamxar brZol is da er Tobl ivi Zal ebi T sabWoTa ruseTisadmi dapi ri spi rebis safexuris momza deba; g)evropis qveynebi dan i araRi Ta da ful iT daxmarebis garanti is Seqm na; 7)n.xomerikisa da vj uRel is dasapatimrebl ad, erovnul - demokrati ul i partiis zogierTi warmomadgenel isgan `Ceka-- s TanamSroml ebisadmi xel l Sewyoba, aRni Snul i pirovnebebis pol itikuri sarbiel idan Camocil ebas da moqmedebis Tavisufal i sivr cis Seqmnas iTval iswinebda. Sei araRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis, amier kavkasi is sagangebo komisi isadmi gadagza vni T, erovnul - demokrati ul i partiis zogierTi sul mokl e adami anebis gan udi desi danaSaul i iqna Cadenil i. am qmedebi T, Sei araRebul gamosvl ebs, araorgani zebul i, spontanuri saxemi eca da garduval i damarcxebis wi naswari safexuri momzadda.

IV. 1)sbWoTa xel isuf l ebis mier saqarTvel oSi 1924- 1925 wl ebSi gatarebu l i umkacresi represiebi, aral egal urad moqmedi pol itikuri Zal ebisa da antisabWourad moazrovne adami anTa fizi kur ganadgurebaze iyo gaTvl il i. `represiebis axal i meTodis- quCidan adami anebis motacebis da suki s sar daFebSi gamomwyvdevi s praqti kaSi daner gvi T, uSi Sroebis maRal Ci nosnebi, mosaxl eobaze fsi qol ogi urad zemoqmedebis da erovnul - ganmaTavisuf l ebel i moZraobi sadmi zurgSeqcevis mi Rwevas cdil obda. saqarTvel os emi graci ul i mTavrobis Zal isxmevi T, gazeTi `Cveni erTobas- da pol itikuri xasiaTis broSurebis aral egal urad dabeWdva_ gavrcel eba, arsebul i xe-

1) isufli ebi mxil ebas da sazogadoebaSi Tavisufl ebi mopovebi sadmi rw-
meni s SenarCunebas emsaxureboda; 2)saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi
partiul i organizaciebi sadmi cixis patimarTa saxel iT gagzavnil kol eq-
tiur weril ebSi dasmul i moTxovnebi_ maTi gegmebi sa da amocanebi s gasa-
j aroebis Sesaxeb, uSi Sroebis TanamSromel Ta SekveTil Roni sZiebas war-
moadgenda da TiToeul i pol itikuri organizaciis sal ikvidacio safexu-
ris momzadebaze iyo gaTvl il i.

saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da social - demokratiul i partiis
pirvel xarixxovan sazrunavs, represiebs gadarCenil i pol itikuri Zal ebi s
konsolidacia da konsesusze dafuZnebul i erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i
moZraobis erTiani samoqmedo programis SemuSaveba warmoadgenda. sami pol i-
tikuri partiis (social - demokratebi, social ist- federal istebi, erovnul -
demokratebi) mier 1925 wl is 16 noembers miRebul i `SeTanxmehis debul eba,-
saokupacio xel isufli ebi s winaaRmdeg brZol isTvis Sesabamisi safexuris
momzadebas iTval iswinebda. dasaxul i amocanis ganxorciel ebi s Sedare-
biT srul yofil Teoriul gegmas, `pol itikuri muSaobis Sesaxeb- n.rami Svi-
l is Tezisebi warmoadgenda. igi amierkavkasiis masStabiT pol itikur Zal -
Ta konsolidaciaze, antisabWouri saqmi anobis gaaqti urebaze da saqarTve-
l os saxel mwi foebriobis aRdgenaze akeTebda orientacias. qarTul i pol i-
tikuri speqtris mier erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwifos Seqmni s da konfed-
eraciis principi ebsze mowyobis idea, sabWoTa ruseTis gan regionis gamoyo-
faze da mosal odnel i safrTxis gan erTobl ivi Zal ebiT Tavdacvis uzrun-
vel yofaze iyo gaTvl il i. 3)pol itikuri partiebis erTiani erovnul i fron-
tidan r.gabaSil is j gufis gasvl a, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis pasux-
ismgebel wevrTa krebam (1929 wl is 28 april i), partiis programisa da taqti-
kuri xazis ignori rebad, erovnul i saqmi sadmi zurgSeqcevad da pol itikuri
ambiciebiT Sepyrobil i adami anis qmedebad Seafasa. evropi s qveynebi s sael -
Coebis sadmi asaTian- kedias j gufis mier gadacemul i memorandumi, saqarTve-
l is emigraciul i mTavrobis diskreditaciaze da mis gadasayenebl ad safex-
uris momzadebaze iyo gaTvl il i. maTi es qmedeba, im etapze antisabWouri
frontis da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis winaSe Cadenil dan-
aSaul ebrivel ementebs Seicavda. nebsiT Tu unebl ied, isini sabWoTa uSi S-
roebis miznebsa da amocanebs exmi anebodnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, sabWoTa
specsamsaxurebi s Sesabamisi uwyebis gegmiT gaTval iswinebul i (qarTul i
emigraciis daSl a, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufli ebi s ideurad da pol i-
tikurad ganadgureba, misil egaciis gauqmeba) Roni sZiebebi s gatarebi s mcde-
l obis faqtebi. dokumenturi masal iT ar dasturdeba, rom; a)saerTaSoriso
forumebsze, aRni Snul daj gufebas sabWoTa ruseTis sawinaaRmdegod da saqarT-
Tvel os interesebi s dasacavad raime mni Svel ovani sakiTxi rom gaetana, an
Sesabamisi rezol uciis miRebi s uzrunvel yofa moexdina; b)saqarTvel os
deokupaciis sakiTxiTan mi mar TebaSi, imave j gufis wevrebs, evropi s qveynebi s
l iderebTan mcireodeni warmatebi s momtani Sexvedrebi c ar Cautarebi aT;
4)saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi sami pol itikuri partiis (social -
demokratebi, erovnul - demokratebi, social ist- federal istebi) aral ega-
l ur krebaze (1930 wl is 29 ivl isi), sabWoTa reJimis winaaRmdeg brZol is
Sesaxeb miRweul i SeTanxmeha da Sesabamisi dadgenil eba, erovnul - ganmaT-
avisufl ebel i moZraobis xaziT wingadadgmul i nabij i iyo. imavdroul ad,

igi erovnul i wamosaxami T SefuTul i saeWvo reputaciis mqone pol itikuri daj gufebebisadmi Rirseul pasuxs Seicavda. gasul i saukunis 30-iani wl ebis pol itikuri procesebis fonze, saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisa da misi dipl omatiuri korpusis mcdel oba, evropis qveynebisgan, damouki debl obisaTvis brZol aSi mxardaWera mi eRo, uSedego aRmoCnda. maTi pozicia, ruseTis argaRi ziane baze, masTan aqtiuri ekonomikuri da pol itikuri urTierTobis gaRrmavebaze iyo gaTvl il i. es faqtorebi daedo safuZvl ad evropasi saqarTvel os sael Coebis oficial urad gauqmebas, ramac evropis qveynebisadmi qarTul i emigraciis didi nawil is skeptikuri damokidebul eba ganapiroba.

V. 1)evropaSi ganviTarebul i pol itikuri procesebi, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciisgan konsesusze dafuZnebul i adeqvaturi samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebas moiTxovda. mi Tumetes, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis kanonier mTavrobas, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis mesaWed da moskovis dauZinebel mtrad aRiqvamda sabWoTa ruseTi. am faqtorma ganapiroba safrangeTis xel isufl ebaze moskovis zewol a da qarTul i emigraciul i mTavrobis l egaciis oficial urad gauqmeba (1933 wl is ivl isi). momxdari faqti, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciisaTvis udides dartymas warmoadgenda. am fonze, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis SigniT mimdinare dapirispireba, danaSaul is el ementebs Seicavda. social - demokratiul i partiis garegnul ad, Tundac moCvenebiTi erTianoba, evropel - Ta Tval Si gansakuTrebul pol itikur da ideol ogiur datvirTvas SeiZenda da oficial urad gauqmebul mTavrobas avtoritets SeunarCunebda. social - demokratiul i partiis parizis 1934 wl is konferenciazee, n.Jordania-ir.wereTel is SeuTanxmebl obis gamo, partiis erTianobis aRdgena SeuZl ebel i gaxda. miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, sabWoTa ruseTTan mol aparakebisa da masTan saerto enis gamozebnis wereTI iseul i pozicia konferenciam uaryo; 2)saqarTvel os mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumsada demokratiul i kavSiris wevrTa erTobl ivi gadawyvetil ebiT (1932 wl is 1, 20, 25 ivnisi) miRebul i 7 punqtiani dadgenil eba, pol itikuri partiis l iderebs, emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi angarisSis gawevas aval debul ebda. anal ogiuri saxis dadgenil eba 1939 wl is 28 april Siac mi iRes. ganvl il ma periodma da adastura, rom qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mier `SeTanxmehis- dokumentis xangrZl ioba `wuTier smarTl ebriv saxes- atarebda da evropasi mimdinare procesebis paral el urad icvl eboda.

qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis erTi nawil isgan saerto frontis dato-veba, ucxo saxel mwifoebis warmomadgenl ebTan saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis wevrebis dabezReba da evropis masStabiT diskreditacia, sabWoTa uSi Sroebis interesebs pasuxobda. aqedan gamomdinare, `kavkasiis aral e- garul i komitetis- saqmianoba da masTan zogierTi qarTvel i emigrantis TanamSroml oba, danaSaul is el ementebs Seicavda; 3) saqarTvel os faSisturi darazmul obis- da `TeTri giorgis- j gufis faSistebTan TanamSroml obis gegma, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis emigraciul i mTavrobis dasamarebaze iyo gaTvl il i. emigrantebis bazaze riggareSe konferenciis mowvevisa da axal i mTavrobis arCevis Canafiqri, qarTul i emigraciis rigebSi profaSisturi ideol ogiisadmi mxardamWeri Zal ebis wina pl anze wamowevas isaxavda miznad. saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i

krebis prezidiums da social - demokratiuli partii wevreb (n.Jordania, e.gegeWkori, k.gvarjalaze..), saqartvelos sakiTxis faSisturi germaniisadmi mindobas_ danaSaulad miicnevda. faSizmis evropasa da ruseTSi gamarjvebas, saqartvelos samudamod damonebas ukavSirebda.

VI. 1)saqartvelosi aral egal urad moqmedi social - demokratiuli partii sa da erovnul - demokratiuli partii varSavis organizaciis liderTamowodebebi, qarTuli emigraciis politiki mimdinareobebis `erovnul frontSi- gaertianebas da evropis masStabiTertiani samoqmedo gegmit gamosvlasiTvaliswinebda. erovnuli mTavrobis, damfuZnebeli krebis prezidiums da partiaTa warmomadgenlobiTi kolégiis wevTa samoqmedo gegma, evropasi mimdinare politiki procesebis samimartul ebiT gamoyenebas isaxavda miznad: a)meore internacionalidan ideologiur frontze maqsimaluri Tanadgomis mopovebas, b)evropis qveyebidan realuri daxmarebis miRebas da g)saomari moqmedebebis saqartvelos sasargeblod gamoyenebas; 2)parizis qarTul `erovnul centrTan- SeqmniligansakuTrebuli politiki komisiisadmi sazedamxedvelo funqciis miniWebada saqartvelostan konspiraciuli urTierTobis damyareba, Sesabamisi informaciis srul fasovnad miRebas da erovnul - ganmatavisuflebeli moZraobis gaRrmavebaze iyo gaTvlili; 3)al .asaTian- r.gabaSvilis jgufis `erovnul centrSi- gawevrianebisadmi saqartvelos emigraciuli mTavrobis mxardaWera, opoziciuri dagufebebisadmi kompromisuli damokidebul ebis dadastureba iyo. erovnul - demokratiuli partii varSavis organizaciis mier 1940 wels miRebuli wesdebis Sesabamisi muxlebiT (# 6, 7, 8, 9), saqartvelos erovnuli mTavrobisa da `erovnuli centrisadmi- Tanadgomis gamocxadeba, erovnuli mTavrobis politiki kursisadmi oficialuri mxardaWeris ganacxads warmoadgenda; 4)emigraciuli mTavrobisa da `erovnuli frontis- gauqmebis moTxovnis fonze, al ternatul organizaciis Seqmnis sakiTxis dayeneba, qarTuli emigraciis daqcumacebaze, rusuli memarjvene da komunisturi Zal ebis interesTa gaTvaliswinebaze iyo gaTvlili. dokumenturi masalis safuZvlianma Seswavi daadastura: a)emigraciis umravlesobis mxridan, qarTveli eris mier 1919 wels miniWebuli ndobis mandatis Rirseuli adtareba; b)zogierTi politiki mimdinareobebis wevrebis gan, piradi cxovrebis gasaumj obeseblad, qarTvelTa dauZinebel mtrebTan TanamSromlobis gzis arCeva. qarTული politiki emigraciis saqmiანობის Sefasebisas, es faqtorebi pirvel rigSi unda iqnes gaTvaliswinebuli; 5)qarTული politiki emigracias, Tavisuflebisatvis brZola mxolod smi pirobis SemTxvevaSi miacnda SesaZleblad: a)Tukერი politiki urad და ფიგოლიური იკნებოდა მომზადებულ ი; b)მოხდებოდა eris politiki Zal ebis konsolidაცია და საიმედო მოკავსირის SeZena; g)დასახული მიზნისTვის საერთაშორისო ხელ Semwyობი გარე faqtoreბი Sei qmნებოდა.

kol eqtivizaciis winaarmdeg dawyebuli da erTian xel mZRvanel obas moklebuli partizanuli gamosvl ebi, garduvali damarcxebisTvis iyo ganwiruli. misi SeCereba im etapze swor gadawyvetilebas warmoadgenda. samxreT kavkasiaSi antisabWouri gamosvl ebi, Crdili kavkasiis, ukrainის და სხვა respublikeბის ატიური მონაწილეობის SemTxvevaSi iqნებოდა დასაწები. winaarmdeg SemTxvevaSi, erი ფიზიკური განადგურების საფრTვის winaSe არმოცნებოდა; 6)saqartvelos sakiTxTan mimarTeბასი, საერთაშორისო forumებზე, evropის

qveynebis liderTa gadawyvetil ebebi, ormxrivi pol itikuri TamaSis saxes atarebda. erTa ligis damxmare asociaciis saerTaSoriso kongresis (1934 wl is 18- 24 maisi) monawil eebisadmi ruseTis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis Sexse- nebis miuxedavad, erTa ligam Sesatyvisi rezolucia ar miRo. momxdari faqtiT, evropis qveynebis liderebma, saerTaSoriso pol itikuri meZavisa da merkantil izmis kursisadmi monuri morCil eba warmoaCina. am forumma, patara erebisadmi adre micemul i aRiarebiTi garantiabis Segnebul ad`mivi- wyeba- da dampyrobel i qveynisadmi gansakuTrebul i simpaTiebi gamoavl ina. momxdar ma faqtma, evropis saxel mwifoebisadmi undobl oba da maTze dayrd- nobis SeuZl ebl oba daadastura; 7) qarTul i emigraciis erTi nawil is mxri- dan, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis meore internacional - idan gamosvl is moTxovna, mimdinare pol itikur situacias ar Seesabamebo- da. am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul i nabiji, qarTul i emigraciisaTvis uaryo- fiTi Sedegebis momtani iqneboda: a) evropis pol itikur wreebSi social - demokratiul i partiis diskreditacias Tan erTad, qarTul i mxare saerTa- Soriso tribunak dakargavda; b) urTierTobas gawyvetda safrangeTis, Sveciis, norvegiis, daniis, Cexosl ovakiis da fineTis warmomadgenl ebTan. am faqtiT ganpirobepul i Sedegi, social - demokratiul i partiisa da emigraciul i mTavrobis mizanmimarTul i TviTmkvl el obis tol fasi qmedeba iqneboda; 8) qarTul i samTavrobo pol itikuri emigraciis moTminebaze da l odinze dafuZnebul i brZol is taqtika, swor arCevans warmoadgenda. qveynis bedis erTi romel ime saxel mwifosadmi mindoba, n. Jordani as da mis mxardamWerebs Secdomad miaCnda. maTi samarTliani mtkicebiT, pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobiT, qarTul i mxare CixSi ar unda moqceul iyo da dipl omati- uri l avirebis SesaZl ebl oba SeenarCunebina. gaRizianebul i ruseTis pir- ispir mdgomi saqarTvel osTvis, evropis arcerTi saxel mwifoTavs ar gam- oidebda. ruseTis xel ovnurad argaRizianebis da l odinis taqtika, qa- rTul i emigraciis samTavrobo l iderebs momgebian pozicias unarCunebda. qarTul i emigraciis l iderebi, montres konferenciis (1936 wl is 22 ivni si- 21 ivl isi) dadgenil ebis dinebas unda miyol oda da maTi gancxadebebi, am kursis SesatyvisobaSi yofil iyo moyvanil i; 9) faSisturi germaniis samsax- urSi myofi qarTvel i emigrantebis saqmianobis Sefasebas, damonebul erebTan mimarTebaSi germaniis xel isufal Ta damokidebul eba unda daedos amo- saval safuZvl ad. qarTvel i tyvebis germaniis samxedro nawil ebSi samsax- urze daTanxmebaSi, `qarTul ma nacional urma komitetma- gansakuTrebul i rol i Seasrul a. 1942_ 1943 wl ebSi, germaniis saxel mwifos erTgul ebaze ficmiRebul i 8 `qarTul i nacional uri batalioni - funqcionirebda da ge- rmaniis saxel mwifos interesebis Sesatyvis brZanebebs asrul ebda: a) evropis qveynebsi antifasisti partizani mebrZol ebis wi naaRmddeg, qarTul i batal - ionebis gamoyenebis faqti, faSizmis uRel qveS mgminavi evropis xal xebis erovnul - ganmaTavisufel ebel i moZraobis gasanadgurebl ad gatarebul Roni- siZebas warmoadgenda. am antifasistur moZraobaSi, evropel Ta mxardamx- ar qarTvel i partizanebic monawil eobden. b) kavkasiis damcvel 10 qarTul divizias, germaniis sardl obam gen. S. maRI akel iZis meTaurobiT `qarTul i erovnul i batalioni - da qarTvel ebis bazaze Seqmnil i gansakuTrebul i daniSnul ebis qvedanayofi `Tamari- 1- da `Tamari- 2- daupirispira. orive SemTxvevaSi, faSisturi germaniis samxedro munderSi gamowyobil ma qarTve-

I ebma, qarTvel ebis winaaRmdag aRmarTa i araRi; 6)germani is xel isufli ebis mier sabWoTa ruseTis evropul nawil Si kol meurneobebis SenarCunebis faqti, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis eqspl oataci isa da Zarcvis paral el urad, damonebul i erebisadmi Tavisufli ebis armi cemis dadasturebas warmoadgenda. kavkasi is erebis damoukidebl obis moTxovnis memorandumze (1942 wel i) germani is maRal Cinosnebis mxridan uaris Tqmam, sabWoTa imperi is Semadgenl obaSi myof erebTan mimarTebaSi, faSisturi germani is damokidebul eba oficial urad gaaxmovana. 1944 wl is seqtemberSi al fred rozenbergis mier qarTvel ebisa da kavkasi is xal xebis damoukidebl obis Sesaxeb gacemul i Tanxmoba, iZul ebis faqtoriT_ germani is damarcxebis zRurbl ze dgomiT da qarTvel i samxedroebis gul is mogebiT iyo ganpirobebul i.

VII. 1)sabWoTa ruseTis ganTavisufli ebis gasaRebs, qarTul i pol itikuri emigracia kavkasi is gaerTianebaSi, erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebaSi da sabWouri rejimisadmi erTobl ivi Zal ebiT dapi rispirebaSi xedavda. kavkasi is erebis warsul is gamocdil eba (ambici uroba, somex- azerbaij anel - Ta gacemul i pirobis Seusrul ebl oba, orientaci is sxvadasaxvaoba) dasaxul i mi znis ganxorciel ebas kiTxvis qveS ayenebda. mdgomareobas, qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi mtacebl uri meTodebis amoqmedebar Tul ebda. am fonze, qarTul mxares, srul iad kavkasi is konferenci is mowveva, sadao sakiTxebis konsesussis, an arbi traJis gziT gadawyveta erTaderT gamosaval saSual ebad miaCnda; 2)saqarTvel os erovnul i mTavrobis da damfuZnebel i krebis prezidi umis erTobl iv sxdomaze (1934 wl is 13- 20 ianvari), kavkasi is konfederaci is paqtis teqtis proeqtis damtkicebiT, amierkavkasi is erTa gaerTianebi saTvis ideol ogiuri safexuri momzadda. dokumentis, amierkavkasi is erTa konfederaciul i saxel mwi fos Seqmnis idea edo safuZvl ad. kavkasi is erebis konferenci is (1934 wl is 14, 15, 16 ianvari, 23 Teberval i) mier damtkicebul i makoordinerebel i organos_ `konfederaci is sabWos- ZiriTad dani Snul ebas warmoadgenda: a)kavkasi is erebis Zal Ta konsol idacia; b)erovnul - gammaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis xel mZRvanel oba; g)saxel mwi foebri obis aRdgeni sTvis Sesabamisi safexuris momzadeba. imave konferenci aze miRebul i meore dokumenti_ `kavkasi is xal xi da ruseTi,~ Cagrul i erebis Tavisufli ebisa da erovnul i saxel mwi foebis Seqmnis mimarTul ebebs akonkretebda; 3)saqarTvel os teritoriisadmi azerbaij anel Ta da Crdil o kavkasiel Ta pretenzi ebis presis furcl ebze oficial urad gacxadebam, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi `pol itikuri gamozal vis- da mi sakuTrebi s tendencia warmoaCina. qarTul i emigraci is samTavrobo wreebis gan SeTavazebul i winadadebi sadmi_ sadao sakiTxebis arbi traJiT gadawyvetaze uaris Tqmi T, kavkasi is erebis erT konfederaciul saxel mwi foSi nebayofl obiTi gaerTianebi s SeuZl ebl oba dadasturda.

VIII. 1)meore msofil io omis damamTavrebel etapze, sbWoTa ruseTis gan `gammaTavisufli ebel i misi iTa- da `saxal xo demokrati is- ni Rbi T evropis qveynebis okupaci is sakiTxi, bol Sevi kebis gan devnil ma da emigraciaSi myofma kanonierma mTavrobebma, ideol ogiur frontze gansjis ZiriTad sagnad aqcia. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i emigracia gansakuTrebi T aqtiurobda. sabWoTa ruseTis specsamsaxurebis mier, 1945 wel s safrangeTSi Seqmnil i `qarTvel patriotTa kavSiri,~ qarTvel i emigrantebis gadabirebas, sabWoTa pl atformaze gadayvanas

da ideol ogiur frontze qarTul i emigraciis nei tral izebas iTval iswinebda; 2)evropis saxel mwifoTa l iderebis mxridan qarTul i emigraciisadmi 1921- 1945 wl ebSi micemul i dapirebebis Seusrul ebl obam, gameZavebul ma pol itikurma kursma da sabWoTa ruseTan `pol itikurma arSiyobam- (n.Jordania), qarTvel emigrantTa Soris evropisadmi nihil izmi daamkvidra da misi orientaciis sami mimarTul ebiT [a)prorusul i, b)Sual eduri da g)dasavl eT evropul i] Camoyal ibebas Seuwyo xel i. a)saarqivo masal ebiT irkveva, rom qarTul i emigraciis erTi j gufi, warsul is anal izidan gamomdinare, evropis qveynebsi saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenisadmi real uri mxardaWeris niadags da resursebs ver xedavda. evropisadmi nihil izmi maTSi imdenad Zl ierad iyo Cakirul i, rom ruseTidan gamoyofaze uars acxadebdnen da saqarTvel os damouki debl obis sakiTxis wi na pl anze wamowevas Tavis motyuebad Tvl idnen; b)sabWoTa ruseTSi gamefebul i diqtaturis evol uciuri gziT Secvl is SeuZl ebl obidan gamomdinare, qarTvel i emigrantebis meore daj gufeba, ruseTis imedad darCenas mi uRebl ad mi iCnevda. imavdroul ad, evropis qveynebtan mimarTebaSiac nihil izms amJRavnebd da saqarTvel os gadarCenis real ur saSual ebad_ `saerTo demokratiul l agers- moiazrebda. `pol itikuri romantizmiT- damZimebul i es Sexedul eba, dasavl eTis kapital isturi da aRmosavl eTis komunisturi bl okebis mSvidobiani evol uciis gziT erTmaneTSi Serwymas iTval iswinebda; g)saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis Tavmj domare da misi mxardamWerebi, saqarTvel os momaval s evropis qveynebis TanadgomaSi da demokrtizmSi xedavda. qarTul i emigraciis cnobierebaSi dasavl eTisgan mxardaWeris gaRrmavebas ori faqtori daedo safuZvl ad: a)`saqarTvel os nacional uri komitetisa- da aSS- is dazvervis warmomadgenl ebis saqmiani kontaktebi da b)1949 wels Crdil o atl antikuri samxedro -pol itikuri bl okis (nato) Seqmna; 3)saarqivo masal ebSi motanil i monacemebis mixedviT, evropis qveynebis da aSS- is xel isufal Ta mxridan im etapze sabWoTa imperiis sawinaarmdegod gatarebul ma pragmatul ma RonisZiebebma, qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciisa da saqarTvel oSi aral egal urad moqmedi antisabWouri Zal ebis Semadgenl obaSi, qveynis ganTavisufl ebis imedebi gaacocxl a. amis real ur safuZvel s, mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobidan da mosal odnel i xel sayrel i pirobepis Seqmni dan gamomdinare, dasavl eT evropaSi arsebul i qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mier, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis garSemo gaerTianebis sakiTxis principul ad dasma iZl eoda. mi Tumetes, maTi mxridan konsesusze dafuZnebul i erTobl ivi samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebis dadebi Tad gadawyveta, eris Tavisufl ebisTvis mosamzadebel wi na pi robad i qna gamocxadebul i.

IX. 1)qarTul i emigraciis uxucesi l iderebis gadawyvetil eba_ saerTa- Soriso organizaciebisa da progresul ad moazrovne rusul i emigraciis mxardaWerit sabWoTa ruseTis wi naaRmdeg ebrZol aT, 30 wl ian pol itikur gamocdil ebas efuZneboda. maT kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom qvey- nis damouki debl obis mi Rweva, ruseTisadmi dapiriSPIrebul i saxel mwifoe- bis interesTa gaTval iswinebit iyo SesaZl ebel i; 2)qarTul i emigraciis l iderebis mxridan axl adSeqmnil `amerikul komitetTan- TanamSroml oba da imave komitetis miwvevit visbadenis konferenciaSi monawil eoba, swor pol itikur nabij s warmoadgenda. visbadenis konferenciaze warmodgenil i

5 rusul i organizaciis mier, erovnul sakiTxSi Studgartis dadgenil ebe-
bze (1951 wl is 19 agvisto) uaristqma da 1918- 1921 wl ebSi saxel mwifoebri-
obis mqone erebisadmi damouki debl obis micemaze Tanxmoba, emigraciis an-
tisabWouri pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidaciis safexuris momzadebas
iTval iswinebda; 3)visbadenis konferenciam, erovnul sakiTxSi rusi da ararusi
pol itikuri mo-Rvaweebis dapi rispireba gamokveTa. meore mxriv, msofli o
sazogadoebas ararusi erebis miswrafebis gza ucvena. amerikul i komitetis
TanadgomiT, visbadenis konferenciazemirebul i gadawyvetil ebebi da
saqarTvel ostvis upi robod damouki debl obis micemaze daTanxmoba, ideo-
l ogiur frontze qarTul i emigraciis pol itikur gamarjvebas warmoad-
genda

X. 1) `amerikis xma-- s qarTul i redaqciis gaxsna, qarTul i emigraciisadmi
`amerikul i komitetis- gansakuTrebul i yuradReba da aSS- is sagareo saqmeTa
ministris acesonis oficial uri dekl aracia, qarTul i emigraciisadmi mxa-
rdaWeris oficial uri dasturi iyo. admiral al enkerkis 1952 wl is Teber-
l is gancxadebaSi stal inis rejimisgan damonebul i erebisadmi Tanadgomi
da devnil obaSi myofi emigrantebisadmi material uri daxmarebis aucil e-
bl obaze yuradRebis gadatana, qarTul emigracias finansurad daxmarebis
real ur SesaZl ebl obebs uqmni da. amerikul i komitetis gegmiT gaTval iswi-
nebul i_ sabWoTa ruseTSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis gaR-
rmavebaSi saqarTvel os saxel mwifos aRdgenis gasaRebi ido. qarTul emi-
gracias, es faqtori da am organizaciisgan SemoTavazebul i daxmareba maqsi ma-
l urad unda gamoeyenebina.

e.gegeWkoris 1953 wl is 30 ivnisis 14 punqtiani memorandumi, antibol Se-
vikuri brZol is saerTaSoriso sakoordinacio centriss Seqmnis da misi
organizaciul i agebul ebis, pl atformis da taqtikis saprogramo miTi Tebe-
bs Seicavda. am dokumentiT, amerikul i komitetis wevrebs daudastures, rom
qarTul i emigraciis saxiT, maRal i intel eqtual izmis, pol itikurad gamo-
brZmedil i da pol itikuri l avirebis SesaZl ebl obis mqone adami anebi ucxa-
debda mxaedaWeras; 2) qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis samTavrobo warmo-
madgenl obis mier erovnul i sabWos 1952 wl is oqtombris meore da mesame
sxdomebze mirebul i dadgenil ebebi, sabWoTa rejimis damxobas rusi eris
aqturi moqmedebiT miicnevda SesaZl ebl ad. qarTvel i da rusi emigranteb-
is erToblivi brZol aim SemTxvevaSi iqneboda mizanSewonili, Tuki rusul
i emigracia mcire erebis ufl ebebs aRiarebda, gacemul pi robas Rirseu-
l ad Seasrul ebda da saerTaSoriso samarTl is CarCoSi moaqcevd.

qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZrao-
bis antisabWouri kursi, amerikul komitetTan da ssrk- is erebis emigraci-
is warmomadgenl ebTan TanamSroml obaze iyo dafuznebul i. mxedvel obaSi a
misaRebi: a) saqarTvel os, ukrainis da bel orusiis warmomadgenel Ta karl sru-
heSi gamarTul i konferenciis (1953 wl is 14- 15 Teberval i) dadgenil ebebi;
b) qarTvel ebis, ukrainel ebis, bel orusebis da rusebis warmomadgenel Ta
tegernesis yril obaze (1953 wl is 1 ivnisi) mirebul i wesdeba, romelic pol i-
tikuri Zal ebis qarti ad gamocxadda; 3) Crdil o kavkasiel Ta Soris urTi-
erTdapi rispirebam da araj ansari pol itikuri situaciis Seqmnam, qarTul i
emigraciis winaSe Semdegi sakiTxebis gadawyvetis aucil ebl oba daayena:
a) pol itikurad saRad moazrovne rusul emigraciasTan saerTo enis gamo-

Zebnis da urTierTobis gaj ansaReba, b)rusul i emigraciisa da amerikul i komitetis erToblivi mxardamWerit, kavkasiis erTa gaerTianeba, g)kavkasiis erebis momaval i bedis msofli o saerTaSoriso procesebSi CarTva, d)sabWoTa imperial izmisadmi erToblivi Zal ebiT dapirispireba da saerTaSoriso moZraobaze gadabmis aucil ebl oba.

qarTul i emigraciis Zal isxmevit, parizis konferenciaze (1952 wl is 21 oqtomberi) damtkicebul i `ertiani kavkasiuri centris- interesebSi Sedioda: a)kavkasiis erebis erTianobis garegnul i fonis Seqmna, b)amerikul i komitetis da dasavl eT evropis politikuri wreebisgan rusul i nacional izmis aRorZinebis Sesazl o mcdel obisadmi xel SeSla, g)amerikul i komitetis antisabWouri saqmianobis gegmaSi, saqarTvel osa da amierkavkasiis erebis gamoyenebis SenarCuneba.

XI. 1)XX saukunis 50- iani wl ebis dasawyisSi, qarTul i politikuri emigraciis Sida dapirispirebam umaRles safexurs miaRwia. piradi ambicibit gadatvirTul ma qarTul ma emigraciam, garegnul ad moCvenebiti erTianobis SenarCuneba ver SeZlo.

qarTul i emigraciis saRad moazrovne axali Taobis warmomadgenlebis mxridan qarTul i politikuri Zal ebis mTavrobis garSemo gaerTianebis mcdel oba, ufrosi Taobis antisabWouri brZolis 32 wlian gamocdiel ebas efuzneboda. am SemarTebas, amerikul i komitetis Tanadgoma ganapirobebda; 2)qarTul i politikuri emigraciis krebaze (1951 wl is 28 ianvari) `yofil i erovnul i mTavrobis amocanebis Sesaxeb- miRebul i dokumenti, erTiani qarTul i centris Seqmnas, mTavrobisa da erovnul i sabWos urTierTobis daregul irebas isaxavda miznad. erovnul i sabWos parizis yril obaze (1952 wl is 4 noembri) miRebul i dadgenileba_ erovnul i sabWos gafarToebis Sesaxeb, qarTul i emigraciul i politikuri jgufebis gaerTianebas da qarTul i saqmis warmatebul ad gaZRolas iTval iswinebda. am ideis mowinaaRmdege Zal ebma, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos aRdgenis mkvlel is funqcia Seasrles da nebsiT Tu unebl ied, sabWoTa ruseTis interesebis moemsaxuren; 3) parizis centris- jgufis (xel mZRvanel ebi: r.gabaSvili, iv.zurabiSvili) mier Jurn, `kavkazSi- dabeWdili 'memorandumi,~ qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo da erovnul i sabWos mxardamWeripolitikuri Zal ebis evropis masStabit diskreditacias iTval iswinebda. erovnul i sabWos yril obis (1951 wl is 20 oqtombri. 40 qveynidan eswreboda qarTvel i del egatebi) mier miRebul i dadgenilebit, am jgufis saqmianoba, qarTvel Ta politikuri droSis dacemis da sabWoTa ruseTis interesebis gatarebis mcdel obad gamocxadda. qarTul i emigraciis samTavrobo nawilis Zal isxmeva, `evrosabWos- yuradRebis centrSi moqceul iyo da satel iti qveynis statuti mieRo, uSedego aRmoCnda. qarTul i mxare, evropis mxridan isev zurgSeqcevas da dauxmarebl obas ganicdi da.

XII. 1)meore msofli o omis damTavrebis Semdeg, kapital isturi qveynebis koloniuri sistemis rRvevis sapirispirod, sabWouri imperiisadmi daqvendebarebul i saxel mwifoebis raodenobis mkveTri zrdis procesi, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis politikuri elitis xel Sewyobam ganapiroba. maT mier SemuSavebul i formul irebebi: a) `vaWroba kani bal istebTanac SeiZleba-; b) `mraval patara saxel mwifoebTan saqmis daWeras, erT mTlian saxel mwifostan sj obs saqmis daWera-; g) `dasavl eTisa- da `arMosavl eTis- reJi-

mebis TanaarsebobiS SesaZl ebl obis garduval oba, merkantil izmis principiyo dafuZnebul i da`pol itikuri arSiyobis- garegnul formas atarebda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom dasavl eT evropis l iderTa pol itikurad gameZavebul i kursi, sabWoTa imperiis Semadgenl obaSi moqceul i dapyrobi l i erebis monobaSi yofnis gaxangrZl ivebas, imave imperiis pol itikurad da ekonomikurad aRmasvl is safexuris Seqmnas ganapirobebda; 2)patara erebisadmi zemoaRniSnul i indiferentul i damokidebul ebis miuxedavad, qveynis xsni sa da mxardaWeris sferoSi, qarTul i emigracia i sev evropis imedad rCeboda. maT gacnobierebul i hqondaT, rom sabWoTa ruseTis wi naaRmdeg brZol aze uaris Tqma, eris ufl ebebze xel is aRebas da saqarTvel oSi gamefebul i reJimi sadmi Seguebis tol fas qmedebas warmoadgenda. aseTi nabij i, emigraciis axal TaobaSi, erovnul i sakiTxisadmi nihil izms daamkvidrebda da rac mTavaria, qarTvel ers Tavisufl ebis mopovebisadmi rwenas daakargvinebda. aseT urTul es pirobebSi, qarTul i emigraciis mxridan kompromisze arwasvl am da samarTl ebrivi brZol is gagrZel ebaze uaris arTqmam, saerTaSoriso ufl ebebis sferodan aramoSl is da ucxo saxel mwifos batonobisadmi Seurigebl obis myari safexuris SenarCunebis xel Semwyobi funqcia Seasrul a; 3)sabWoTa uSiSroebis Sesabamisi uwyebepis mier qarTul i emigraciis wi naaRmdeg ganxorciel ebul i warmatebul i RonisZiebebis gaTval iswi nebidan gamomdinare, qarTul i emigraciis Setxel ebul i rigebis gaerTianebebis da konsesusze dafuZnebul i samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebis aucil ebl oba, swor gadawyvetil ebas warmoadgenda. qarTul i emigraciis wi naaRmdeg evropis qveynebsi moqmedi 'antisabWouri- fsevdopoziciuri organizaciebis da j gufebis gaaqtiureba, evropis saxel mwifoTa l iderebis xel Semwyobi pol itikuri kursiT iyo ganpi robebul i. qarTul i emigraciis gasaerTianebe l i sakoordinacio organos Seqmnis sakiTxis dayeneba, mi mdinare pol itikur procesebs srul ad Seesabameboda. cal keul saxel mwifoebSi myofi qarTvel i emigrantebis adgil obriv organizaciebSi gaerTianebe sadmi upiratesobis miniWebas, sakomunikacio da finansuri sirTul ebis gaTval iswi nebase iyo dafuZnebul i; 4) saqarTvel os damouki deb l obis amerikul i sabWosgan, -` qarTul i erovnul i erTobis- organizaciisadmi dapirispireba, am organizaciis samxil ma dokumenturma masal ebma da `berlin- mi unxenis- saeWvo reputaciis mqone j gufisadmi daqvemdebarebam ganpiroba. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia da saqarTvel os sinamdvil e, qarTul i emigraciis l iderebis ganpiradi ambiciebis daZl evas da Zal Ta konsolidaciaze daTanxmeebas moiTxovda. am sasicocxl o mniSvel obis proble mis mogvarebas iTval iswi nebda ` qarTul i erovnul i centriss proeqti, qarTul i erovnul i pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianebeStvis mTavari debul ebebi- da `pol itikuri muSaobis principebis- saprogramo miTi Tebebi. qarTul i emigraciis garkveul i nawil is (`TeTri giorgi-) mier partiul i interesebis erovnul ze maRI a dayenebam da am dokumentebis Zi riTadi sakiTxebis ganxil vis ignorebam, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis wi naaRmdeg erTiani frontis Seqmnis xel SemSl el i faqtoris rol i Seasrul a.

XIII. 1) i. stal inisa da l .berias mier represirebul Ta sareabilitaci od 1953- 1954 wl ebSi gatarebul i RonisZiebebi, l iber al izmisa da demokratizmis il uziis Seqmnaze, pol itikuri sistemis mosal odnel i cvl il ebebis Sesaxeb sazogadoebaze ideol ogi uri zemoqmedebis mosaxdenad iyo gaTvl il i.

politikurad momgebi ani zemoaRni Snul i Roni sZiebebi s fonze, wina wl ebi s danaSaul ebrivi saxel mwifoebri vi qmedebebis qarTvel i erisadmi aSkara Tu farul i gadabral ebebis permanentul i tendencia, eris j ansaRad moazrovne nawil is wonasworobidan gamoyvanaze da qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg Suris saZiebl ad Sedgenil i gegmis amoqmedebaze iyo gaTvl il i. dasaxul i miznis xel Semwyobi safexuris funqcia, partiis XX yril obis gadawyvetil ebebma Seasrul a; 2)1956 wl is 5- 9 martis mitingebze i.stal inisa da mmarTvel i partiisadmi mxardaWeris l ozungebis fonze,saqarTvel os damoukidebl o- bis sakiTxis dayeneba, pol itikurad gamarTul qmedebas warmoadgenda. xel isuflebas, ucxo qveynis j aSuSebad momitingebis gamosacxadebl ad frTebis ukvecavda. mitingis monawil eTa 5 kaciani del egaciis CineTis saxal xo respublikis mTavrobis Tavmj domaris moadgil e j u de- sTan Sexvedra, misi warmomadgenel is momitingeTa winaSe gamosvl a, pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri Tval sazrisiT gansakuTrebul datvirTvas atarebda. Teatral uri institutis studentis givi baramiZis mier 8 marts gamotanil i l ozungi_`gaumar- j os Tavisufal saqarTvel os, Zirs kol onial izmi!- qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobis mSvidobiani formiT ganaxlebis oficial - uri ganacxadis CarcoSi Tavsdeboda; 3)kavSi rgabmul obis saxl Tan rusi samxedroebis gan momitingeTa provokaciaze wamogebam da maTdami avtomaturi i araRidan 9 marts cecxl is gaxsnam, qarTvel Ta sanimuSod dasj is da misadmi biol ogiuri siZul vil is demonstrirebis saxemiiRo. skkp cekas 1956 wl is 10 ivl isis dadgenil ebiT Seqmnil i komisiis meSveobiT, central uri xel isufleba sinamdvil is gayal bebas da qarTvel i axal gazrdebis samarT- l ebrivad dadanaSaul ebas isaxavda miznad. am amocanis verSesrul ebaSi, qarTvel i eqimebis maRal ma principul obam da profesional izmma gadamwy- veti roli iTamaSa.

sazRvargareTis qveynebis politikuri elitis da masmediis saSual ebebis mxridan, 1956 wl is martis movlenebis Sefasebam sami safexuri gai ara: a)indi- ferentul i damokidebul eba; b)sabWoTa sainformacio saSual ebebze dayrd- nobiT araswori da tendenciuri Sefaseba, romelic patara erebis erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobis `titoizmad- gamocxadebas daedo safuZv- l ad; g)obieqturi Sefaseba, roml is dankvidrebaSi, qarTul i emigraciis Zal i- sxmevam gansakuTrebul i roli Seasrul a. 1956 wl is 5- 9 martis movlenebi, 1921 wli dan dawyebul i erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobis gagrZe- l ebas warmoadgenda. igi ucxo qveynis gan RirsebaSel axul i qarTvel i xal xis mSvidobiani formiT gabrZolebis demonstrirebad da sabWoTa imperiis si- vrceSi monobis uRel dadgmul i sasowarkveTil i eris centrisadmi daumo- rCilebel obis xmamaRal SeZaxil ad unda Sefasdes. momxdari faqtiT, qarTvel ma erma, ssrk- is Semadgenl obaSi darCenaze oficial urad Tqva uari, riTac ruseTis gasabWoebul imperiaSi mizinebul i erebis gamofxiZl ebas daudo saTave; 4)dasavl eT evropis qveynebis mxridan, qarTvel Ta erovnul - ganmaT- avisuflebel i moZraobisadmi zurgSeqcevis miuxedavad, samSobl oze uzo- mod Seyvarebul i axal gazrdebis antisabWouri i atakveSa saqmianoba (prokl a- maciebis, bukletebis, mcire mocul obis gazeTebis beWdva da aral egal uri formiT gavrceleba) 1956_ 1958 wlebsi warmatebul ad grZel deboda. doku- menturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom XX saukunis 60- iani wlebis erovnul - ganmaTavisuflebel moZraobaSi petre meunargias, giorgi batiaSvil is, ami-

ran afci auris, i rodion fačul i as, gi vi barami Zis, gansaku Trebi T Znebis_ mi-
 xeil da gi orgi afci aurebis donis Semoqmedebi Ti da praqtikul i saqmianoba
 aravis gauvevia. mi Tumetes, am umZimes samuSaos, sicocxl isa da j anmrTe-
 l obis sasworze dadebis safasurad, gansaku Trebul i represiebis pirobeb-
 Si eweodnen; 5) 1956- 1970 wl ebis qarTul i emigraciis praqtikul i saqmianoba,
 ZiriTadad ori mimarTul ebiT Semoifargl eboda: a) mimdinare pol itikuri
 procesebis Sefaseba- anal iziT da qarTvel i erisadmi Sesatyvisi rčeva-
 darigebebis miwodebiT; b) sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mier qarTvel erTan mima-
 rTebaSi Sovinizmze dafuZnebul i RonisziebebiT ganpirobebul i saziانو
 Sedegebis _ saerTasoris organizaciebis saqmis kursSi Cayenebis mcdel-
 l obiT. dasavl eT evropis qveynebis mxridan, sabWoTa ruseTTan `daTbobi s-
 pol itikuri kursidan gamomdinare, aRni Snul i Canafiqris ganxorciel eba,
 qarTul ma emigraci am etapze ver SeZl o; 6) 1956 wl is martis Tbil isisa
 da budapeStis movl enebma daadastura, rom dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifo-
 Ta pol itikuri l iderebi, patara erebis gamosarCl ebasTan mimarTebaSi
 srul umoqmedobas icenda. isini mxol od Tavisi qveynisada eris interese-
 biT moqmedebdnen. qarTul i emigraciis mxridan amerkavkasiis erebis gaer-
 Tianebsken nabij is gadadgmi mcdel oba, sabWoTa ruseTis imperiul i zrax-
 vebis gan TavdacviTi meqanizms gamoZebniT iyo ganpirobebul i. qarTvel i
 eris gadarčenis Sesazl o garants, kavkasiis erTa Soris konsesusze dafuZne-
 bul i samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebaSi da erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwifos wa-
 rmonaqmnis SeqmnaSi xedavda. maTi koncefcia, kavkasiis erebis federaciis
 an konfederaciis princi pebze gaerTianebas iTval iswinebda. am ideis Zir-
 iTadi dasayrdeni fundamenti_ `kavkasia kavkasiel ebisatvis- unda yofil -
 iyo. igi axl adSeqmnil i saxel mwifos srul neutral itets damis `Sveicar-
 izacias- gul isxmobda. kavkasiis erebis saxel mwifoebrivad gaerTianebs
 gegma, garegnul admimzidvel i Canda, magram, warsul is gamocdil ebidan ga-
 momdinare (1918, 1919, 1920, 1921- 1938 ww.) somex- azerbaij anel Ta mxridan qa-
 rTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi gauTavebel i teritoriul i pretenziebi, qarTul i
 miwebis mi tacebis dauokebel i swrafva, am erebTan konsesusze agebul i erTi-
 ani saxel mwifos Seqmnis Sesazl ebl obas saTaveSive gamoricxavda. qarTu-
 l i emigraciis mxridan, erTiani kavkasiuri saxel mwifos Seqmnis mcdel o-
 bis gafetiSeba, istoriul i gamocdil ebis mi viwyebas da pol itikuri roman-
 tizms ufskrul Si gadavardnas ni Snavda.

XIV. 1) moskovSi Seqmnil i (1970 wel i) `adami anis ufl ebaTa dacvis komite-
 tis gan- SemuSavebul i `adami anis ufl ebaTa ZiriTadi princi pebi -, gaeros
 `adami anis ufl ebaTa sayovel Tao dekl aracias- efuZneboda da ssrk- is
 moqal aqeebis ufl ebeis dacvas isaxavda mi znad. saqarTvel oSi 1974 wl idan
 moqmedi `adami anis ufl ebaTa dacvis sainiciativo j gufis- amocanas, respu-
 blikaSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obisTvis safexu-
 ris momzadeba wadmoadgenda; 2) 1975 wl is 1 agvistos hel sinkSi mi Rebul ma
 dekl araciam da saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil ma `hel sinkis j gufma- (1976 wel i),
 erovnul ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraoba axal safexurze aiyvana. maT mier
 aral egal urad gamocemul xel nawer Jurnal ebSi (`saqarTvel os moambe-
 `oqros sawmisi -, `saRvTismetyvel o krebul i-) dabeWdil i publ ikaciebi, arse-
 bul i xel isufl ebis mankeri mxareebis kritikas, erovnul i faseul obebis
 dacvisadmi mowodebas da farTo sazogadoebis erovnul i sawyi sebi saken

Semobrunebas iTval iswinebda; 3) `hel sinkis j gufisis- wevrebis (z.gamsaxurdia, m.kostava) Sesaxeb presis furcl ebze dabeWdil i Seuracmyofel i bral debi, erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis diskreditaciis mcdel obaze, sazogadoebis mxridan misi l iderebisadmi zurgSeqcevaze da dasapatimrebl ad Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebaze iyo gaTvl il i. am kompanias, qarTul i emigraciis warmomadgenl ebma Rirseul i pasuxi gasces. emigraciaSi gamocemul Jurnal ebSi (`Cveni droSa-, `mebrZol i saqarTvel o-) dabeWdil publikaciebSi dasabuTebul i formiT amxil es z.gamsaxurdias da m.kostavas cil ismwamebl ebi. meore mxriv, sazogadoebas garkvevi T mi ani Snes, rom erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderebis wi naaRmdeg agorebul i bral debi, Tavisufl ebi sTvis mebrZol Ta fsiqol ogi urad da fizikurad ganadgurebis mcdel obas emsaxureboda; 4) qarTul i enis saxel mwi foebriobis dasacavad studenti axal gazrdebisa da ufrosi Taobis erTobl ivi moqmedeba (1978 wl is 14 april), arsebul xel isufl ebaze erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis gamarj vebis pirvel safexurs warmoadgenda; 5) `gar daqmni s-kursis gatarebam da cixebidan disidentebis gamoSvebam, saqarTvel oSi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebl i moZraobis aRmavl obas Seuwyo xel i. maTi mxridan eris kul tutul i memkvidreobis gadarCenis moTxovnebis wi na pl anze wamowevam, disidenturi moZraobis l iderTa avtoritetis zrda ganapiroba. qarTul i intel igenciis ufrosi Taobisa da erovnul i moZraobis xel mZRvanel Ta Soris saerTo enis vergamoZebnam daadastura: a) qarTul i intel equatual uri da sakavSi ro arenaze wonadi si tyvis mTqmel Ta mizanmi marTul i bl okireba, erovnul i moZraobis warmomadgenel Ta ambiciurobiT da pirvel - obis dakargvis Si Si T iyo ganpi robebul i; b) pol itikuri procesebis msvl el obam, disidenturi moZraobis l iderebsa da ufrosi Taobis intel igenciis umetesobas Soris, pol itikuri ms ofmxedvel obis xidCatexil oba warmoaCina. misi gamrTel eba da sibrZneze dafuZnebul i erTiani samoqmedo gegmis SemuSaveba SeuZl ebel i gaxda. disidentTa radikal izmi, pol itikuri moRvawisadmi damaxasiaTebel Tvi sebebs scil deboda; 6) 1989 wl is april is mitingis monawil eTa sanimuSod dasj is Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os aqtivis krebaze miRebul i gadawyvetil eba (1989 wl is 8 april i), danaSaul is tol fasi qmedeba iyo da saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriis Sav l aqas warmoadgens. 9 april is tragediam, ssrk- is demokratiul sawyisebze `gar daqmni s- pol itikur kurss, ni Rabi Camoxsna da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderTa wi naSe, brZol is axal i formebsa da saSual ebebis SemuSavebis aucil ebl oba daayena.

Shota Vadachkoria

Georgian Emigration and National Liberation Movement in Georgia (1921-1990)

Summary

I. On the basis of the documentary material in the article it is shown that: 1). the decree of the revolutionary comity of February, 25, 1921 § 1 announced that the activity of the political forces fighting for preserving independence was “cruel activity”. This announcement was for ideological disarmament of the leaders of the political parties and for forcing them to take a course towards the collaboration with Soviet government. The government of Georgia in April, 1921 made an announcement of the future plans of the legal government of Georgia in emigration (to lead the national-liberation movement and as for occupation of Georgia, oppose Soviet propagation). With this announcement the government of Georgia in an exile sent a political message to the international society, that the Georgian nation is irreconcilable to the occupation.

The issue put forward by the inter party meeting in Batumi about inevitability of consolidation and receiving joint plan of action was based on the thorough analyses of the political processes taking place in Europe and the reality of those days Georgia; 2). The demand of the Social-Democrat Party leaders that deoccupation of the country should have become a foundation for uniting the political forces, was right statement and was completely in adequacy of those days situation.

Mistrust of The National-Democratic Party towards the legitimate government in an exile, demand of its rotation and forming the coalition government was not only abrogation of the § 46, 47, 67, 68 paragraphs of constitution of the first republic of Georgia, but was a political mistake as well. Especially, it was a mistake because the relevant departments of the European countries decided the possibility of cooperation with the Georgian government in exile in accordance with the decisions of the Georgian political spectrum in exile. The legitimate government of Georgia had a function of the national-liberation movement leader and envoy of the Georgian people in Europe. Each political figure should try to increase its ranking as possible. Inevitability of this at that stage was required by the political interests of the occupied Georgia; 3). Before the international conference started in Genoa political parties of Georgia (Social – Democrats, National – Democrats, Socialist - Federalists) in emigration declared their union (March, 6, 1922). It was confirmed by the resolution received at the interparty meeting (March, 9, 1922). Politically it was a step forward. With this decision Georgian political spectrum in emigration managed to preserve possibility to communicate freely with the leaders of participant countries of the Genoa conference based on legal foundation.

II. 1) Only the Second International helped the emigration government of Georgia to expose false information about the occupation of Georgia by Soviet Russia disseminated in Europe. Thanks to their press and radio it was possible to impart objective information to West Europe. At the 8th meeting of the League of Nations 6th congress (20 September, 1922) the attempt of the Georgian government in exile to declare Soviet Russia an aggressor failed. With the efforts of European countries general and superficial resolution was adopted on conquered Georgia. Actions of the aggressor country were not objective-

ly evaluated; 2) Massive protest rallies against the Soviet Georgian authorities manifested Georgian nation's strive for freedom in superlative form. Despite the strictest repressions, the Bolsheviks failed to quell it. Logical extension of the anti-Soviet national-liberation movement was the 1922 rebellion of Svaneti, which was promoted by the nation's freedom and national dignity. Lack of preliminary preparations and ignoring all-Caucasian character of the movement resulted in the failure of the rebellion.

Bringing Svaneti rebellion into the foreground and exposure of the Soviet Russia's invasive policy by the emigration government of Georgia at Genoa Conference had ideological impact on the Europeans. Despite this, European leaders did not make pragmatic decisions in relation to this fact against Soviet Russia; 3) The 1921-1922 anti-Soviet actions lacked united organizational leadership. Its leaders did not have a preliminary military plan of action and made decisions according to their personal opinion. These factors allowed Georgia's relevant authorities to "reconcile" the movement activists, imprison and annihilate them. The activities of the "special fives" functioning in the regions were aimed at strict repressions and terrorization of peaceful population.

III. 1). on the background of the difficult political and economic situation of Georgia, raising process of the Georgian people's strive for national independence is mostly taken into consideration in the documents which are presented in the article; 2). on the background of the thorough analyses of the factors determining the economic rapprochement between Europe and Russia, the peaceful liberation of Georgia (military aid of Europe, endeavor of the International International and the fall of the Kremlin) was hopeless and just an illusion; 3). the authors of the documents convincingly demonstrated the priority of the armed uprising of the Caucasus and the function of the arbitrator in this case was given to Georgia. The preparatory stages and all measures to complete the uprising specifically is identified; 4). in case of victory of the uprising, the mechanisms of protection against new aggression of Russia, which are presented in the documents (political, military-strategic, financial, potential possibility of united action, and so on) fully meet the requirements of the time. These documents must be evaluated as a full-fledged short term (late autumn of 1922 – early spring of 1923) plan for the preparation and conduct of an armed uprising. Moreover, that every nuance of the measures to achieve the goal was mostly taken into consideration; 5). the introduction of the strictest discipline, secrecy of information and forms of the conspiracy for the revitalization of the extinct illegal anti-Soviet activity by the repressions, do not give reason to declare N. Khomeriki as a dictator, adventurer and extremist. For avoiding the new wave of the Soviet repressions against the population the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party many times gave advance notice to the leaders of the "Military Centre" not to fall into a trap of the possible Soviet provocation; 6). The activities for preparing armed uprising against the occupational regime and action tactics could have been accepted as successful if the decisions of the "Military Centre" could have satisfy the demands of the military plan of uprising. I mean: a) moderation, fundamental preparation of the armed uprisings, to take completely into consideration created suitable political and economic situation in Russia; b) to create a ground for fighting against the Soviet Russia with the united forces together with Georgians all over the Caucasus; c) to create guarantees for the support of the European countries with weapons and money; 7). Some members of the National-Democratic Party supported employees of CHEKA to arrest N. Khomeriki and V. Jugheli. They wanted to alienate mentioned persons politically and thus, create free space for action. By sending

the military plan of the armed uprising to the special committee of the South Caucasus some members of the National-Democratic Party committed a great crime. Because of this, the military uprising was spontaneous and disorganized and contributed to its inevitable defeat.

IV. 1). the severe repressions carried out by the Soviet government in Georgia in 1924-1925 were for the physical annihilation of the political forces who fought actively in underground and those who had anti-Soviet mood. With the help of “a new method of repression” - kidnapping people straight off the streets and putting them into the basements of the KGB, the senior officials tried to have a psychological pressure on the population and forced it to give up to fight for national liberation ideas. With the efforts of the government of Georgia in an exile newspaper “Chveni Ertoba”(Our Union) and illegally printed and spread booklets of political character served to expose government and maintain the hope for future independence among society; 2). Collective letters sent by prisoners to illegal party organizations in Georgia in which they ask these organizations to announce their plans and goals was an order of the intelligent service for liquidation of these illegal organizations step by step.

The main goal of the Georgia government in exile and the Social Democratic Party was to consolidate the forces which were saved from repressions and on the basis of consensus, agreement create a plan of action. “Plural regulations of agreement” accepted by the three parties (Social-Democrats, Social-Federalists and National-Democrats) in November, 16, 1925 aimed to prepare a step to fight against the occupation government. N. Ramishvili’s theses “about the political activity” have been relatively perfect, complete theoretical plan. It was focused on the consolidation of the political forces, activation of anti-Soviet forces all over the South Caucasus and the restoration of the independence of Georgia. The idea of the confederation of the Caucasian peoples aimed to disintegrate the region from Russia and fight against the expected threats with joined, united forces; 3). The meeting (April, 28, 1929) of the responsible members of the National-Democratic Party evaluated leaving of the united front of political parties by R. Gabashvili as ignoring political tactical line, the party program and the national issue. Memorandum transmitted to the embassies of the Western countries by Asatiani-Kedia group was step forward to discredit and set aside the Georgian government in exile. At that time in this action there were elements of offence against the anti-Soviet front and the national-liberation movement. Willy-nilly, their actions have been resonated with the goals and objectives of the Soviet security service. I mean the attempt to carry out activities (disintegrate Georgian government in exile, destruct the legal government of Georgia ideologically as well as politically, annihilate its legacy) that were planned by the appropriate offices of the Soviet intelligent service. The documentary materials do not prove that: a) the mentioned group put forward at the international forums any significant issue against the Soviet Russia or for the interests of Georgia, or ensure the appropriate resolution; b) the group even did not have any kind of meetings and negotiations with the leaders of the European countries having even slight positive results for the deoccupation of Georgia; 4). The three illegal parties in Georgia (Social-Democrats, National-Democrats and Social-Federalists) at their illegal meeting (July, 29, 1930) reached an agreement and adopted the relevant resolution for fighting against the Soviet regime. From the viewpoint of the activity on the front of the national-liberation movement it was a step forward. At the same time it was an adequate response to the political groups wrapped in national robes

and having the Soviet reputation. On the background of the political processes of the last century 30's the attempt of the government of Georgia in exile and its diplomatic corps to have support from the European countries for gaining the independence was unsuccessful. They did not want to annoy Russia, but wanted to extend active economic and political relations with it. These were the reasons why the Georgian embassies in Europe were closed officially. These were the reasons why the great majority of the Georgian emigration was skeptical towards the European countries.

V. 1) Political processes developed in Europe demanded from Georgian political emigration to elaborate a consensus-based adequate action plan. Moreover, Soviet Russia considered the legitimate government of the first Georgian Republic as a trigger for the Georgian national-liberation movement and an unremitting enemy of Moscow. This factor determined Moscow's pressure on the French authorities and official abolition of the legitimacy of Georgian Emigration Government (July, 1933). The fact was a major blow to Georgian political emigration. On this background, the ongoing confrontation within the Georgian Social-democratic party contained elements of crime. The outward, even imaginative unity of social-democratic party would have a special political and ideological presence in the eyes of the Europeans and the officially abolished government would retain authority. At the 1934 Paris Conference of social-democratic party, due to the disagreement between N. Jordania and I. Tsereteli it was impossible to restore the party. With the adopted resolution, the Conference denied Tsereteli's position on holding the negotiations and searching for common language with Soviet Russia; 2) The 7-paragraph resolution adopted jointly by the Presidium of Constituent Assembly and members of Georgia's Democratic Union (June 1, 20, 25, 1932) obliged political leaders to regard the immigration Government. Similar resolution was adopted on 28 April, 1939. The past period confirmed that the "Agreement" document adopted by the Georgian political spectrum was "a minute-long legal" and was changing parallel to the ongoing processes in Europe.

Leaving the common front by one part of Georgian political emigration, denunciation of the members of the immigration government with the representatives of foreign countries and their defamation throughout Europe, answered the interests of the Soviet Security. Thus, the activities of the "illegal Committee of the Caucasus" and collaboration of some Georgian immigrants with it, contained the elements of crime; 3) Collaboration of the "Fascist Solidarity of Georgia" and "White George" group members with the Fascists was intended to assist the emigration government of the First Republic of Georgia. The idea of calling a special conference and electing new government aimed to bring the forces supporting pro-fascist ideology to the foreground. The members of the immigrant Government of Georgia, Presidium of the Constituent Assembly and social-democratic party (N. Zhordania, E. Gegechkori, K. Gvarjaladze....) – considered entrusting the issue of Georgia to fascist Germany as a crime, linked the victory of fascism in Europe and Russia to Georgia's eternal enslavement.

The opinion that in official documents Georgian emigration should be referred to not as political, but national emigration was a considerable formulation.

VI. 1) Georgian political emigration considered the battle for Georgia's independence possible only under three conditions: a) if the nation was politically and psychologically ready; b) if the country's political forces would consolidate and find a reliable ally; c) if there were auspicious external factors.

Partisan activities, without unified leadership, against collectivization, were doomed to inevitable defeat. Their inhibition at this stage was a correct decision. Anti Soviet activities in the South Caucasus would be permissible in the case of the active participation of North Caucasus, Ukraine and other republics. Otherwise, the nation would face the danger of physical extermination; 2) At international forums the decisions of European country leaders about Georgia was a bilateral political game. Despite reminding the participants of the International Congress of the Nations League about Russia's criminal actions, the League did not adopt corresponding resolution. With this fact leaders of European countries demonstrated international political harlot and slave obedience to the course of mercantilism. This forum 'forgot' the previously promised recognition guarantees to small nations and showed exceptional sympathy for the conqueror country. This fact confirmed the distrust to European states and impossibility of counting on them; 3) The demand of one part of the Georgian emigration that Georgia should leave social-democratic party was not in line with the current political situation. The step taken in this direction would have negative consequences for Georgian emigration: a) alongside discrediting social-democratic Party in European political circles, the Georgian side would lose the international tribune; b) the relations with the representatives of France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Finland would break off. The result of this fact would be equivalent to the targeted suicide of social-democratic party and the emigration government; 4) The battle tactics based on the patience of Georgian governmental political Emigration and the practice of waiting was the right choice. N. Zhordania and his supporters considered it wrong to entrust the fate of their country to only one state. According to their fair claims Georgia could not remain in the deadlock, but should maintain the possibility of maneuvering. None of the European states would stand for Georgia - exposed to irritated Russia. The artificial non-irritating and waiting tactics against Russia helped the leaders of Georgian emigrant government maintain a profitable position. Georgian emigration leaders had to follow the Montreux Convention (22 June- 21 July, 1936) and their announcements were to be in line with this course; 5) The assessment of the activities of the Georgian immigrants' in the service of Fascist Germany should base on the German authorities' attitude to the enslaved nations. "Georgian National Committee" played a special role in the recruitment of Georgian war prisoners for the service in German military units. In 1942-1943 there were 8 "Georgian National Battalions", which had made the oath on the loyalty to the German state and obeyed the orders of the German state: a) Georgian battalions were used against anti-fascist partisan fighters in European countries and were aimed to destroy the national-liberating movement of European peoples under the yoke of fascism. Georgian partisans also participated in this antifascist movement supporting the Europeans. b) To 10 Georgian divisions defending the Caucasus the German command opposed "Georgian National Battalion" headed by Gen. Maglakelidze and the special-purpose units "Tamari - 1" and "Tamari - 2". In both cases the Georgians dressed in fascist German military uniform set up arms against the Georgians; 6) The fact that the German authorities maintained collective farms in the European part of Soviet Russia, parallel to the exploitation and looting of local population, indicated that the enslaved nations were devoid of independence. The refusal of German senior officials to the memorandum of Caucasian nations' demand for independence (1942) officially voiced the attitude of Fascist Germany towards the nations of the Soviet empire. The consent given by Alfred Rosenberg on the independence of the Georgians and

peoples of the Caucasus in September 1944 was determined by the fact that Germany was on the verge of defeat and by the desire to win the hearts of Georgian soldiers.

VII. 1) Georgian political emigration saw the key for the liberation from Soviet Russia in the consolidation of the Caucasus, elaboration of the united strategy of action and joint confrontation against Soviet regime. The past experiences of the Caucasian nations (ambition, breaking the promise by the Armenians and Azeris, different orientations) questioned the realization of the objective. The situation was complicated by the use of predatory methods towards Georgians. On this background, the Georgian side considered calling entire Caucasian Conference, solving disputable issues via consensus or arbitration as the only way out; 2) Preparation of the text of the Pact for the Confederation of the Caucasus at the joint sitting of the Presidium of Georgia's National Government and the Constituent Assembly (13-20 January, 1934) prepared ideological basis for the unification of the Trans-Caucasian nations. The document based on the idea of creating a confederative state of the Trans-Caucasian nations. Main purpose of the coordinating body – Confederation Council, approved by the Conference of the Caucasian Nations was: a) to consolidate the forces of Caucasian nations; b) to direct national-liberation movement; c) to prepare appropriate conditions for the restoration of statehood. The second document “The People of the Caucasus and Russia” adopted at the same conference specified the directions for the freedom of the oppressed nations and the creation of national states; 3) Official announcement of the Azeris' and North Caucasians' claims to Georgia's Territories in press revealed the tendency of “political extortion” and appropriation towards Georgia. Denial of the proposal offered by the governmental circles of Georgian emigration – to solve disputable issues via arbitration proved impossibility of the Caucasian nations' voluntary inclusion in a confederative state.

VIII. 1). At the end of the World War II legitimate government in an exile put forward the occupation of the European countries by the Soviet Union, under the guise of “liberating mission” and “people's democracy” as the main theme of reflections on the ideological front. With the help of the documentary materials it is stated, that the Georgian emigration was particularly active concerning the mentioned issue. In 1945 the intelligent service of Russia founded the “Union of the Georgia Patriots” in France. This organization aimed to persuade Georgian immigrants to the Soviet platform and neutralize them on the ideological front; 2). From the side of the leaders of the European countries unfulfilled promises given to the Georgian emigration in 1921-1945 and the two-faced policy, the “political coquetry” (N. Zhordania) created nihilism towards the Europe among the Georgian emigrants and encouraged the formation of the following orientations: Russian, intermediate and west European. a) With the help of the archive materials it becomes obvious that one group of the Georgian emigration on the basis of the analyses of the past was not optimistic about the support of the European countries in restoring independence of Georgia. The nihilistic mood was so strong in them that they were against separation from Russia and believed that to put forward the issue of independence was self-delusion. b) Because it was impossible to use the evolutionary path to change the prevailing dictatorship that reined in the empire, another group of Georgian immigrants believed that it is impossible to rely on Russia. At the same time this group had nihilistic feelings towards the European countries and believed that the only realistic way of saving Georgia was “common democratic lager/camp”. This viewpoint full of “political roman-

ticism” meant peaceful amalgamation of the Western Capitalistic and Eastern Communist blocs. c) The head of the emigration committee and his supporters saw the future of Georgia in a support of the European countries and in their democracy. For the Georgian emigration there were two factors: 1. business relations of the “National Committee of Georgia” and the representatives of the USA intelligent service and 2. Founding of the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) in 1949; 3). According to archive materials pragmatic measures carried on by the European countries and the USA government against the Soviet empire revitalized the hope of the liberation of the country among the Georgian political emigration and anti-Soviet forces which acted illegally in Georgia. Variability of the current political processes and the possibility of creating the advantageous conditions had put on the agenda the inevitability of the unification of the Georgian political forces in Western Europe. Among the politically sensible part of the Georgian emigration, unification of the political movements around the legitimate government of Georgia and creating of the plan of action based on consent, was announced as the precondition of preparing the liberation of the nation.

IX. 1) the decision of the elder leaders of the Georgian emigration to fight against the Soviet Russia with the support of the international organizations and progressive Russian emigration had been based on the 30 years old political experience. They were well aware that to have independence was possible after taking into consideration the interests of the foreign countries who were in the opposition with Russia; 2). Cooperation of the leaders of emigration with the newly established “American Committee” and participation in Wiesbaden conference by the invitation of the same committee politically was correct. At Wiesbaden conference five Russian organizations said no to Stuttgart decree (August, 19, 1951) and agreed to give independence to those countries that had statehood in 1918-1921. It was a step forward of the emigration in uniting anti-Soviet political forces; 3). At Wiesbaden conference the national issue revealed an opposition between Russian and non-Russian political figures. On the other hand international community saw non-Russian peoples’ strive. With the support of the American Committee, decisions of the Wiesbaden conference and unconditionally giving independence to Georgia was a political victory on the ideological front of the Georgia emigration.

X. 1) Opening of the Georgian bureau of “The Voice of America” expressed the attention of “The American Committee”, the US Foreign Minister Acheson’s official declaration officially confirmed the support for Georgian emigration. Admiral Alan Kirk’s statement from February 1952, emphasized the necessity of material support to the enslaved by Stalin’s regime and to the refugees in exile and created real possibilities of financial assistance for the Georgian emigration. The plan of the American Committee which envisaged strengthening of the national-liberation movement of Soviet Russia contained the key for the restoration of the state of Georgia. Georgian emigration had to take advantage of this factor and the assistance offered by this organization as much as possible.

Gegechkori’s 14-paragraph memorandum (30 June, 1953) contained instructions for the creation of Anti-Bolshevik Coordination Center, its organizational structure, platform and tactics. With this program, they ensured the American Committee that they were supporting the highly-intellectual, politically motivated people with the ability of political maneuvering as represented by Georgian emigration. 2) Resolutions made by the Georgia’s Governmental representatives at the second and third sessions (October, 1952) con-

sidered it possible to overthrow the Soviet regime with the active deeds of Russian people. Joint struggle of Georgian and Russian immigrants would have been successful if Russian emigration recognized the rights of small nations, suitably kept the promise and set it within the frame of international law.

The anti-soviet course of Georgian political emigration's national-liberation movement was based on the cooperation with the American Committee and representatives of emigration from the USSR. The following should be considered: a) the resolutions approved by Georgian, Ukrainian and Belorussian representatives at Karlsruhe Conference (14-15 February, 1953); b) the regulations approved by Georgian, Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian representatives at Tegernsee Conference (1 June, 1953), which was declared a Charter of political forces. 2) The conflict between the North Caucasians and unhealthy political situation pointed to the necessity of solving the following issues by Georgian emigration: a) find a common language and improve the relations with Russian emigration; b) unite the Caucasian nations with the joint support of Russian Emigration and American Committee; c) involve the Caucasian nations' future fate into international processes; d) the necessity of jointly confronting the Soviet imperialism and joining the international movement.

The interest of the "United Caucasus Center" approved at Paris Conference (21 October, 1952), with the efforts of Georgian emigration, implied: a) creation of the external image of the Caucasian nations' unity, b) hampering possible attempts for the revival of Russian nationalism; c) use the Georgians and Trans-Caucasian nations as part of the American Committee's plan for anti-Soviet activities.

XI. 1). In the early 1950s internal confrontation of Georgian political emigration reached the highest level. The Georgian immigration overwhelmed by personal ambitions failed to maintain the seeming unity.

The attempts of the judicious new generation of Georgian emigration to unite around the government of Georgian political forces based on the old generation's 32-year experience of anti-Soviet struggle. This was supported by the American Committee; 2). The document "On the Tasks of the Former National Government" adopted at the meeting of Georgian political emigration (28 January, 1951) aimed to create a united Georgian center, regulate the relations between the government and National Council. The resolution adopted by the National Council at Paris Congress (4 November, 1952) on the expansion of the National Council envisaged unification of Georgian immigrant political groups and successful management of the Georgian affairs. The opponents of this idea played the role of a murderer in the restoration of Georgian state, and willfully or unwillingly served the interests of Soviet Russia; 3). The "Memorandum" published in journal "Kavkaz" by the 'Paris Center' (headed by: R. Gabashvili, I. Zurabishvili) featured discrediting the political forces supporting Georgian emigration government and national council throughout Europe. The resolution adopted by the National Council (20 October, 1951 attended by Georgian delegates from 40 countries) announced the activities of this group as an attempt to drop the Georgian political flag and to pursue interests of Soviet Russia.

XII. 1). After the end of the World War II, on the contrary to the disintegration of the colonial system of the capitalistic countries, the process of rapid increase of the amount of countries which were subordinated to the Soviet empire was promoted by the political elite of the Western European countries. Formulations developed by them: a) "You can

trade with cannibalists too”; b) “Better to deal with one whole country than with many small countries”; c) Possibility of co-existence of the regimes of “West” and “East” was based on the mercantile principles and was a “political flirting”. With the help of the documentary materials it can be stated that the policy of the leaders of the Western European countries led to the extension of the slave position of the conquered small countries which were within the borders of the Soviet Union; the mentioned policy also determined political and economic development of the same empire; 2). Despite the indifferent attitude to the aforementioned small nations, Georgian emigration, even so, hoped for the support of Europe and that it could rescue her. They realized that to stop fighting against the Soviet Russia meant to abandon the rights of the nation and it also was equal to adjust to the prevailing regime. This step would cause nihilism to the national question in the new generation of the immigrants and what is the most important, the Georgian people would have lost faith that gaining independence is possible. The fact that in such difficult conditions the Georgian emigration did not compromised and not refused to a legal struggle, contributed to the fact that Georgia remained within the frames of the international law and did not put up the struggle against the domination of the foreign country. It also was a serious foundation to continue the struggle for independence; 3). Creating a plan of action and association of the remains of the Georgian emigration on the basis of consensus after a successful operation carried on by the relevant departments of the Soviet security bodies was a true solution. Activation of the pseudo “anti-Soviet” opposition organizations and groups that operated against the Georgian opposition in the countries of Europe was due to the support of policy of the European country leaders. Putting forward an issue of establishment of a coordinating body for the unification of the Georgian emigration was in accordance with the current political processes. The preference to unite Georgian immigrants living in various countries into the local organization was grounded on solving communication and financial issues; 4). The confrontation of “The American Committee of the Independence of Georgia” with “The Georgian National Unity” was determined by the damning documentary materials and the subordination to the “Berlin-Munich” group having dubious reputation. This political situation and reality of Georgia needed from the leaders of the Georgian emigration to overcome the personal ambitions and consolidate forces. The project of “The Georgian National Unity”, the main principles for uniting Georgian national political forces and the program instructions of “the principles for the political work” was taking into account to solve this problem of vital importance. A certain part of the Georgian emigration (“Tetri Giorgi”), rather than to give preference to national interests, preferred the interests of the party and by did not paying attention to the main issues of these documents, played a role of hindering factor for the creation of a united front against the Soviet Union.

XIII. 1). N. Khrushchev’s measures conducted in 1953-1954 for the rehabilitation of those who were arrested during I. Stalin’s and L. Beria’s rule, created the illusion of liberalism and democracy. This disguised political activity had a kind of ideological impact on young people of Georgia, who expected that there will be possible changes of the political system. The Soviet Union authorities imposed responsibility on the Georgian nation for the notorious deeds of I. Stalin and L. Beria. This plan was designed to exasperate the people and took a revenge on them. Georgians’ negative attitude towards the N. Khrushchev’s speech: “On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences” pronounced at the twentieth congress of the Communist Party and the resolution of the same congress

was used as one of the steps to reach the goal; 2). At the public rally of March, 5-9 in 1956 on the background of the rallying cries supporting I. Stalin and the party, putting forward the issue of the independence of the country was politically correct. These rallying cries enabled government to announce participants of the rally by spies of the foreign country. From the political and ideological viewpoint meeting of the delegation consisting of the five members of the rally participants with the vice chairman of the People's Republic of China Zhu De and the speech of his representative to the rally participants had a special significance. The student of the Theatre Institute Givi Baramidze put forward the rallying cry: "Hail independent Georgia! Down with the colonialism!" We believe this fact can be put within the frames of the official announcement of the revival of the national-liberation movement of Georgians; 3). Russian Red Army provocation against demonstrators and the use of automatic weapons against them on March, 9 was a demonstration of giving Georgians exemplary punishment and of biological hatred towards them. With the help of the Commission established by the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia in July, 10, 1956 the central government aimed to falsify the reality and accuse Georgian young people. But this plan failed. Fidelity to their principles and high professionalism of the Georgian doctors plaid a pivotal role in the failure of this project; 4). Political élite and media of the foreign countries passed three steps of evaluation of the event of March, 1956: a) indifferent attitude; b) incorrect and tendentious evaluation based on the Soviet media information that determined announcement of the small nations' national-liberation movements as "Titoism"; c) objective evaluation. Georgian emigration played a great role in establishing this evaluation. The events of March, 5-9, 1956 was a continuation of the national liberation movement which started in 1921. These events were the demonstration of peaceful fight against the foreign country which derogated dignity from the Georgian people. It should be evaluated as a desperate, enslaved within the Soviet empire nation's cry of defiance against the centre. With these events Georgian people officially said no to stay as a part of the Soviet Union. Thus it contributed to the awakening of small nations which were the member republics of the Sovietized Russian Empire. Despite the Western European countries turned their backs to Georgia, the anti-Soviet illegal activity (printing of proclamations, booklets, small size newspapers and spreading them illegally) of the young people of Georgia, overfond of their motherland, successfully was continued in 1956-1958. Documentary materials prove that in the 60es of the last century the creative and practical activity of Petre Meunargia, Giorgi Batiashvili, Amiran Aptsiauri Irodion Pachulia, Givi Baramidze and especially of brothers: Mikheil and Giorgi Aptsiauris was remarkable. All the more, they do this hard work to the detriment of their health and risk their lives because it was the period of hard repressions; 5). Practical activities of the Georgian emigration of 1956-1970 were mostly of two kinds: a) evaluation of the current political processes and giving appropriate advices to the Georgian people. b) Informing international organizations about the results of the Soviet government's chauvinistic policy against Georgian nation. As the West European countries carried on the course of so called "warming" policy the Georgian emigration could not reach the goal at that time; 6). Tbilisi and Budapest events of 1956 proved that the political leaders of the West European countries did not say a word on the defense of the small nations. Their activities were determined only by the interests of their own countries. Georgian emigration's attempt to work towards uniting the Caucasus was a kind of protective device against the imperialist desires and interests of Russia. The pos-

sible pillar of the Georgian nation's salvation for the Georgian emigration was the plan of action worked out on a consensus between the peoples of the Caucasus and the formation of the state of the entire Caucasus. According to their concept the formation of the state of the Caucasian nations was based on the principle of federation and confederation. "The Caucasus for the Caucasians" should have been announced as the main groundwork of this idea. It meant that newly announced state was choosing complete neutrality and, so to say, "Switzerlandisation". The plan of uniting the Caucasian nations into one state seemed attractive, but the experience of the past (1918, 1919, 1920, 1921-1938), when Armenians and Azerbaijanis had the endless claims on the territory of Georgia and tameless eagerness to seize Georgian lands, radically excluded from the very beginning the possibility of creating a single state with this nations based on consensus. Idealization of the idea of creating a unified state of the Caucasus meant to forget the historical experience and find itself in the abyss of political romanticism.

XIV. 1) "Basic principles of human rights" elaborated by the Committee on Human Rights in Moscow based on the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and aimed at protecting the rights of the USSR citizens. Georgia's "human rights initiative group" created in 1974 strove to prepare a step for the development of national-liberation movement; 2). The Declaration adopted in Helsinki (1 August, 1975) and the 'Helsinki Group', created in Georgia (1976), brought the national-liberation movement onto a new stage. The publications in handwritten illegal journals criticized faulty sides of the government; called wider circles to protect national values and return to national issues; 3). Insulting accusations on the members of 'Helsinki group' (Z. Gamsakhurdia, M. Kostava) were intended to discredit national-liberation movement, to make the society turn their back to the leaders and prepare grounds for their arrest. Representatives of Georgian emigration gave a decent answer to this campaign. Gamsakhurdia's and Kostava's slanderers were justly exposed in the publications of the emigration magazines. On the other hand, they clearly pointed that the allegations against the leaders of national-liberation movement were intended for their psychological and physical annihilation; 4). Joint action of students and older generation representatives to defend the state status of Georgian language (14 April, 1974) was the first victory of the national-liberation movement; 5). "Perestroika" and the release of dissidents from jail contributed to the rise of national-liberation movement. Their demands for the preservation of the nation's cultural heritage increased the authority of the dissidents. The fact that old generation of intellectuals and the leaders of national-liberation movement could not find common language, confirmed: a) valuable speechmakers were purposefully blocked on Georgian intellectual and all-Union arena due to the ambition of the representatives of the national movement and fear to lose primacy; b) Political processes showed difference between the political world views of the dissident movement leaders and majority of the old generation intellectuals. It was impossible to eradicate this distinction and work out a wisdom-based unified plan of action. The dissidents' radicalism went beyond the characteristic qualities of political figures; 6) The decision (8 April, 1989) on the exemplary punishment of the protesters of April 1989, equaled to crime and is a black spot in Georgia's latest history. The tragedy of 9 April unmasked the "perestroika" political course of the USSR and put the necessity to elaborate new forms and means of struggle to the leaders of national-liberation movement.

damowmebul i wyaroebi da literatura

Sesaval i

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3. g.SaraZe. qarTul i emigraciul i Jurnal istikis istoria. t. I_ VIII.
4. Journ. qarTul i emigracia. # 1_ 6 Tbilisi. 2010- 2015 ww.
5. spiridon kedia. masal ebi piradi arqividan. Tbilisi. 2007 w.
6. cj erval iZe. parizidan vaSingtonamde saqarTvel oze fiqrit. Tbilisi. 2010
7. Journ. saarqivo moambe. # 17. 2017 w.
8. S.maRI akel iZe. qarTvel ebi germanul i droSis qveS. masal ebi gamosacemad moamzada, wi nasi tyvaoba da Seni Svnebi daurTo viqtor rcxil aZem. Tbilisi. 1994 w.
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10. m.kaxiani. menSevikebi samuSaoze. Tbilisi. 1924 w. misive. qarTul i emigracia. Tbilisi. 1926 w. misive. kidev erTxel emigraciis Sesaxeb. Tbilisi. 1927 w.
11. I .RoRoberiZe. qarTul i emigracia da antisabWoTa partieb is muSaoba. Tbilisi. 1927 w.
12. iv.zurabiSvili. saqarTvel os saerTaSoriso mdgomareoba. parizi. 1936 w.
13. k.gvarjal aZe. `saqarTvel os soc. dem. muSaTa partiis muSaoba sazRvargareT.- parizi. 1936 e; misive. saqarTvel os mTavroba emigraciaSi parizi. 1936 w. Tbilisi. 1991 w.
14. g.SaraZe. ucxoetis cis qveS. t. I. Tbilisi. 1991; t. II. Tbilisi. 1993; t. III. Tbilisi. 1993.
15. g.cxovrebaZe. qarTul i politikiuri emigracia da saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis sakiTxi 1921- 1925 wl ebSi-. Tbilisi. 1996 w.
16. r.dauSvili. qarTul i emigracia 1921- 1939 wl ebSi. Tbilisi. 2007 w; misive. qarTul i emigraciis kavkasiuri politika (1920- 1930 wl ebi). ix. axali da uaxlesi istoriis sakiTxebi. Tbilisi. 2009 w. # 1. gv. 209- 226; misive. qarTul i emigracia inglisSi. ix. qarTul i emigracia. krebuli I. Tbilisi. 2010 w. gv. 28- 41.
17. g.sul aZe. qarTul i antisabWoTa emigracia da specsamsaxurebi. Tbilisi. 2012 w.
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- il e qarTvel ebisadmi. ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. Tbil isi. 2016 w. # 1. gv. 205- 221; misive. raimon puankare da qarTul i pol itikuri emigracia. goris saxel mwifo universitetis Sromebi. Tbil isi. 2015 w. # 1. gv. 65- 71; misive. saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri misia konstantinopol Si da giorgi maCabel i. ix. goris saxel mwifo universiteti. humanitarul mecnierbaTa fakul teti, istoriis da arqeol ogiis centri. SromaTa krebul i. Tbil isi. 2016 w. # 12. gv. 37- 61; misive. Il msofi io omis periodSi qarTul i pol itikuri emigraciis moRvaveobis istoriidan. ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 2017 w. # 1. gv. 226- 242
19. i.Ciqava. Jordani as mTavrobis da erovnul i Zal ebis moRvaveoba saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenisaTvis (1921- 1933 ww.). Tbil isi. 2011 w.
 20. S.vadaWkoria. ori umniSvnel ovanesi dokumenti sabWoTa ruseTis saokupacio j arebisgan kavkasiis gnTavisufli ebis Sesaxeb. ix. 1924 wl is agvistos erovnul i aj anyebis 90- e wl isTavi. parizi- Tbil isi. 2016 w. gv. 101- 127; misive. qarTul i emigracia da erovnul i saxel mwifos aRdgenis sakiTxi - 1956- 1970 wl ebSi. ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. Tbil isi. 2016 w. # 2. gv. 101- 149; misive. iatakveSeTis antisabWouri saqmianobis gaaqtiurebis mcdel oba da qarTul i emigracia 1925- 1930 wl ebSi. ix. kavkasiis anTropol ogia da eTnol ogia. Tbil isi. 2016 w. gv. 167- 171; misive. SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gacemis dazustebisaTvis 1924. Tbil isi. 2016 w; misive. antisabWoTa gamosvl ebi saqarTvel oSi da qarTul i emigracia (1956_ 1960 wl ebi). ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. Tbil isi. 2017 w. # 1. gv. 243- 276; misive. qarTul i emigracia da erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis sakiTxi 1945- 1950 wl ebSi. krebul i. ix. qarTul i emigracia. Tbil isi. 2017 w. # 4 (7). gv. 44- 56A
 21. d.Wumburize. akaki Cxenkel i saxel mwifo moRvave, dipl omati, mamul iSvil i. Tbil isi 2018 w.
 22. v.gurul i. noe Jordania. pol itikuri portreti 1869- 1953. Tbil isi. 1999.
 23. a.sonRul aSvil i. qarTul i emigracia da repatriaciis procesi XX saukunis 40- 50- ian wl ebSi. ix. istoriul i narkvevebi. Tbil isi 2010. gv.91- 101; misive. 1924 wl is agvisto saqarTvel oSi. ix. didgori. istoriul - samecniero- pol itikuri krebul i. Tbil isi. 1991 w.
 24. I .zuruSaZe. diadi sul is ukvdaveba. mixako wereTel i. Tbil isi. 2012 w.
 25. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbil isi 1996 w.
 26. g.ciciSvil i. simarTl e 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvil is cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbil isi. 2003 w.
 27. I j iqia. 1924 wl is aj anyeba dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi. Tbil isi. 2011 w.
 28. o.j anel iZe. qarTul i emigraciis Turqul i furcl ebi (1921- 1924 wl ebi). ix. qarTul i emigracia. Tbil isi. 2015 w. # 3. gv. 24- 37
 29. S.murusiZe. `bol Sevizmis winaaRmddeg mebrZol i amerikul i komiteti.- ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. Tbil isi. 2010 w. # 2. gv. 171- 180
 30. p.nacvl iSvil i. pol onel i qarTvel ebi argentinaSi. ix. qarTul i emigraciagracia. 2014 w. # 2. gv. 59- 88
 31. e.mamukel aSvil i. istal ini, S. de gol i da qarTul i emigracia (1921- 1953) Tel avi. 2013 w.
 32. I .asl amaziSvil i. qarTul i emigraciis istoriidan dasavl eT evropis qveynebsi (safrangeTi, pol oneTi, ingl isi). Tbil isi. 2015 w.
 33. m.xomeriki. pasuxad mixeil j avaxiSvil is biografefs. Tbil isi. 1996 w. misive. mixeil j avaxiSvil i unikal uri dokumentebis fonze. Tbil isi.

- tul i emigracia 2008 w.
34. Г.Мамулиа. Грузинский легион в барьбе за свободу и независимость Грузии в годи второй мировой войны. Тбилиси. 2003 г.
 35. f.l omaSvil i. qarTul i emigraciis istoriidan. Tbil isi 1965 w.
 36. d.Svel iZe. pol itikuri dapirispirebebi da erovnul i xel isufl ebis damxoba saqarTvel oSi (1987- 1992) Tbil isi. 2008 w.
 37. i.kvesel ava. saqarTvel os istoriis qronikebi (1970- 1990). Tbil isi. 2004 w.
 38. u.bl uaSvil i. erovnul i moZraoba da pol itikuri konfrontacia saqarTvel oSi 1987- 1993 ww. Tbil isi. 2012 w.
 39. i.wiqariSvil i. Jami WeSmariti (damarcxebul i moZraobis qroni ka). Tbil isi. 2003 w.

Tavi I. pol i tikur Zal Ta gaerTianebi sakiTxi da qarTul i emigracia (1921 - 1922 ww.)

1. saqarTvel os sssr konstituciis aqtebis krebul i (1921 – 1978) Tbil isi. 1983 w. gv. 19
2. k.inasariZe. `patara oqros xana- mi unxeni. 1984. gv. 493
3. scssa, f. 1861. aRw. 3, saq. 65. furc. 8
4. scssa, f. 1861. aRw. 3, saq. 64. furc. 6
5. scssa, f. 1861. aRw. 3, saq. 65. furc. 12
6. g.ciciSvil i. simarTl e 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mi-x-eil j avaxiSvil is pol itikuri cxovrebi Sesaxeb. wigni I. Tbil isi. 2003. gv. 164- 165
7. scssa. f.1861. aRw. 3. saq.65. furc. 20
8. scssa. f.1961. aRw. 3. saq. 44. furc. 24- 25
9. iqve. saq. 65. furc.3- 4
10. gaz. `social ist- federal isti- 1921 w. 12 april i
11. S.vadaWkoria. evropul i dapirebebi da sabrZol o vaznebis gareSe dar-Cenil i saqarTvel o. ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 2014 w. #1. gv. 404- 412; misive; saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis j aris Sei-araRebis sakiTxisaTvis. ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 2014 w. #2. gv. 264- 297
12. scssa. f.1861. aRw. 3. saq. 65. furc. 4
13. iqve. furc. 19
14. S.vadaWkoria. erovnul i saxel mwifoebriobis sakiTxi qarTul pol i-tikur azrovnebaSi. nakveTi I. (1917- 1918 ww.) Tbil isi. 2008. gv.159-160
15. scssa. f.1861. aRw. 3. saq. 44. furc. 88
16. I j iqia. 1924 wl is aj anyeba dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi. Tbil isi. 2011. gv. 89

Tavi II. sabWoTa ruseTis saokupaci o reJimi s wi naaRmdeg brZol is pirvel i safexuris gakveTil ebi (1921- 1922 ww.)

1. scsia f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 127. furc. 143
2. i.kaWarava. sabWoTa saqarTvel o saxal xo meurneobis aRdgenis period-

- Si (1921- 1925). Tbilisi. 1958. gv. 284
3. scsia f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 4. furc. 14
 4. iqve. saq. 97. furc. 42
 5. scsia. f. 1861 aRw. 3. saq. 82. furc. 41
 6. Ijijia. 1924 wl is aj anyeba dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi. Tbilisi. 2011 w. gv. 153- 154

Tavi III. anti sabWoTa SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis safuZvl i anad momzadebis sakiTxi da qarTul i emigracia (1922- 1924 ww.)

1. scsa. f. 2117. saq. 98. firc. 52
2. SvadaWkoria. ori umniSnel ovanesi dokumenti sabWoTa ruseTis saokupacio jarebisagan kavkasiis ganTavisuflebis Sesaxeb. 1924 wl is agvistos erovnul i aj anyebis 90- e wl isTavi. parizi- Tbilisi. 2016. gv. 101- 127
3. gciciSvili. simarTle 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvili is politikuri cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbilisi. 2003 w. gv. 185, 188
4. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbilisi 1996 w. gv. 285
5. Ijijia. 1924 wl is aj anyeba dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi. Tbilisi. 2011 w. gv. 103- 104
6. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbilisi 1996 w. gv. 135, 135- 136
7. gciciSvili. simarTle 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvili is politikuri cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbilisi. 2003 w. gv. 235, 244
8. iqve. gv. 241
9. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbilisi 1996 w. gv. 136
10. scssa. f. 2117. saq.98. furc. 60
11. gciciSvili. simarTle 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvili is politikuri cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbilisi. 2003 w. gv. 343
12. scsa. f. 2130. saq. 18. firc. 8- 9
13. scsa. f. 2117. saq. 181. firc. 3
14. scssa. f. 2130. saq. 18. furc. 4- 7
15. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 295. furc. 4
16. SvadaWkoria. politikur Zal Ta gaerTianebis sakiTxi da qarTul i politikuri azri (1921 wl is april i- 1922 wl is marti). axali da uaxlesi istoriis sakiTxebi. 2015 w. # 2. gv. 101- 147
17. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 181. furc. 4-5
18. scssa. f. 1861. saq. 155. furc. 9-10
19. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 181. furc. 3-4
20. mxomeriki. pasuxad mixeil j avaxiSvili is biografებს. Tbilisi. 1996 w. gv. 17; misive. mixeil j avaxiSvili unikal uri dokumentebis fonze. Tbilisi. 2008 w. gv. 46; saqme anti sabWoTa partieb is paritetul i komitetis Sesaxeb (sabrალ დებო დასკვნა) Tbilisi. 1925 w. gv. 37;
21. gciciSvili. simarTle 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvili is politikuri cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbilisi. 2003 w. gv. 243

22. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbil is 1996 w. gv. 242
23. n.kirTaZe. kaen sad aris Zma Seni?!... Tbil isi. 1998 w. gv. 266;
24. S.vadaWkoria. sinamdvil is gayal bebisa da Sefasebis XX saukunis 20-iani wl ebis bol Sevikuri stil i (pasuxad giorgi cicisvil s). Tbil isi. 2017 w.
25. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 295. furc. 4
26. S.vadaWkoria. ori umniSvnel ovanesi dokumenti sabWoTa ruseTis saok-upacio j arebisagan kavkasi is ganTavisufl ebis Sesaxeb. 1924 wl is agvistos erovnul i aj anyebis 90- e wl isTavi. parizi- Tbil isi. 2016. gv. 101-127
- 27) g.ciciSvil i. simarTI e 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvil is pol itikuri cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbil isi. 2003 w. gv. 189- 190
28. iqve. gv. 90
29. S.vadaWkoria. pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTianebis sakiTxi da qarTul i pol itikuri azri (1921 wl is april i- 1922 wl is marti). axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 2015 w. # 2. gv. 101- 147
30. asonRul aSvil i. 1924 wl is agvisto saqarTvel oSi. ix. didgori. istoriul - samecniero- pol itikuri krebul i. Tbil isi. 1991 w. gv. 81
31. g.sul aZe. qarTul i antisabWoTa emigracia da specsamsaxurebi. Tbil isi. 2012 w. gv. 85- 86
32. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbil is 1996 w. gv. 166
33. menSevikebi samuSaoze (m.kaxianis moxseneba arsenal is raionSi 8 seqtembers 1924 w.) Tbil isi. 1924 w. gv. 48

Tavi IV iatakveSeTis anti sabWouri saqmi anobis gaaqti urebis mcdel oba da qarTul i emigracia (1925- 1930 ww.)

1. g.gvazava. saqarTvel o da erovnul - demokratiul i partia (weril i mesame) parizi. 1929 w. gv 13- 14
2. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq 217. furc. 30
3. iqve. furc. 36
4. iqve. saq. 284. furc. 1- 2
5. iqve. saq. 295. furc. 3
6. g.gvazava. saqarTvel o da erovnul - demokratiul i partia (weril i mesame) parizi. 1929 w. gv 14- 15
7. S.vadaWkoria. qarTul i social - demokratia 1917- 1921 wl ebSi. Tbil isi. 2001 w. misive. saqarTvel os pol itikuri istoriis sakiTxebi. wigni II. Tbil isi 2006 w.
8. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq 295. furc. 3
9. r.dauSvil i. qarTul i emigracia 1921- 1939 wl ebSi. Tbil isi. 2007. gv 48-59
10. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq 295. furc. 3- 4
11. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 1. saq 227. furc. 66
12. iqve. f. 2130. aRw.1. saq. 188. furc. 4-5
13. iqve. saq. 40. furc. 6
14. spiridon kedia, masal ebi piradi arqividan. Tbil isi 2007 w. gv. 83
15. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 1. saq. 188. furc. 6

16. iqve. saq. 294. furc. 8
17. История дипломатии. Т. 3. М. 1965. стр. 183- 285

Tavi V qarTul i emigracia da erovnul - ganmaTavi su- fl ebel i moZraobis pol itikuri aspeqtebi (1931- 1945 ww.)

\$. 1. qarTul i pol itikuri Zal ebis gaerTianebis mcdel oba

1. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 356. furc. 11
2. iqve. furc. 10
3. iqve. saq. 302. furc. 29
4. iqve. f. 1863. saq. 240. furc. 11
5. iqve. f. 2117. saq. 337. furc. 16- 17
6. g.SaraZe. qarTul i emigrantul i Jurnal istikis istoria. t.VIII. Tbil i-
si. 2005 w. gv. 97- 99
7. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 374. furc. 5
8. g.SaraZe. qarTul i emigrantul i Jurnal istikis istoria. t.VIII. Tbil i-
si. 2005 w. gv. 97
9. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 339. furc. 9
10. iqve. saq. 356. furc. 13
11. Дипломатический словарь. Т. 3. М. 1986. стр. 334. I .saral iZe. ruseT- safrange-
Tis 1932 wl is Tavdausxmel obis paqti da qarTul i emigracia. ix.
ivj avaxiSvil is saxel obis istoriisa da eTnol ogiis institutis
Sromebi. X- XI. Tbil isi 2010- 2011. gv. 381
12. saqarTvel os central uri saistorio arqivi. f. 2117, aRw. 1. saq. 295.
furc. 18
13. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 244. furc. 3
14. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 356. furc. 12
15. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 254. furc. 91
16. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 35. furc. 9
17. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 173. furc. 26
18. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 344. furc. 3
19. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 167. furc. 7
20. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 405. furc. 1

\$. 2. saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis gzebis Zi eba da qarTul i emigracia

1. scsa. f. 1831. aRw. 2. saq. 231. furc. 4
2. iqve. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 404. furc. 1
3. m.naTmel aZe, a.dauSvil i. saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoria (1921- 2000).
Tbil isi. 2004. gv. 71- 72
4. iqve. gv. 71- 74
5. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 301. furc. 29- 30
6. scsa. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 226. furc. 42
7. I .saral iZe. qarTul i antisabWoTa emigraciis moRvaveobis istoriidan
(XX saukunis 20- 30- iani wl ebi). axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxe-

- bi. 2011 w. # 1. gv. 82
8. iqve. gv. 83
 9. scsa. 1831. aRw. 2. saq. 195. furc. 23
 10. iqve. aRw. 3. saq. 274. furc. 101
 11. iqve. saq. 294. furc. 1- 2
 12. I .saral iZe. qarTul i antisabWoTa emigraciis moRvaveobis istori-
idan (XX saukunis 20- 30- iani wl ebi). axal i da uaxl esi istoriis
sakiTxebi. 2011 w. # 1. gv. 86- 87
 13. scsa. 1831. aRw. 2. saq. 195. furc. 23
 14. scsa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 356. furc. 54
 15. iqve. saq. 374. furc. 2- 3
 16. iqve. furc. 5
 17. scsa. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 273. furc. 27- 28
 18. iqve. saq. 226. furc. 16- 18
 19. История Дипломатии. Т. 3. М. 1965. стр. 629- 631; Дипломатический Словар. Т.3. М.
1986. стр. 566- 568
 20. Journ. saarqivo moambe. 2017 w. # 17. gv. 72
 21. g.sul aZe. qarTul i antisabWoTa emigracia da specsamsaxurebi. Tbil i-
si. 2012 w. gv. 320
 22. iqve. gv. 310- 311
 23. Journ. saarqivo moambe. 2017 w. # 17. gv. 6- 11
 24. g.sul aZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 329
 25. Journ. saarqivo moambe. 2017 w. # 17. gv. 7
 26. I .saral iZe. qarTvel i pol itikuri emigrantebis damokidebul eba me-
ore msofli o mSi monawil e qveynebisadmi. ix. axal i da uaxl esi is-
toriiis sakiTxebi. Tbil isi. 2016 w. # 1. gv. 211
 27. omis gzebze. wigni mesame. Tbil isi 1972 w. gv. 304- 312
 28. g.sul aZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 333, 338, 341
 29. scsia. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 410, furc. 12
 30. asonRul aSvil i. istoriul i narkvevebi. Tbil isi. 2010. gv. 92
 31. Journ. saarqivo moambe. 2017 w. # 17. gv. 62
 32. g.sul aZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 326

\$. 3. kavkasiis pol itikuri Zal ebis konsolidaciisa da erTiani saxel mwi fos Seqmnis idea

1. S.vadaWkoria. saqarTvel o- somxeTis urTierTobis sakiTxi qarTul pol i-
tikur azrovnebaSi (1918- 1920) Tbil isi. 1999; a.CaCxi ani. daSnakTa naci o-
nal istur- eqspansionisturi ideol ogia da somxeT- saqarTvel os 1918-
1919 wl ebis omi. Tbil isi. 2007.
2. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 274. furc. 54
3. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 226. furc. 23
4. iqve. saq. 240. furc. 1
5. scsa. f. 1831. aRw. 2. saq. 195. furc. 26
6. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 254. furc. 46
7. iqve. furc. 30- 34
8. iqve. saq. 297. furc. 5
9. iqve. saq. 226. furc. 24- 27
10. I .saral iZe. pol itikuri emigracia saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis

aRdgeni saTvis brZol aSi. ix. saqarTvel o- ruseTis urTierToba XVIII -XXI saukuneebSi. wigni II. Tbil isi. 2016 w. gv. 322

11. kavkasiis konfederacia (aqtebi da komentarebi). gamocema kavkasiis sabWo. 1937. gv. 5- 6
12. iqve. gv. 10
13. iqve. gv. 9
14. scsa. f. 1717. aRw. 1. saq. 493. furc. 1
15. g.sul aZe. qarTul i antisabWoTa emigracia da specsamsaxurebi. Tbil isi. 2012 w. gv. 269
16. scsa. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 273. furc. 19
17. iqve. furc, 18- 19
18. SvadaWkoria. brestis sazavo xel sekrul eba da qarTul i politikuri azri 1918 wel s. ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. # 11. Tbil isi. 2008w. gv. 148
19. SvadaWkoria. saqarTvel o- ruseTis 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul eba da qarTul i politikuri azri. ix. istoriisa da eTnol ogiis institutis Sromebi IX. Tbil isi. 2009 wel i. gv. 266
20. m.svaniZe. dipl omatiuri brZol a baTumis da baTumis ol qisaTvis 1918- 1921 wl ebSi. ix. qarTul i dipl omatia. wel iwdeul i 10. Tbil isi. 2003 w. gv. 170
21. iqve
22. z.aval iSvil i. zogierTi pol emikis gamo. ix. Journ. `kavkasia- 1937 w. # 7. gv. 12
23. Документы внешней политики СССР. Т. 3. М. 1959. стр. 597- 599; 601- 604

Tavi VI. orientaciis sakiTxi da qarTil i emigracia omis Semdeg wl ebSi (1945- 1950)

1. g.sul aZe. qarTul i antisabWoTa emigracia da specsamsaxurebi. Tbil isi. 2012. gv. 507
2. scssa. f.2117. aRw. 1. saq. 412 furc. 2
3. g.sul aZe. das. naSr. gv. 464- 468

Tavi VII. saerTaSoriso organizaciebi da saqarTvel os damouki debl obis aRdgenis sakiTxi (1951- 1955 ww.)

\$1. saqarTvel os damouki debl obis sakiTxi da visbadenis konferencia

- 1) Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o- 1952. #1. gv. 6
- 2) iqve. gv. 3
- 3) iqve. # 2. gv. 14- 15
- 4) iqve. gv. 10
- 5) scsia. f.1861. aRw. 3. saq. 398. furc. 11
- 6) Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o- 1952. # 1. gv. 15
- 7) scsia. f.1861. aRw. 3. saq. 703. furc. 3

- 8) Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1952. # 1. gv. 8
- 9) iqve. gv. 16
- 10) iqve. gv. 24
- 11) iqve. # 7 gv. 9
- 12) iqve
- 13) iqve. gv. 24
- 14) iqve. gv. 9
- 15) iqve. # 2 gv. 7- 8
- 16) iqve. # 7 gv. 15

\$. 2. amerikul i komiteti da qarTul i emigracia sabWoTa imperiis winaarmdog

- 1) scssa. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 419. furc. 2
- 2) iqve. saq. 358. furc. 1
- 3) Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1952. # 1 gv. 2
- 4) iqve. # 2 gv. 5
- 5) iqve. gv. 7
- 6) Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1953. # 161 gv. 25
- 7) Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1952. # 7. gv. 7- 8
- 8) iqve. # 6. gv. 28
- 9) iqve. # 2. gv. 8
- 10) iqve. # 17. gv. 27
- 11) Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1953. # 16. gv. 14
12. scsia. f. 1861. aRw. 1. saq. 408. furc. 9
13. Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1953. # 15. gv. 30-31
14. iqve. gv. 31- 32
15. scsia. f. 1861. aRw. 1. saq. 408. furc. 13
16. Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1953. # 16. gv. 18
17. scsia. f.1861 aRw. 3. saq. 399. furc. 118
18. iqve. furc. 34
19. Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1952. # 7 gv. 2
20. scsia. f.1861 aRw. 3. saq. 399. furc. 39- 41
21. Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1952. # 7 gv. 8

\$ 3. ganaxl ebul i erovnul i sabWos Seqmnis mcdel oba da qarTul i emigracia

1. scsia. f. 2117. aRw. 1. saq. 412. furc. 7
2. Journ. `mebrZol i sqarTvel o~ 1952. # 2. gv. 13- 14
3. Journ. `mebrZol i sqarTvel o~ 1953. # 3. gv. 12
4. scsia. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 398. furc. 6
5. Journ. `mebrZol i sqarTvel o~ 1952. # 2. gv. 8
6. iqve. # 1. gv. 19
7. scsia. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 397. furc. 8
8. Journ. `mebrZol i sqarTvel o~ 1952. # 2. gv. 22
9. scsia. f. 1861. aRw. 3. saq. 397. furc. 6

10. iqve. saq. 400. furc. 2- 3
11. iqve. saq. 415. furc. 15- 16

Tavi VIII. sabWoTa imperiisadmi dapi ri spi rebi s axal i mi mar Tul ebebi da qar Tul i emigracia (1956- 1970 ww)

\$.1. qar Tul i emigracia sabWoTa specsamsaxurebi s pi ri spi r da erovnul i Zal ebi s organizaci ul ad gaerTi anebis di l ema

1. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 437. furc. 2
2. m.naTmel aZe, a.dauSvil i. saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoria. Tbil isi. 2004. gv. 161- 162
3. scssa f. 2117. saq. 437. furc. 8- 9
4. S.murusiZe. bol Sevizmi s wi naaRmdeg mebrZol i `amerikul i komi teti -. ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 2010 w. # 2. gv. 171- 174
5. scssa f. 2117. saq. 437. furc. 16
6. Journ. `Cveni droSa- 1957 w. # 26. gv. 6
7. gaz. `qarTul i azri- 1957 w. # 23
8. Journ. `Cveni droSa- 1957 w. # 22. gv. 18
9. gaz. `qarTul i azri- 1957 w. # 21
10. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 417. furc. 4
11. iqve

\$. 2. anti sabWoTa gamosvl ebi da qar Tul i emigracia

1. a.surgul aZe, p.surgul aZe. saqarTvel os istoria. sakiTxavi wigni 1783- 1990. Tbil isi. 1991 w. gv. 294
2. S.nozaZe. 1956 tragikul i 9 marti. Tbil isi. 1992 w. gv. 6- 7
3. iqve. gv. 10
4. iqve. gv. 26- 27
5. iqve. gv. 28
6. m.naTmel aZe, a.dauSvil i. saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoria. Tbil isi. 2004 w. gv. 266
7. S.nozaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 7
8. I .saral iZe. 1956 wl is marti. ix. d.WumburiZe, v.ki knaZe, x.qorqaSvil i, I .saral iZe. saqarTvel o- ruseTis urTierToba XVIII- XXI saukuneeb- Si. wigni II. Tbil isi. 2016 w. gv. 381
9. gaz. `qarTul i azri- 1856 w. # 5
10. gaz. `komunisti- 1990 w. 10 ivl isi
11. gaz. `saxal xo ganaTI eba- 1990 wl is 14, 21 ivni si
12. S.nozaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 187- 188
13. a.surgul aZe, p.surgul aZe. saqarTvel os istoria. sakiTxavi wigni 1783- 1990. Tbil isi. 1991 w. gv. 297
14. iqve.
15. gaz. `qarTul i azri- 1856 w. # 6
16. gaz. `qarTul i azri- 1856 w. # 5
17. S.nozaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 201
18. gaz. `qarTul i azri- 1856 w. # 5

19. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1856 w. # 4
20. Journ. `Cveni droSa~ 1956 w. # 22. gv. 10
21. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1856 w. # 9
22. S.nozaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 109- 110
23. iqve. gv. 118- 119
24. iqve. gv. 119- 129
25. iqve. gv. 129- 134
26. `saarqivo moambe~ 2012 w. #12 gv. 5- 10
27. `Tavisufli ebis daucxromel i sul iskveTeba~ (igor patarizis interviu giorgi beJuaSvil Tan). ix Journ. `pol itika~ 1991 w. # 9- 10. gv. 22- 26
28. gaz. `konstituciur- demokrati~ 1994 w. ivnisi
29. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1956 w. # 26
30. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1959 w. #32
31. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1956 w. # 2
32. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1958 w. # 28
33. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1956 w. # 4
34. Journ. `Cveni droSa~ 1957 w.# 26. gv. 9- 10
35. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1966 w. # 74
36. saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partia. biul eteni # 2. `parizis bl okis~ konferencia. 1962. gv. 1- 7

Tvi IX. erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis gaaqti urebis ganmapi robebel i faqtorebi da qarTul i emigracia (1971- 1990 ww.)

1. Journ. `saarqivo moambe~. 2012 w. # 12. gv. 31- 33
2. iqve. gv. 33
3. Journ. `Cveni droSa~ 1976 w. # 85. gv. 9- 10
4. iqve. gv. 11
5. adamiანის უფლებებისა და თავისუფლების დასაცავად (ევროპის უსიძროებისა და თანამშრომლების ხელსინკის, ვენის, კოპენჰაგენისა და პარიზის ტატიბების დასკვნითი აქტები და მასალები). Tbilisi. 1991 w. gv. 14- 18
6. i.kvesel ava. saqarTvel os istoriis qronikebi (1970- 1990). Tbilisi. 2004 w. gv. 105
7. Journ. `Cveni droSa~ 1976 w. # 85. gv. 16
8. Journ. `saarqivo moambe~ 2012 w. # 12. gv. 12. 16
9. gaz. `komunisti~ 1977 w. 1 april i
10. gaz. `literaturul i saqarTvel o~ 1977 w. 1 april i
11. Journ. `saarqivo moambe~. 2012 w. # 12. gv. 18
12. Journ. `Cveni droSa~ 1976 w. # 85. gv. 14
13. iqve. gv. 15
14. i.kvesel ava. saqarTvel os istoriis qronikebi (1970- 1990). Tbilisi. 2004 w. gv. 106- 109
15. n.yi fSiZe, s.totoCava. sabWoTa fsiqiatria da disidentebi. Journ. `saarqivo moambe~ 2012 w. # 12. gv. 21
16. iqve. gv. 19
17. iqve. gv. 21
18. Journ. `Cveni droSa~ 1987 w. gv. 84
19. Journ. `Cveni droSa~ 1990 w. gv. 20

20. Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1988 w. # 5. gv. 49
21. Journ. `mebrZol i saqarTvel o~ 1988 w. # 4. gv. 6
22. i.kvesel ava. saqarTvel os istoriis qronikebi (1970- 1990). Tbil isi. 2004 w. gv. 162
23. iqve. gv. 164
24. asonRul aSvil i. 9 april is sisxl iani tragedia. Tbil isi. 1999 w. gv. 22- 23
25. d.Svel iZe. pol itikuri dapirispirebebi da erovnul i xel isufli ebis damxoba saqarTvel oSi (1987- 1992 w.w.). Tbil isi. 2008 w. gv. 19
26. u.bl uaSvil i. erovnul i moZraoba da pol itikuri konfrontacia saqarTvel oSi (1987- 1993 ww.). Tbil isi. 2012 w. gv. 28
27. d.Svel iZe. das. naSr. gv. 24
28. 9 april i. Tbil isi. 1990 w. gv. 526
29. iqve. gv. 320
30. g.wiqariSvil i. Jami WeSmariti. Tbil isi. 2003 w. gv. 53- 54
31. mZime dReebis qronika. gaz. `komunisti~ 1989 w. 12april i # 85
32. iqve
33. i.kvesel ava. das. naSr. gv. 175
34. g.wiqariSvil i. das. naSr. gv. 58
35. u.bl uaSvil i. das. naSr. gv. 54
36. Sei qmna sazogadoebrivi samedicino saeqsperto komisi a. komisi is cnobebi # 1, # 2. ix. gaz. `komunisti~ 1989 w. 19 april i # 92
37. gaz. `komunisti~ 1990 w. 10 marti
38. gaz. `komunisti~ 1990 w. 22 ivnisi
39. d.Svel iZe. das. naSr. gv. 84- 86

saarqi vo dokumentebi

Sei araRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegma

dokumenti # 1

saqarTvel oSi Sei araRebul i aj anyebis momzadebis Sesaxeb, vj uRel is mier stambol is pol itikuri komisiis winaSe 1922 wl is ivniSi gakeTebul i samxedro moxseneba.

samxedro moxseneba

srul iad saiduml od

rac dro gadis, miT ufro nadgurdeba da partaxdeba Cveni qveyana da Tu man ver SesZl o okupaciis mZime uRI is kisridan gadagdeba, saqarTvel o Sida ruseTis da TviT vol gis mxares daemsgavseba. Tu kidev didxans gastana CvenSi bol Sevikebis batonobam, qarTvel i xal xi gaRatakdeba ara mar to qonebrivad, aramed rac yvel aze saSiSi a sul ieradac. igi dakargavs Tavisufli ebisaTvis brZol is unars da gayveba anarqiis damRupvel gzas. sabednierod j er aseTi sul ieri daknibebis da daSI is procesi saqarTvel oSi ar dawyebul a. piriqiT, Cveni xal xi TandaTan ikrebs Zal Rones, saomraT i razmeba, i brZvis ki devac, magram gansakuTrebiT ukanasknel Setevisatvis emzadeba. erT wel ze meti grZel deba es brZol a Cveni xal xisa saokupacio reJi mis winaaRmdeg. am brZol aSi man amowura yvel a mSvi dobiani saSual ebani da ukanasknel aT 26 maisis mSvi dobian erovnul protests sayovel Tao demonstraciebis da gaficvis saxe misca. amis iqiT mSvi dobian protests wasvl a aRar SeuZl ia, vinaidan mis Semdeg ukve iwyeba Sei araRebul i brZol a. amis ganmeorebac metad saSiSi a, vinaidan am saxi s erovnul i demonstraciebi did msxverpl s iTxoven da Tanac piri spir uaxl ovdebian Sei araRebul aj anyebas. yovel ive amas metad didi angariSi unda gaewios. es mdgomareoba srul iad obieqturad unda dafasdes da misgan Sesaferi daskvnebi gamoviyvanoT. es miT ufro saWi roa, rom am sul ieri simtkicis da aRmatebis xanas, aucil ebl ad Tan moyveba sawinaarmdego procesi sul ieri dacemisa, daSI isa da ui medobisa. Tuki Cvenma xal xma naTI ad ver dainaxa Tavisufli ebis gza da Tu am gzaze ar Sesdga fexi, saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis sakiTxi, rac dro gadis miT ufro mwvaved, konkretul ad da radikal urad dgeba Cvens winaSe.

magram rogoria es gzebi da saSual ebani am ganTavisufli ebisa? es gzebi sxvadasxva da TiToeul maTgans Tavisi fasi aqvs.

I. pirvel i gza aris gza evropis daxmarebisa. marTal ia, dRes gabatonebul i evropac mTI iani ar aris Tavisi pol itikaSi ruseTisa da misi ganapira qveynebis mi marT, magram, Cven aq im evropas vgül isxmobT, romel ic ganuyofeli, Zl ieri da mil itaristul i ruseTis winaaRmdegi a. am evropas SeuZl ia daexmaros saqarTvel os dipl omatiuraT, pol itikuraT da material uraT. magram Cven wi ndawinve unda vicodeT, rom am material ur daxmarebas ar SeuZl ia miiRI s samxedro Zal ebiT daxmarebis saxe, vinaidan dRes evropis

sazogadoebrivi da pol itikuri azri, samxedro intervenciis wi naaRmdegia. mxol od maSin aris SesaZl ebel i evropis aseTi intervencia, Tu Tvi T ruseTi omSi Caebmeba da Tu igi romel ime Tavis dasavl eTel mezobel s Tavs daeca. magram aseTi omis dawyeba imdenad amartivebs Cvens sakiTxs da iseT mtkice niadagze ayenebs saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis saqmes, rom Cven saWiroT ar migvaCnia maszed SeCereba. aq Cven gvainteresebs ara es srul i ad martivi, naTel i da udao SemTxveva Cveni ganTavisufl ebisa, aramed ufro rTul i, Znel i da ekl iani gza samSobl os Tavisufl ebisa, roca ruseTi did omSi Cabmul i ar iqneba da roca igi aseT omze droebi T mainc uars ityvis. amnairaT gareSe samxedro intervenciisa, romel ic dRevandel pirobebSi SeuZl ebel ia, saqarTvel os SeuZl ia evropisagan dipl omatiuri da pol itikuri daxmareba mi iRos. e.i. evropas SeuZl ia ar icnos saokupacio mTavroba da amasTanave mostxovos ruseTs saqarTvel odan Tavis j arebis gayvana. magram, radganac ruseTis sakiTxSi evropis saxel mwifoebi ar arian SeTanxmebul i, radganac ingl isi swored bol Sevikebis saSual eb iT cdil obs baqos navTis xel Si Cagdebas da amasTanave mahmadianur osmal eTis sabol oot dasustebas, cxadia, evropa mTl ianad da kategoriul ad veRar mostxovs moskovs saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebas. piriqiT mosal odnel ia, rom evropa, romel ic metad did kriziss gani cdis da romel sac surs gza gai kafos ruseTis bazrisken, am krizisis dasaZl evad da rusul i simdi dreebis xel T Casagdebad, Seecdeba rai me kompromisi gamonaxos bol Seviketan da am kompromisze SeuTanxmdes bol Sevikebs ruseTis eqspl oataciis sakiTxSi, da Tu mxedvel obaSi imasac mi vi RebT, rom bol Sevikebs gansakuTrebi T pol itikuri Zal aufl ebis SenarCuneba ainteresebs da rom am mi zni saTvis isini udid es ekonomia ur avansebs miscemen evropis burJuazias, advil ad SegviZl ia warmovidginoT, rom Tu mTl aT ara, evropis didi nawil i mainc mourigdeba bol Sevikur ruseTs. amis maCvenebel i simptomebi Cven ukve genuaSi davinaxeT da momaval Si es simptomebi kidev ufro gaZl ierdeba. mati gaZl iereba TandaTan gaarTul ebs da gaaZnel ebs Cven brZol as damoukidebl obisaTvis. amitom, Cven dipl omatiur muSaobaze gadaWarbebul i imedebi ar unda davamyarot da mazed aravi Tari il uziebi ar unda avagoT. Cven unda vicodeT, rom dipl omatiurad imazed metis mi Rweva, rasac genuaSi mi vaRwieteT, metad Znel ia. udid esi Cveni gamarj veba genuaSi ara axal i poziciis SeZenaSi iyo, aramed Zvel i poziciebis SenarCunebaSi da ganmtkicebaSi. momaval Si brZol aisev Zvel i poziciebis irgvl ivi warmoebs da maTi dacvac TandaTan gaZnel deba. genuas CvenTvis is didi mni Svel oba qonda, rom man gaarkvia evropis pozicia Cvenamdi da gvamcno, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba Seesabameba evropis zogi saxel mwifoTa did interesebs. magram amasTanave genuam isic dagvmtkica, rom evropis dipl omatia, moskovs saqarTvel odan j arebs ver gaayvanebs. es kargad unda gvaxsovdes.

II. meore gzaa muSaTa internacional is energiul i Careva Cven saqmeebSi da misi daxmarebi T saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba. es gza, metad sayura dReboa da Cven vici T, rom evropis muSaTa kl asi gansakuTrebul i simpatii T epyroba Cven sakiTxs. magram, Cven isic vici T, rom moskovi evropis muSaTa moTxovni T saqarTvel odan j ars ar gaiyvans da maT saSual eba ar aqvs moskovs es aiZul on. srul i ad naTl ad es dagvmtkica berl ini s konferenciam da cxraTa komisiis daSl am.

III. mesame gza saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebi sa aris TviT kreml is dacema. magram es gzac, iseve rogorc bol Sevikebis did omSi Cabma, imdenad naTel i, udao da sanatreli ia, rom misi ganxil vac zedmetad migvaCnia. cxadia, rom kreml is dacema maSinve saqarTvel os aRdgenas gamoiwvevs!

amnairaT, arcerTi zemoT aRniSnul i gza ar aris srul iad saimedo da utyuari. zogi maTgani susti da uZl uria da zogenic metad probl ematuri. magram niSnavs es imas, rom qarTvel ma xal xma sasowarkveTil ebas mieces, rom man dakargos aqtiuri perspeqtiva da istoriis inercias danebdes? srul iadac ara, vinaidan rCeba kidev meoTxe da ukanasknel i gza.

IV. meoTxe gza es aris sakuTari erovnul i Zal ebis srul i darazmvisa, mezobl ebTan mtkice kavSiris gaWedvisa da sayovel Tao Seiararebul i aj anyebisa. es aris metad mZime da Znel i gza xal xis ganTavisufli ebisa, magram amasTanave yvel aze ufro real uri, vinaidan yovel Tvis TviT eri da misi Seurigebel i brZol aa mTavari mWedel i erovnul i Tavisufli ebisa. amasTanave isic aris aRsani Snavia, rom burJuaziul i da prol etarul i evropis simpaTiAc Cvenamdi miT ufro aqtiur xasiaTs mi iRebs, rac ufro Tavdadebul i adibrZol ebs saqarTvel o. magram Cven ukve vsTqviT, rom saqarTvel om savsebiT amowura mSvidobiani brZol is yvel a saSual ebani. mas darCenia mxol od uki duresi da umZimesi forma ganTavisufli ebisaTvis brZol isa_ sayovel Tao Seiararebul i aj anyeba. es aris uki duresi da ukanasknel i saSual eba. mi sTvis mimarTva SeuZl ia mxol od gaTviTcnobierebul ers, romel - sac Segnebul i aqvs Tavisi interesebi, romel ic ganmartoebul i ar aris, romel sac yvel aferi windawinve gaTval iswinebul i aqvs da romel sac swams gamarj veba. vinaidan Tu aj anyeba damarcxda, bol Sevikebi mas sisxl is morevSi CaaRrCoben da ers mokl aven. es Cven yovel Tvis kargad unda gvaxsovdas da aj anyebis sakiTxis ganxil vis dros ar unda davkmayofil deT marto saqarTvel os viwro fargl ebiT, aramed mxedvel obaSi unda miviRoT rogorc ruseTis saerTo mdgomareoba, ise evropis Cvendami damokidebul eba. am ukanasknel ebze Cven qveviT SevCerdebiT da aq ki mowi naaRmdege Zal ebis SedarebiTi daxasiaTebiT daviwyebT, vinaidan TviT aj anyebis bedis gadaWraSi udidesi mniSvnel oba mebrZol Seiararebul Zal ebs eZl eva.

TviT bol Sevikebis sauwyebo moxsenebidan Cans, rom 1922 wl is pirvel i martisaTvis `okaSi- (kavkasiis sagangebo armia), romel sac kavkasiis oTxive respublikis teritoria upyria, _ j avSnian matarebl ebis da sxva wril `komandebis- gamokl ebiT da sagangebo nawil ebis darTviT iTvl eboda:

- 1) `komsastavi ~_ 3330 } 39960
- 2) wiTel i armiel ebi _ 36630
- 3) tyviis mfrqvevl ebi _ 534
- 4) zarbaznebi _ 104 (baTumis sacixovno artil eriis gamokl ebiT)

aqedan marto saqarTvel oSi iyo:

- 1) `komsastavi ~_ 2100 } 22439
- 2) wiTel i armiel ebi _ 20339
- 3) tyviis mfrqvevl i _ 274
- 4) zarbaznebi _ 64

Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT, rom imave cnobiT `okaSi- mxol od 31 aTasi To fi iTvl eba, rom am ricxvidan 20 %- mde uvargisia da agreTve imas, rom faqtiurad nawil ebis Semadgenl oba yovel Tvis formal ur ricxvze ufro

sustia, Cven SegviZl ia Tamamad vsTqvaT, rom aRni Snul i cifrebi maqsimal uria da rom sinamdvil eSi `okas- Semadgenl oba ufro sustia. magram radganac Cven agreTve viciT, rom ukeTesia mterze meti warmodgena gqondes, Cven ami tom mtros Zal as aRar SevamcirebT da Cvens angari SebSi am maqsimal uri cifrebiT vixel mZRvanel ebT.

maSasadame mTel `okaSi- iTvl eba 40 aTasamde mebrZol i. aqedan 22 aTasamde saqarTvel oSi dgas, xol o danarCeni 18 aTasi ki binadrops somxeTSi, azerbaijanSi, daRestanSi da nawil obriv Tergis ol qSi.

TviT saqarTvel oSi rusul i wiTel i jarebi ase arian ganawil ebul i: 1)Tbilisi_ 9000; 2)baTumi_ 4000; 3)quTaisi_ 3000; 4)Ilore_ 3000; 5)sxva adgil ebi_ 3000. kavkasiis danarCen sam respublikaTa Soris `okas- nawil ebi ase arian ganawil ebul i: 1)azerbaijanSi_ 8000, 2)daRestanSi da nawil obriv Tergis ol qSi_ 6000; 3)somxeTSi_ 4000.

ra Zal ebis gamoyvana SeuZl ia kavkasiis oTxive respublikas `okas- wi naaRmdog? Cven aq umTavresad SegviZl ia mebrZol saqarTvel oze vil aparakoT, vinai dan misi Zal ebis Sesaxeb srul iad utyuari da dasabuTebul i cnobebi gvaqvs. magram Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT zogierT nawyvet cnobebs da agreTve axl o warsul is istorias, romel ic mraval sayuradRebo sabuTs iZl eva, Cven SesaZl ebl oba gveZl eva danarCen sam respublikaTa mebrZol Zal ebzedac cotad Tu bevrad swori Sexedul eba viqoni oT.

antibol Sevikur mebrZol saqarTvel os exl axan Tofqves yavs Semdegi srul iad saimedo SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi: 1)qarTul i wiTel i l aSqari_ 5000; 2)mil iciidan da sxva cal ke razmebidan_ 3000; 3)sakuTari farul i samxedro organizacia_ 14000; sul 22000.

vimeoreb, es aris real uri, yovl ad saimedo da ukve mowesrigebul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi. gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis Rirsia aq aRni Snul i mesamerigis Zal ebi, roml ebic eyrdnopian Zvel i gvardiis organizacias da romel nic am Jamad saqarTvel os yvel a rCeul mebrZol ebs aerTebis. es organizacia faravs mTel saqarTvel os, yvel a kuTxeSi mas yavs Tavisi mtkice razmebi, roml ebic ara nakl eboci didi batal ionisa Seadgenen da roml ebsac ramdenime dReSi SeuZl iaTerTi- oraT gamravleba. danarCen sam respublikaTa pirveli rigis Zal ebi, roml ebsac aj anyebaSi Tavidanve SeuZl iaT monawil eobis miReba, daaxl oebiT aseTia:

I. azerbaijani: azerbaijanis wiTel i l aSqari da sxva adgil obrivi razmebidan_ 5000; 2)sakuTari Zal ebi, roml ebic pirvel daZaxebistanave gamovlen_ 8000. sul 13000

II. somxeti: 1)somxetis wiTel i l aSqari da sxva razmebidan_ 6000; 2)farul i samxedro organizacia_ 10000. sul _ 16000.

III. mTa: 1)sakuTari pirveli dakvris Zal ebi_ 4000

maSasadame, oTxive respublikas pirveli dakvrisTanave SeuZl ia gamoiyvanos 55 aTasamde SeiaraRebul i meamboxe. TumcaRa, es ricxvi srul iad ar aris gadaWarbebul i da saWi ro Jams oTxive respublika met Zal ebs gamoiyvanos, magram Cven mainc umj obesad migvaCni ar gadavaWarboT sakuTari Cveni Zal ebi da ami tom Cveni pirveli rigis saerto Zal ebis ufro cudi SemTxvevisatvis 50000 kacs viangari SebT.

amnairaT, `okas- 40000 mebrZol s pirveli dakvrisTanave daupirispirdeba 50000 meamboxe da am dapirispirebaSi yvel afris gadamwyveti swored es pi-

rvel i dakvra iqneba. Tu igi gamarj vebiT damTavrda da Tu oka Tavi danve damarcxda, kavkasiis respubl ikebi, mar to im iaraRis saSual ebiT, roml eb- sac ganTavisufi ebul teritoriaze SeiZenen, or kviraSi SesZl eben 100000_ mde gawvrTnil i da mowesrigebul i jaris gamoyvanas. am jarebis saSu- al ebiT ki Cven SevZl ebT mtkice mogeriebiTi omis warmoebas, sanam ucxo- eTidan sakmao iaraRs ar mivirebT da sanam raime axal i mZl avri faqtori ar Caereva Cveni Tavdacvis saqmeSi.

maSasadame, aq mTavari mniSvnel oba eZl eva ara imas, Tu ra mogviva Cven Tugin dbrwyi nval e aj anyebis meore dRes, roca ruseTi Zal - Rones moikrebs da axal Setevas daiwyebis, aramed imas, rom TviT es pirvel i dakvra brwyi n- val e gamarj vebiT damTavrdes da Cven Tavi danve SevZl oT `okas- gani ar- aReba. ami tom uwinares yovl isa, Cven am Sesazl ebl obas ganvixil avT.

rogorc vTqviT `okas- mTavari Zal ebi saqarTvel oSia moTavsebul i da TviT saqarTvel oSi mobinadre j arebis rCeul i da saimedonawil i (kursan- tebi, komunisturi razmebi, `Cekas- pol kebi da sx.) Tbil isSi imyofeba. Tbi- l isSive arian xel mZRvanel i Stabebi da mTavari central uri organoebi. ami tom, Tamamad gveTqmis, rom saqarTvel os teritoriaze mobinadre `okas- nawil ebis ganiaraReba iqneba igive `okas- srul i damarcxeba, vinai dan dan- arCen respubl ikebs aRar gauZnel debaT maT teritoriaze mdgomi mtris mcirerixovani j arebis damorCil eba. ki dev meti, mar to Tbil isis aReba, iq mdgomi rusis j aris ganiaraReba, sovna r komebis, Stabebis da `Cekebis- datyveve- ba, ukve iqneboda aj anyebis amerkavkasiis masStabiT gamarj veba. amas Zal ian kargad grZnobs mteri da swored amitom igi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas aqcevs Tbil iss da didis sifrTxil iT daraj obs mas. CvenC Sesaferi anga- riSi unda gavuwioT am faqts da ise unda vawarmoot Cveni samxedro samza- disi, rom mis centrSi yovel Tvis Tbil isi idges, rom aj anyebis dawyebi- sTanave SevZl oT am mTavari centr is xel Si Cagdeba. magram Sesazl ebel ia Tu ara es? amaze pasuxs isev mowinaaRmdege Zal ebis Seswavl a mogvcems.

rogorc vTqviT, Tbil isSi dabinavebul ia 9000- mde rusul i j ar i, roml is ricxvSi Sedian yvel a sagangebo da cal ke razmebi. aRni Snul i ricxvidan srul i ad saimedoda sakmaod mowesrigebul i arian kursantebi, (roml is mTavari nawil i dRes guriasia) da `Cekas- pol kebi, daaxl oebiT 6000- mde mebrZol i. TviT es nawil ebi erTad ar arian da Tbil isis sxvadasxva kuTxe- ebSi arian moTavsebul i. mebrZol saqarTvel os ki imave Tbil isSi hyavs: 1) qarTul i wiTel i l aSqari_ 2000; 2) rkinis gzis da qal aqis mil icia_ 1000, 3) sakuTari samxedro organizacia_ 1500. sul 4500 kaci.

amas unda daertos is garemoeba, rom Tbil iss Tan akravs gare kaxeTi, du- SeTis mazra, borCal o da mangl isis raioni, roml ebsac SeuZl iaT 24 saaTsi Tbil iss yovel mxriv Semoartyan 5000 meamboxe. Tu aj anyebas mtkice orga- nizacia eqneba, Tu igi savsebiT gaTval iswinebul i iqna da Tu TviT aj anye- bul Tbil isis Zal ebs droze da mwyobr ad davaxmareT aj anyebul Ta gareSe Zal ebi, Tbil isis aReba Zal ian gaadvil deba. dasasrul , Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT TviT aj anyebis fsiqol ogias, rom mis beds swyvets umTavresad ara meamboxeTa ricxvi, aramed maTi organizaciul i da sul ieri simtkice, Tbil isis aReba srul i ad saimedoda saqmed CaiTvl eba.

marTal ia, bol Sevi kebis Zl iereba imaSia, rom maT mowesrigebul i, erTad Sej gufebul i da SeekavSirebul i samxedro nawil ebi yavT, romel Ta xel Sia

zogierTi teqniki saSual ebani, magram, Tu TviT aj anyebas aqvs mtkice da medgari organizacia, sul advil ad SeiZl eba bol Sevikibi saRniSnul i Zl ierebis maTive sisusteT gadaqceva. amisaTvis sakmarisia xel mZRvanel i organobis winaswari dapatinreba, zogierTi saidumlo nawil is pirvel rigSiganiarareba da zogi teqniki saSual ebebis Tavidanve xel Si Cagdeba. magram, umTavresi sisuste bol Sevikibisa da Zl iereba aj anyebisa imaSi iqneba, rom bol Sevikibi Tavidanve mtris qveyanaSi igrZnoben TavS, rom maTsaqarTvel oSi arasad eyol ebaTaraviTari dasayrdeni sazogadoebrivi Zal da Cven kargad viciT am cecxl is Zl iereba, Tuki igi xal xis gul Sia antebuli, Tuki mas mTel ieris mtkice da Seuryevel i gadawyvetil eba asazrdoeb. da swored am mxriv Cven yvel aze ufro damSvidebul i da srul imediani varT.

Cven Tavidanve unda vicodeT, rom am sayovel Tao ganmatavisufi ebel i aj anyebis mowyoba, iniciativa da xel mZRvanel oba umTavresad saqarTvel om unda ikisros, vinaidan mTel s kavkasiaSi mxol od saqarTvel os aqvs amis fizikuri da moral uri SesaZl ebl oba. dRes kavkasiis yvel a nawil ebSi metad maRl a sdgas saqarTvel os saxeli, mTel i kavkasia umTavresad saqarTvel os misCerebia da amitom, mxol od mas SeuZl ia SeaTanxmos da erTad darazmos kavkasiis is antibol Sevikuri Zal ebi, roml ebic xSirad dResac ar arian SeTanxmebel ni da roml ebic cal - cal ke ibrZvian. magram Cven isic kargad unda vicodeT, rom am kidev SeuTanxmebel i Zal ebis dasarazmavad da Semdeg TviT aj anyebis gamarj vebiT dasamTavrebl ad, saqarTvel os dasWirdeba udi desiqonebrivi da fizikuri msxverpl is gaReba da Cven srul iad Segnebul ad unda gaviRoT es msxverpl i, vinaidan umisod kavkasiis fexze dayeneba SeuZl ebel ia. mowesrigebul i da srul iad real uri Zal ebi, jer mxol od saqarTvel os yavs. sxva respublikes, gansakuTrebiT ki mTas da azerbaijans, am Zal ebis udi desi potencia aqvT da maTi Zl ieri potencial uri Zal ebi, mxol od maSin mi iReben real ur saxeobas, Tu saqarTvel om aqtiuraT Caeria maT organizaciaSi da maTi darazmva Tavis sakuTar saqmed gaxada.

aseTia kavkasiis respublikaTa momaval i aj anyebis, saerTo pirobebi. Cven ufro dawvri l ebiT aRar SevCerdiT yovel ive aj anyebis aucil ebel pirobebze_xal xis masiur sul iskveTebaze, vinaidan Cven srul iad utyuar i cnobe gvaqvs imisa, rom mTel i xal xi srul iad winaarmdegia bol Sevikibisa aramarto saqarTvel oSi, aramed yvel a danarCen respublikesi ac. iqnebraime iWvi am mxriv somxeTze Segveparos, magram es iWvi mxol od imaze iqneba damyarebul i, rom somxeTis xal xi iqamdis ver auj anydeba bol Sevikes, sanam mas mtkice garantia ar eqneba imisa, rom mas xel axl a osmal eTi zurgSi satevars ar Cascems. magram es aris ara marto somxeTis sakiTxi, aramed es aris Cveni saerTo safrTxe, vinaidan veraviTar aj anyebas ver daviwyebT, Tu Cven winaswar osmal eTi dan Cveni zurgi ar uzrunvel vyaviT, Tu gind osmal eTis neutral itetis saxiT. da Tu osmal eTis mxridan dazRveul i viqnebiT, kavkasiis respublikes srul iad SeswevT fizikuri da sul ieri Zal a imisTvis, rom imaTma SesZl on Tavis kisri dan moskovi s okupaciis gadagdeba. magram, sworeT aq dgeba is metad didi sakiTxi, romel sac mebrZol i saqarTvel lo gviyenebs da romel ic SemdegSi gamoixateba: ras vizamT Tu gind gamarj vebul i aj anyebis meore dRes? vin iqneba Cveni damxmare, roca moskovi ruseTi dan axal j arebs mogvasevs? es friad mniSvnel ovani sakiTxi a da, ra-

sakvirvel ia mas gansakuTrebul i yuradRebiT unda moveqceT.

Cven ukve vsTqviT, rom aj anyebis samzadisis da misi perspectivebis gaTval - iswinebis dros, unda vixel mZRvanel oT ara mar to amierkavkasiis viwro masStabiT, aramed amasTanave seriozul i angariSi unda gavuwioT erTi mxriv saerTaSoriso situacias da meoreTi TviT ruseTis Sinaur mdgomareobas. Tu saerTaSoriso urTierToba Cvens winaarMdeg moewyo da amasTanave bol Sevi kebi TviT ruseTSi ganmtki cden, cxadia, amierkavkasiis aj anyeba mi utevebel avanturad CaiTvl eba. magram, Cvenda sabednierod, Cven vxedavT, rom faqtiurad Tanamedrove ruseTis uki duresi ekonomiuri krizisi TandaTan Rrmavdeba da amisda mi xedviT, gansakuTrebiT periferiebSi sustdeba bol Sevi kebis xel isufl eba. amasTanave Cven viciT, rom safrangeTi da mcire antanta pol oneTianad bol Sevikuri da militaristul i ruseTis winaarMdegia. es winaarMdegoba srul iad ar aris SemTxveviTi, radganac igi did da xangr - Zliv interesebzea damyarebul i. dRes safrangeTia xmel eTis uZl ieresi saxel mwi fo. es misi Zl iereba Tavis nawil Si eyrdnoba mcire antantas da pol oneTs, roml ebi c TviT aRmocendnen sami imperiis nangrebeze. ruseT - gegmaniis daaxl oeba da maTi gaZl iereba niSnavs mcire antantis da pol oneTis dasustebas. amnairaT, msofli o omis evropam Seqmna srul iad axal i da metad Zl ieri interesebi, roml ebi Tac Tanamedrove ruseTis winaarMdegia da romel ic damouki debl obisaTvis mebrZol kavkasiis mxarezea. maSasadame Tanamedrove saerTaSoriso asparezze ukve moi poveba iseTi real uri Zal ebi, roml ebi c obieqturad arian daiinteresebul i kavkasiis damouki debl obis aRdgenaSi. Tu amas daumatebT agreTve imas, rom evropis sazogadoebrivi azri da gansakuTrebiT ki muSaTa kl asis mxurval e simpaTia, mebrZol i saqarTvel os da kavkasiis mxarezea, TamamaT gveTqmis, rom Cveni momaval i aj anyeba metad xel sayrel pirobebSi moxdeba.

aRsaniSnavia, rom saqarTvel oSi yofnis dros, Cven ufro ganmar toebul i viyaviT, vidre dRes. exl a Cven ufro gvicnoben, met yuradRebas gvaqceven da met interestiCenen Cvendami. magram, miuxedavad yovel ive amisa, Cven im dromde ver avRmarTavT aj anyebis droSas, sanam zogierT srul iad real ur dapi rebebs ar mi vi RebT da sanam faqtiurad uzrunvel yofil i ar viqnebiT osmal eTidan. es dapi rebebi unda gamoixatebodes mxol od Tavis droze iaraRis mowodebaSi da sexsis mocemaSi. Cven ar gvinda ucxoel i damxmarej arebi, Cven arc exl ave moviTxovT iaraRs mebrZol i saqarTvel osTvis. Cven mxol od gvinda darwmunebul i viyoT imaSi, rom bol Sevi kebis gadagdebi sTanave Cven mi vi RebT sakmao iaraRs, raTa dauyovnebl iv SevqmnaT ganTavisufl ebul respublikaTa damcvel i j arebi da agreTve SeviZinoT is sanovage, roml iTac j arebs SevinaxavT. Tu am mxrit Cven gveqna srul iad real uri garantiebi, maSin uSiSraT daviwyebT aj anyebas da ki devac gavimarj vebT. sqematuraT TviT aj anyeba Cven ase gvaqvs warmodgenil i:

II

SeZl ebisamebr aj anyeba yvel a respublikebSi erTsa da imave dros unda daiwyos. aj anyebis iniciatori, misi mTavari momwyobi, xel mZRvanel i da gadamwyveti faqtori saqarTvel o iqneba. Tu mTI ad ara, nawil obriv mainc aj anyeba yubansac moedeba. aj anyebis centri da misi uaxl oesi mizani Tbil isi

i qneba. Tbil isis Semdeg mTavari mni Svel oba baqos, baTums, quTai ss, ganj as da erevans eZl eva. am centrebis xel Si Cagdeba, ukve iqneba aj anyebis amierkavkasi is masStabi T gamarj veba. xol o gamarj vebul i aj anyeba ki mogvcems sakmaris i araRs Zl ieri j aris Sesai araRebl ad Semdegi angari Si T: 1) ukve exl a oTxive respubl ikis xel Si 50000 Tofamdea; 2) okas- nawil ebis gani araRebis da yvel a sawyobebis xel Si Cagdebis Semdeg, Cven Sevi ZenT ara nakl eb 60000 Tofs.

amnairaT, gamarj vebul i aj anyebis meore dResve Cven gankargul ebaSi iqneba 100000- ze meti Tofi. amas unda daematos 700- mde tyviismfrqvevel i, 100- ze meti zarbazani, ramodenime j avSniani matarebel i da avtomobil i da ara nakl eb 20 mil ion i vazna. yvel a am i araRis saSual ebi T Cven advil ad Sev- Zl ebT 2- 3 kviris ganmavl obaSi sakmaod Zl ieri j arebi Sevai araRoT da yovel nairaT movawyoT. es mi T ufro advil i iqneba, rom Ti Tqm is yvel a respubl i kebs exl ac yavT adgil obrivi wiTel i j arebi, roml ebi c antibol Seviku rad arian ganwyobil ni da romel Ta organizaciebi aj anyebis Tanave gada iqcevan im samxedro ConCxebaT, roml ebsac adre SeesxmebaT nacional uri j arebis sisxl i da xorci. rasakvirvel ia, am axal i j arebis Seqmna- mowesrigebaSi ac mTavari rol i saqarTvel om unda iTamaSos, radganac mas yvel aze ufro Senaxul i samxedro organizaciebi aqvs, rogorc regul arul i j arisa ise gvardi isa da mas mra val i oficroba yavs. amnairaT, saqarTvel os udi desi mni Svel oba eqneba aj anyebis mosawyobi wi naswari muSaobis dros. radgan: 1) mas mouxdeba Tavisi saukeTeso organ izatorebis da saWi ro ful is mezobl ebSi gagzavna. 2) aj anyebis dros, mTavari simZimis aReba mas sakuTriv daWirdeba. mezobl ebis mxneobis gasamtkicebl ad, masve mouxdeba Tavisi oficrebis da rCeul i nawil ebis mezobl ebSi wargzavna. aseT pirobebSi axl ad da saswrafod Seqmni l 100 aTasi ani j aris saSual ebi Tac kavkasi is respubl ikebi SeZl eben mtkice da imediani Tavdacvis mowyobas. es ki dev ufro gaadvil ebda, Tu aj anyeba Savi zRvis ol qs, yubans da nawil obriv ukrainasac moedo. Tumca am SesaZl ebl obebis zogierTi real uri simptom- ebi Cven dResac gvaqvs. Cven mainc ar gvinda gavarTul oT Cveni angari Si odnav probl ematuri mosazrebi T da srul is rwmeni T vambobT, rom moxerxebul dros mar to amierkavkasi is SeTanxmebul i da sayovel Tao aj anyebac srul i ad sakmarisia Cveni ganTavisuf l ebisaTvis. am SemTxvevisTvis Savi zRvis ol qs, sadac aj anyeba aucil ebel ia, Cven amierkavkasi as vakuTvnebT.

aj anyebul i da ganTavisuf l ebul i kavkasi is respubl i kaTa wi naaRmdeg mo- skovs dasWirdeba ramdenime armi is ricxvi T ara nakl eb 200000 kacis da- groveba. es armi ebi man an Sida ruseTidan unda gadmoi yvanos, anda unda moxsnas dasavl eTis frontidan, radganac ufro axl os mas arsad yavs sak- ma o Tavisu fal i Zal ebi. magram Tu Cven mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT ruseTis transportis ukidures daqvei Tebas da agreTve imasac gavi Tval iswi nebT, rom am vrcel i masStabi T 200 aTasi j ariskacis da misi sanovage- mowyobi- l obis gadasatanaT saWi ro iqneba ara nakl eb 600 matarebl isa, Cven advil ad davrwundebi T, rom am j aris dasagrovebl ad da mis mier gamosaval i mdgo- mareobis (isxodnoe pol oJenie) dasakavebl aT saWi ro iqneba sul ukanaskne- l i 6 kviris vada. da swored am Tvenaxebris ganmavl obaSi oTxive ganTa- visuf l ebul ma respubl ikebma fexze unda daayenon yvel a Tavisi samxedro Zal ebi, unda amowuron mTel i Tavisi aqtiuroba da ucxoetidan unda mi-

iRon saWiro iaraRi da ful i axal i j arebis gamosawvevaT, mosawyobaT da SesanaxavaT. yvel a am zomebis miRebis Semdeg oTxive respubl ika SeZl ebs Semdegi Zal ebis gamoyvanas: 1)saqarTvel o_ 15 wl is mobil izaciiT da TiTo wel Si ukanasknel i 8 aTasi_ 120000; 2)somxeTi_ 15 wl is mobil izaciiT da TiTo wel Si 4 aTasi_ 60000; 3)azerbaijani_ 15 wl is mobil izaciiT da TiTo wel Si_ 30000; 4)mTa_ 15 wl is mobil izaciiT da TiTo wel Si_ 10000. sul _ 220000.

amnairaT, mxol od 15 wl is mobil izaciiT saSual ebiT oTxive respubl ikebs SeuZl ia TofqveS daayenon aranakl eb 220000 mebrZol i. es ricxvi gadaWarbebul ad ar unda CaiTval os, radganac, Cven mxol od 15 samobil izacio wel i gaviTval iswineT da TiToeul i wl isTvisac metad mcire saSual o ricxvi aviReT. magram Cven 20 %- s mainc gamovakl ebT miRebul saerTo ricxvsac, raTa srul ad gaduWarbebel i cifrebi miviRoT. am 20 %- is gamokl ebis Semdeg Cven dagvrCeba 180000 meomramde, romel Ta saSual ebiTac amierkavkasiam unda awarmoos Tavis Tavdacva. am Zal ebiT Tavis dacva miT ufro SesaZl ebel i da advilia, rom mters mxol od ramdenime Semosatevi mimarTul eba eqneba, rom mas umTavresad sagareo saoperacio xazebiT daWirdeba sargebl oba da Cven ki mometebul ad Sinagani saoperacio mimarTul ebebi gveqneba. Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT imas, rom mtris mTavari mimarTul ebebi iqneba derbenti, darial i da gagra, Cveni Zal ebis ganawil eba ase mogvi xdeba: 1)derbentis WiSkris da saerTod daRestnis dasacavaT_ 50000; 2)Savi zRvis napi rebis gasamagrebl ad_ 20000; 3)darial is xeobisaTvis_ 10000; 4)mami sonis uRel texil isaTvis_ 50000; 5)Crdil oetis sxva gadasavl el ebis dasakavebl ad_ 10000; 6)samxreTis sazRvrebis uzrunvel sayofad_ 30000; sul _ 125 000.

amis Semdeg, Cvens gankargul ebaSi darCeba 55000- mdej ariskaci, romel ic saerTo rezervs Seadgens da roml is daZvra saWiroebisamebr yovel mxriv SegveZl eba. Cven aq Segnebul ad ar gamogviyvia cal ke jari Sinauri wesrigis dasacavad da sxva da sxva mniSvnel ovani samsaxuris Sesasrul ebl ad, radganac amas Cinebul ad Seasrul ebs moxal iseTa cal ke razmebi da amiT uzrunvel yofs jaris nawil ebis zedmeti dabandebisagan. aseT pirobebSi Cven SevZl ebT xangrZl ivi Tavdacva vawarmovoT da am xnis ganmavl obaSi dainteresebul i evropama Tu im saxiT Caereva Cven brZol aSi da SeaCerebs bol Sevikibis Semotevas.

aseTia mokl ed da sqematurad Cveni ganTavisufl ebis perspeqtivebi. Cveni azrit, umTavresi faqtori am ganTavisufl ebis aris kavkasiis respubl ikaTa sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. magram aq xel axl a xazgasmiT unda gavimeoro, rom TviT aseTi sayovel Tao aj anyeba mxol od im SemTxvevaSia SesaZl ebel i Tu osmal eTi aj anyebul respubl ikebs zurgidan ar daeca da amiT TavSive ar moguda aj anyeba. amnairaT, osmal eTis neutral izacias kavkasiis ganTavisufl ebisatvis udi desi mniSvnel oba aqvs, xol o TviT es neutral izacia, ori pirobit aris SesaZl ebel i: Tu osmal eTma gareSe bol Sevikibisa iSova saWiro iaraRis wyaro da Tu somxeTma Tavidanve ar wamouyena didi pretenziebi osmal eTis somxeTis teritoriaze. amitom, am sakiTxebis irgvl iv Cven udi desi muSaoba gymarTebis da osmal eTis neutral obis Tavdebi romel imeZl ieri evropel i saxel mwifo unda gaxdes. aseT pirobebSi kavkasiis SeTanxmebul i da erTdroul i aj anyeba srul iad real ur saqmed xdeba. amastan erTad Cven udi desi angariSi unda gavuwioT drosa da da

vadas aj anyebi sas. es imas ar ni Snavs, rom Cven exl ave unda davni SnoT saaTi da dRe aj anyebi sa. magram Cven savsebi T unda Sevi gnoT, rom Tu ki dev di dxans gagrZel da arsebul i mdgomareoba, Cveni poziciebi aramc Tu gamtkicdebian, aramed Zal ze Sesustdebian da TviT ganTavisuflebis saqme Soreul i momavl is burusSi Cai kargeba. amasTanave dabedSavebul i Cveni xal xis moTminebis fial ac aivseba, misi gul iswyroma da dagrovebul i protesti yovelive organizaciul farglebs gadal axavs, igi daiwyebis sakuTari gzebis Zebnas da anarqiis saSinel cecxli Si gadavardeba. amis saSisi da damafiqrebel i simptomebi Cven ukve gvaqvs. es simptomebi jer ver Zlierdebian da ver imarj veben, radganac qarTvel xal xs didi sazogadoebrivi da saorganizacio skol a qvs gavli i. magram, Tu droze ar miveciT imediani gamosaval i xal xis gul iswyromas da mtkice ndobas, xal xi Tavisas izams da anarqiis cecxli Si Caiwveba. bol Sevikuri maxvil i ki daasrul ebs mis ganadgurebas. es iqneboda eris sikvdili da Cveni sakiTxis didi xniT dasamareba. amitom, Tumca Cven kargad viciT, rom gadamwyveti mniSvel oba membrZol Zal Ta obieqtur erTianobas aqvs, magram Cven arc is unda daviviwyoT, rom Tavisuflebis aTvis brZol aSi xal xis subieqtur sul iskveTebasac metad didi roli ekuTvnis. da Tu Cven yvel afers miudgomlad awondawoniT, Tu Tanabrad Seviswavi iT obieqtur da subieqtur pirobebs, unda vsTqvaT, rom dayovnebis dro aRar aris. Cven unda vaRiaroT, rom nawil i Cveni muSaobisa, ukve dasrul da da rom am mxriv Cven dRes ufro Zlieri da uzrunvel yofil i varT, vidre guSin.

1) iuridiul ad Cveni pozicia ufro gamtkicda da dipl omatiuraT amaze metis gakeTebis imedi Cven aRar unda gvqondes; 2) ruseTis krizisi dRes ufro gaRrmavda da exla bol Sevicebi faqtiurad ufro sustni arian, vidre genuis win; 3) Cven damoukidebl obas evropis did interesebSi aqvs niadagi da 4) Cven ukve miviReT seriozul i dapireba i araRiT da ful iT daxmarebisa.

exla mTavari muSaoba TviT oTxive respublikaTa gul Si unda gadavides da swored adgil obriv unda vamzadoT SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. mSvidobi ani mani festaciebis da protestebis xana damTavrda. exla dagvrCa mxol od erTisaSual eba: protesti i araRiT, anu sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. Cven aq am aj anyebis verc pl ans da misi drois fiqsacias movaxdenT. es gegma adgil obriv unda SemuSavdes da vadis fiqsaciad iq moxdeba. aq Cven mxol od saerto sqemis Sedgena da daaxloebiTi vadis Cveneba SegviZlia. saertod unda iTqvas, rom aj anyebas ori saukeTeso dro aqvs_ Semodgoma da gazafxuli. Cven ufro xel sayrel ad Semodgoma migvaCnia da Cveni mosazreba aseTia: I). ukve Sua seqtembridan kavkasiis uRel texil ebs daTovs da Semosatev gzebs an srul i ad daxuravs, an da gaaZnel ebs; II). Semodgomaze ruseTis rkinigzebs metad didi samuSao eqnebaT sazamtromomargebisatvis da esel onebis masiuri gadazidva bol Sevicebis momaragebis pl ans daabrkol ebs. III). SemodgomiS Sua xanidan xal xi yvel aze ufro Tavisufal ia da metis xal isiT gamova sabrZol vel ad; IV). Semodgomaze vol gasgayinavs da amis gamo esel onebis gadazidvis mTel i simZime rkinis gzas daaweba.

amitom, Cveni Rrma rwmeniT, Cven yovelive zomebi unda vixmaroT, raTa am 4-5 TveSi mTel i samzadisi movaTavoT da Semdeg erTobaSi mZl avrad davar-tyaT. Tu SemodgomiT es samzadisi ver movaTaveT, aj anyebis ukanasknel i vada unda CaiTval os momaval i gazafxuli da Tu verc maSin movawyveT es

aj anyeba, cxadi iqneba, rom misi SeZl eba aRar gvaqvs, rom Cven sakuTar Zal ebze xel i unda aviRoT da istoriul i inerciis usicocxl o tal Rebs unda mi vendot. es iqnebi da Cveni sikotris da srul i uZl urebis maCvenebe-
l i.

sabedni erod saqme srul i adac ar aris ase unugeSo. Cven SevecadeT gveCvene-
bina, rom Cvens ganTavisufi ebas saerTo aj anyebis saSual ebiT srul i ad
real uri niadagi aqvs. saWi roa mxol od evropaSi dipl omatiuri da gan-
sakuTrebiT adgil obrivi praqtikul i muSaobis gaaskeceba. amisTvis ki
umTavresad ful ia saWi ro. saqarTvel oSi mebrZol ma amxanagebma muSaobis
Sesafer niadagze dasayenebl ad da mezobl ebTan mtkice kavSiris gsab-
mel ad, TveSi 65 aTasi Turqul i qaRal dis l ira mogvTxoves. Cven kargad
viciT, rom am Tanxis Sovna Cven ar SegviZl ia. magram amastanave Cven isic
kargad viciT, rom am muSaobisTvis TveSi aranaki ebi 20 aTasi l irisa aris
saWi ro. da Cven arc es ful i gvaqvs. da swored am dros, roca gaZl ierebu-
l i da gadi debul i muSaobaa saWi ro, Cven uful obis gamo iZul ebul i vxdeb-
iT ki dev ufro SevamciroT da SevboWoT Cveni muSaoba. es ki mTel i dawye-
bul i saqmis CaSl as udris. amitom, exl axan CvenTvis yvel aze seriozul i
didi da pirvel i sakiTxi_ ful is Sovnis sakiTxia. Cven unda gavxeTqoT
miwa da ramodenime milioni franki aucil ebl ad unda viSovoT. ful is
Sovna ki SeiZl eba, Tu TviT noe Jordania daiZra da Tu Cven dai nteresebul
saxel mwifoebS Sesaferi konvenciebi miveciT. Cven is azriT, mTavrobis Tavmj -
domarem noe Jordani am finansTa ministris Tanxl ebiT am mizniT unda
inaxul os safrangeTis, bel giis, Cexosl ovakiis da pol oneTis mTavrobis
meTaurebi. damouki debel i saqarTvel o da kavkasia Sedis am saxel mwifoTa
interesebSi da amitom isini Cven mogvcems sesxs.

vimeoreb, ful s CvenTvis exl a gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba aqvs. Tu ful i
i qna, Cveni saqme naxebrad gakeTebul ad unda Cai Tval os. meore naxevaes aj an-
yebul i xal xi daasrul l ebs.

1922w. 10 ivnisi. q.konstantinopol i. v.j uRel i

dokumenti # 2

saqarTvel oSi SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis momzadebis Sesaxeb, al .zaqariaZis mier stambol is pol itikuri komisiis winaSe 1922 wl is ivniSi gakeTebul i samxedro moxseneba.

srul iad saiduml od

saqarTvel os aRdgena. kavkasi is ganTavisufl ebis samxedro sqema

saqarTvel os da mTel i kavkasi is ganTavisufl ebis mTavari faqtori iqneba sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. mTavari momwyobi da xel mZRvanel i am aj anyebisa unda iqnes saqarTvel o. TviT aj anyeba SesaZl ebel i iqneba mxol od maSin, roca erTis mxrit uzrunvel yofil i iqneba osmal eTis neutral iteti da meoreTi ganTavisufl ebis Semdeg evropis dauyovnebl ivi daxmarebis srul i imedi gveqneba iaraRiT da ful iT. aj anyeba agreTve SesaZl ebel i da aucil ebel i iqneba maSinac, Tu ruseTi did omSi Caeba anda Tu TviT Si da ruseTSi gadatrial eba moxda. magram es SemTxvevebi imdenad udavoa, rom me maTze ar SevCerdebi.

aRniSnul i winaswari pirobebis miRebis Semdeg saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba sayovel Tao aj anyebis saSual ebiT srul iad SesaZl ebel saqmed xdeba, magram amistvis aucil ebl ad saWiroa, rom aj anyebaSi aqtiurad Caebas azerbaij ani da masTanve amoxeba moedos mTaSi, yubanSi da agreTve somxeTSi. Tu somxeTi aqtiurad ver Caeba aj anyebaSi, man yovel SemTxvevaSi neutral iteti mainc unda dai cvas. aseT pirobebSi aj anyebas srul iad mtkice da yovl ad saimedoni adagi eqneba. mokl eT Cveni angariSi aseTia: TumcaRa, sxvadasxva cnobebis mixedvit mtkicdeba, rom exl axan mTel saqarTvel oSi dgas ara umetes 13 aTasi rusul i wiTel i j ar i, magram Cven mainc mas 15- 17 aTass viangariSebT, radganac yovel Tvis umj obesia mtris Zal is gadaWarbeba. es Zal ebi ase ganawil ebul i: 1)Tfil isSi_ 5- 6 aTasi; 2)baTum_ foTi_ soxumi_ 3- 4 aTasi; 3)guria_ 3 aTasi; 4)quTaisi_ 2 aTasi; 5)kaxeTi da l ore_ 2 aTasi. sul 15- 17 aTasi.

Seni Svna: Tanaxmad ivni sis (22 wl is) `svodkisa- mTel `okaSi- (daRestani ar Sedis) iricxeboda `ConiT- da special uri nawil ebi ana 33 aTasi mWamel i. amaTsi `xiSti- iqneba ara umetes 22 aTasi. 1)saqarTvel oSi_ 12 aTasi; 2)azerbaij anSi_ 6 aTasi; 3)somxeTSi_ 4 aTasi. amas daemateba: 1)azerbaij anSi_ 5 aTasi; somxeTSi_ 3 aTasi da 3)daRestan_ mTaSi_ 6 aTasi. sul 14- 15 aTasi.

amnairad, exl axan mTel s `okaSi- iqneba ara umetes 30 aTasi kacisa. am Zal is winaaRmdeg Cven SegviZl ia pirvel i saWiroebisTanave gamovi yvanoT Semdegi Zal ebi: 1)qarTul i wiTel i l aSqari_ 3 aTasi; 2)qarTul i mil icia_ 3- 4 aTasi; 3)saiduml o samxedro organizacia 18- 20 aTasi. sul 24- 27 aTasi.

rac Seexeba qarTul j ars, igi srul iad saimedoa da miuxedavad mraval i oficrebis datusaRebisa, am j aris 90 % antibol Sevikuria. dRes qarTul j arSi 5000 mWamel i iTvl eba da aqedan 3000 meamboxis gamoyvana SeiZl eba.

Cveni cnobebi T, mTel i mil iciis 60_85 % antibol Sevikuria. mTel saqarTvel oSi es Seadgens ara nakl eb 3-4 aTas kacss. magram Cven vici T, rom saqarTvel oSi aj anyebaSi mTavar rol s verc mcirericxovani qarTul i jari da verc dafantul i mil icia ver iTamaSebs. momaval i aj anyebis umTavresi da gadamwyveti Zal a iqneba Cveni saiduml o samxedro organizacia, romel ic umTavresad Zvel i gvardiis organizaciebs eyrdnoba da romel ic exl axans yvel a saimedo Zal ebs Tavsvyris. es organizaciebi faraven mTel saqarTvel os da ukve dRes yavT maT mowesrigebul i da aRnusxul i 20 aTasamde kaci. aqedan 16 aTasamde ukve SeiaraRebul ia. am organizacias saTaveSi yavs Tavisi mTavari Stabi, romel ic instruqciebs iRebs politikuri centridan da romel sac TiToeul mazraSi yavs sruli admocili viwro Stabebi. momaval i aj anyebis momwyobi da xel mZrvanel i iqneba es mTavari Stabi, romel Siac Sedian rogorc politikuri moRvaweebi, ise samxedro special istebic.

amnairaT, samxedro Tval sazrisiT, mebrZol i saqarTvel o warmoadgens mTli an central ur organizms, roml is erTdroul i da mtkice amoqmedeba SeuZli a xel mZRvanel centrs da roml is gankargul ebaSi ukve dRes aris ara nakl eb 20 aTasi SeiaraRebul i mebrZol i. ufro cudaT aris am mxriv saqme mowyobil i azerbaij anSi, mTasi da somxeTSi. am sam respublikata Soris, rasakvirvel ia samxedro mxrit yvel aze ufro dawinaurebul ia **somxeTi**, radganac masze vrcel deboda sayovel Tao samxedro begara da radganac somxeTis xel mZRvanel politikuri partias_ daSnakcutiuns aqvs xangrZli vi konspiraciul i samxedro tradicia, yovel SemTxvevaSi CvenTvis sruli ad udavo, rom aj anyebis dros somxeTs SeuZli ia 15 aTasamde SeiaraRebul i meamboxis gamoyvana, roml ebic erT dResi ganTavisufli eben somxeTs bol Sevikuri okupaciisagan. magram, radganac somxeTs Zli ier eSinia osmal eTis, SesaZli ebel ia man aj anyebis pirvel aqtsi ver mi iRos monawil eoba da manac neutral iteti daicvas. asTi neutral iteti aj anyebas moakl ebs 15 aTas mebrZol s, magram am gamokl ebas aj anyebis bediRbi isaTvis ar eqneba gadamwyveti mniSvneloba, radganac mTel somxeTSi sdgas ara umetes 3 aTasi rusuli jarisa.

azerbaj ans ar qonda sayovel Tao samxedro begara da mas arc samxedro farul i organizaciebis didi tradicia aqvs. magram samagieroT azerbaij ans aqvs is, rac akl ia saqarTvel os da somxeTs_ mebrZol i el ementebis adgil obrivi darazmva romel ime gavleniani pirovnebis irgvl iv da farTo kavSiri am cal ke SeiaraRebul j gufes Soris. am mxriv azerbaij ani metad sayuradRebo samxedro Zal as warmoadgens, romel sac sruli Zli ierebisatvis mxol od central izacia akl ia. Tu ra sagraZnobia es Zal a, amas mowmobs ara mar to somex- TaTarTa winandel i erTmaneTis darbeva, aramed umTavresad is samagal iTo faqti, rom SeiaraRebul i TaTrebis brboebi, Samxal - ganj is midamoebSi am ramdenime wl is winat axerxebdnen ruseTis jarebis mraval da Zli ier eSeli onebis ganjaraRebas. Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT am axlo warsulis magal itebis, da zogierT dRevandel cnobebis, Cven SegviZli ia sruli i rwmeniT vtqvat, rom azerbaij ans aj anyebis pirvel dResve SeuZli ia fexze daayenos ara nakl eb 13-14 aTasi mebrZol isa. daaxl oebi Tamave mdgomareobaSia mTa, sadac mTavar Zal as daRestani warmoadgens. mar to daRestans SeuZli ia pirvel daxebisTanave wamoayenos ara nakl eb 3 aTasi mebrZol isa da mTel mTas ki daaxl oebi T 5 aTasamde. amnairaT, oTxive respub-

likas SeuZl ia pirvel saWiroebisTanave gamoiyvanos 55 aTasi SeiaraRebuli meamboxe. Tu somxeTma neutraliteti daicva, maSin danarCeni sami respublika mainc SesZl ebs pirvel i dakvrisTvis 40 aTasamde SeiaraRebuli mebrZolis gamoyvanas. am 40 aTas meamboxes `oka- daupirispirebs (somxeTis gamokl ebiT) ara umetes 28 aTas rusul wiTel armiel s.

TavisTavad cxadia, rom aj anyebis sasurvel masStabSi mosawyobaT, dauyovnebl iv unda Seiqmnas saerTo xel mZRvanel i centri (nawil obrivigi ukve Seqmnil ic aris) da rac yvel aze aucil ebel ia, aseTi aj anyebis mowyobaSi saqarTvel om unda iTamaSos metad aqtiuri roli ara mar to Tavis sakuTar sazRvrebSi, aramed mezobl ebSiac. somxeTs yavs sakmarisi adgil obrivi Zal ebi, magram azerbaijans da mTas akl ia rogorc pol itikuri xel mZRvanel ebi, ise samxedro saimedo muSakebi. amitom, saqarTvel o val debul ia exl ave wargzavnos am TavianT mezobl ebSi erTic da meorec. es rasakvirvel ia, ar iqneba maT Sinaur saqmeebSi Careva, magram, es iqneba saerTo frontis Seqmna da misi ganmtkiceba. xel mZRvanel oba mTaSic da azerbaijanSiac adgil obrivi xal xis xel Si iqneba da saqarTvel odan wargzavnil i pirebi maT mxol od rogorc special istebi daexmarebian. yvel aze ufro saWiro iqneba am mezobl ebisTvis saimedo oficrebi. ukanasknel msofi io omis dros, ruseTis jarSi iricxeboda 6 aTasamde qarTvel i oficeri. am ramodeni me wl is ganmavl obaSi CvenC SeviZineT 200- 300 axal i qarTvel i oficeri. dRes mTel saqarTvel oSi moi poveba ara nakl eb 3000 saimedo da mxne oficeri, roml ebiC Tavdadebul adibrZol eben saqarTvel os aRdgenisaTvis da kavkasi is ganTavisufli ebisaTvis. am ricxvidan Cven SegviZl ia 500 oficramde mezobl ebSi gavgzavnoT.

Cven Tavidanve unda SevignoT, rom aj anyebis mTavari momwyobi, xel mZRvanel i da mamozravebel i unda iqnes saqarTvel o. igi ar unda dakmayofil des mar to Tavis fargl ebiT da Tavis brZol a da daxmareba mezobl ebSiac unda gadai tanos. mxol od aseT pi robebSi aj anyeba mi iRebs sasurvel masStabs da uZl evel i gaxdeba. radganac `okas- mTavari Zal ebi saqarTvel oSi binadrops da agreTve Tbil isic saqarTvel oSi mdebareobs, TviT saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebas da Tbil isis aRebas mTel i kavkasi isTvis eqneba gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba. amitom me aq srul iad cal ke ganvixil av aj anyebis saSual ebiT saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis SesaZl ebl obas.

rogorc vTqvi, exl axan saqarTvel os saiduml o samxedro organizacia aerTebS 20 aTasamde mebrZol s, romel Ta Soris ara nakl eb 16- 17 aTasi SeiaraRebul ia. es Zal ebi asea ganawil ebul i:

dasavl eT saqarTvel o

- 1)soxumis ol qi_ 1000
- 2)zugdidis mazra_ 700
- 3)senakis mazra_ 800
- 4)foTi_ 400
- 5)baaTumi_ 400
- 6)guria_ 1800
- 7)samtrediis rai oni_ 1000
- 8)quTaisi_ 700

aRmosavl eT saqarTvel o

- 1)xaSuris rai oni_ 500
- 2)axal cixis mazra_ 400
- 3)axal qal aqis mazra_ 300
- 4)goris mazra_ 1000
- 5)mangl isis rai oni_ 300
- 6)borCal os mazra_ 400
- 7)duSeTis rai oni_ 800
- 8)yazbegis rai oni_ 400

9)I eCxumi_ 500
10)raWa_ 300
11)svaneTi_ 1500
12)Sorapnis mazra_ 1600

9)TianeTis mazra_ 300
10)Tbil isi midamoebiT_ 2000
11)gare kaxeTi_ 1000
12)Tel avis mazra_ 800
13)siRnaRis mazra_ 1000

sul _ 10700

sul _ 9200

rogorc vTqvi, amas unda daematos 2- 3 aTasi qarTul i I aSqari da 3- 4 aTasi saimedo mil icia. amnairaT, dRes mebrZol saqarTvel os gankargul e- baSia 22 aTasi Seiararebul i meamboxe, romel Ta gamoyvana mas pirvel i dax- marebisTanave SeuZl ia. es Zal a TiTqmis TanasworaT aris ganawil ebul i aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel os Soris. aj anyebis dros udidesi mniSvel oba eqneba erTdroul obas da si swrafes. saqarTvel om erTi darts- ymi T unda gadaagdos okupaciis uRel i, raTa maSinve SeZl os damxmare Zal e- bi gaugzavnos mezobl ebs da Zl ier gaamagros mexadiris da darubandis WiSkari. amiTvis ki saWiroa garkveul i da mwyobri winaswari gegma. TviT gegma samaT unda ganiyofodes: 1)aj anyebis winaswari samzadi si; 2)TviT aj anyeba da 3)aj anyebis Semdeg.

I. winaswari samzadi si

winaswari samzadi si unda gamoi xatebodes Zal ebis Tavisi moyraSi, maT darazm- vaSi da urTierT Soris mtkice kavSiris gabmaSi. aqac saqarTvel om xe- l mZRvanwl i roli unda iTamaSos. unda arsebobdes viwro da mtkice xe- l mZRvanel i Stabi, romel sac xel Si eqneba kavkasiis aj anyebis Zafebi. TviT Stabi unda binadrobdes Tbil isSi da rom aj anyebis farTo masStabi uzrun- vel yofil i iqnas, am xel mZRvanel Stabs Tavisi saimedo da pasuxi smgebel i warmomadgenl ebi da organizatorebi unda yavdes azerbaijanSi, somxeTSi, mTaSi, yubanSi da soWis ol qSi. aj anyeba yvel gan erT da imave dros unda moxdes da TiToeul mxares, ol qs da raions Tavisi garkveul i gegma unda qondes. ise rom, TiToeul i cal ke amocana unda emsaxurebodes da amtkiceb- des mTavar saerTo gegmas. gansakuTrebul i yuradReba unda mieqces zogi- erTi strategiul ad mniSvel ovani punqtebis dacvas. magram, es taqtikuri detal ebi adgil obriv StabebSi unda SemuSavdes. Tu yubanSi da sazoga- doT Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi saerTo aj anyeba ar moxerxda, aucil ebel i da masTanve srul iad SesaZl ebel ia im strategiul i gzebis gafuWebi, roml i- Tac SemdegSi ruseTs amierkavkasiis sawinaaRmdegod SeuZl ia sargebl oba. winaswarve gansakuTrebul i yuradReba unda mieqces Tbil iss, radganac mis aRebas, rogorc samxedro da saxel mwifoebri vi centris, gadamwyveti mniSvel oba eqneba mTel i amierkavkasiisaTvis. amitom, TviT es samzadi si ise unda iyos organizebul i, rom Tbil isis aReba pirvel i dakvrisTanave moxdes. Tu Tbil isi gamagrda da man brZol a daiwyo, es ukve iqneba aj anye- bis sanaxevrod damarcxeba. Tbil isis erTbaSad aReba srul iad uzrunve- l yofil i rom gaxdes, saWiroa winaswarve provinci ebidan Tbil isSi 100_ 200 gamocdil i da mtkice mebrZol is gadmoyvana. maT TviT Tbil isSi dae-

mateba 300_ 400 Tavdadebul i meamboxe da es 500 kaci Seadgens im saimedo fol ads, romel ic ganamtkicebs, SeakavSi rebs da gaiyol iebs Tbil isSi myof ramdenime aTas meamboxes. Tbil isi srul iad detal urad unda iyos Seswav- l il i. unda vicodeT mtris Zal ebis ganawil eba. amboxebis sawinaarmdego misi gegma da samzadi si. Tbil isis samxedro ubnebs wi ndawi nve unda daeni S- nos mtkice xel mZRvanel ebi, roml ebsac aj anyebis dros garkveul i amocan- is Sesrul eba daeval ebaT. agreTve wi ndawi nve unda iyos dani Snul i yvel a raionSi samxedro xel mZRvanel ebi, roml ebsac centris mier garkveul i daval eba miecema. revol uciuri daval ebis anu samxedro brZanebis asrul eba aucil ebel ia.

Tbil isis garda didi mni Svel oba aqvs baTums, quTais, soxums da gagra. mezobl ebSi ki baqos, ganj as, erevans, derbend- petrovsk-temi rxanSuras, kavkavs, ekaterinodars, armavirs, novorosisk, tuapses da sxvas. amisda mi xedvi T wi ndawi nve unda moxdes SeZl ebisamebr meamboxeTa Zal ebis iseTi darazmva da ganawil eba, rom pirvel i dakvriStanave aRni Snul i punqtebi aj anyebul ebma xel T igdon. magal iTad: saqarTvel oSi zogierTi raionebi dan SesaZl ebe- l ia gamocdil i da saimedo meomrebi s gamoyofa da TandaTanobiT maTi ga- dayvana Tbil issa da baTumSi, quTaisSi, soxumSi da sxvagan. agreTve unda Sesdges cal ke j gufebi, roml ebsac gansakuTrebul i da metad pasuxismgebe- l i daval ebebi miecemaT. magal iTad: j avSniani avtomobil ebis da matarebl- l is xel Si Cagdeba, Stabis, sovnarkomis, cekasi, kavbiuros da sxva xel mZRv- anel organoebis datusaReba, fosta- tel egrafis da tel efonis sadguris dakaveba, cixis ganTavisufl eba, sadguris gamagreba da sxva. magal iTad, j a- vSniani matarebl ebis aReba unda mi endos erT Sesafer pirovnebas. vTqvaT, mTel saqarTvel oSi dgas 5 matarebel i. es pirovneba aRnusxavs 200- mde saimedo mebrZol s, roml ebsac umsaxuriaT j avSnian matarebl ebze, dayofs maT xuT j gufad. TiToeul j gufs miscems saimedo xel mZRvanel s, romel ic Semdeg j avSnosanis ufrosad gamodgeba. TiToeul i aseTi j gufi wi ndaw- inve moewyoba im qal aqSi an im raionSi, sadac es j avSnosani imyofeba, ro- ml is asaRebad dani Snul ia aRni Snul i j gufi. daTqmul dros es j gufi Ta- vs esxmis matarebel s, xel T igdebs mas da maSinve awyebinebs moqmedebas. uki dures SemTxvevaSi, Tu am j gufma Tavisi daval eba ver Seasrul a, igi va- l debul ia aafeTqos matarebel i.

Zl ier advil ia agreTve cixis aReba. SeiZl eba wi ndawi nve cixeSi yumbare- bisa da revorvel ebis Setana. dani Snul erTdaimave dros moxdeba cixeze garedan Tavdasxma da Signidan amboxeba. cixis daraj ebi maSinve i araRs da- yrian da maTi i araRiT zogierTi tusaRebi Sei araRdebi an.

me aq mxol od zogierTi winaswari detal ebi aRvni Sne. dawvri l ebi Ti ge- gma da mzadeba ki adgil obriv unda Sesrul des.

II. aj anyeba

aj anyeba erTdroul ad yvel gan unda moxdes da aj anyebul ebma Tavidanve xel T unda igdos strategiul i da pol itikuri centrebi. bol Sevikebis Zl iereba swored am centrebSi. ukrainis da zogi sxva aj anyebebis sisuste swored imaSi iyo, rom isinma Tavidanve ver moaxerxes aseTi centrebis da-

kaveba. sul sxvanairaT warimarTa ukrainis aj anyeba. mas pirvel i dakvrisTanave SeeZl o kievis, xarkovis, poltavis da odesis xel Si Cagdeba. amitom, centrebis aRebas udidesi mniSvel oba aqvs da swored amisdami xedviT unda Sei qmnas aj anyebis gegma. magal iTisaTvis yuradRebas aq mxol od Tbil isze SevaCereb, vinaidan mas aqvs gadamwyveti mniSvel oba mTel i amerikavkasiisaTvis. Tbil isSi Cvens mters sul yavs 8 aTasamde mWamel i. amas aRmosavl eTis kursantebic rom davumatoT, sul gaxdeba 10000- mde. amaTSi xiStiqneba ara umetes 6 aTasisa. Tu gamovakl ebT yaraul ebs, avadmyofebs, Svebul ebaSi wasul T da dezertirebs, Tbil isisaTvis Cven dagvrCeba ara umetes 4 aTasi aqtiuri moqmedi xiStisa. amaT unda daematos j avSniani matarebl ebi da avtomobilebi. yvel a am Zal ebis winaarmddeg Cven SegviZl ia Semdegi Cveni Zal ebis wamoyeneba (vangari Sob minimums): 1) farul i samxedro organizacia_ 15000 kaci; 2) qarTul i l aSqari_ 1500 kaci; 3) rkinis gzis da qal aqis milicia_ 1000 kaci. sul 4000 kaci.

rom ar movtyuvdeT, marto Tbil isSi pirvel i dakvrisaTvis Cveni Zal ebi 3000 kacia. es sami aTasi kaci aris Tbil isis amboxebis aqtiuri da moqmedi Zal a. mas zurgs ukan yavs 2- 3 aTasamde rezervi (Sei araRebul i moqal aqeni, qarTul i j aris neutral uri nawil i, moswavl eebi da sx.), roml is gamoyvana ar SeiZl eba pirvel i farul i dakvris dros, magram, romel ic maSi nve SeuerTdeba aj anyebas, rogorc ki aSkara da medgari brZol a gaimarTeba. es rezervi metad mniSvel ovani da gadamwyveti iqneba brZol is meore fazaSi da mis dagvirgvi nebaSi, magram, pirvel i dakvris mTel i simZime da gabedul eba aRniSnul ma samma aTasma unda ikisros.

vinc Tbil iss dakvirvebia, is advil ad dai naxavda, rom mdinare mtkvari mas TiTqmisor Tanabar nawil adhyofs. magram mTel i politikuri da administraciul i centri moTavsebul ia marjvena napiris Tbil isSi da umTavresi yazarmebi ki agebul ni arian marcxena napiris Tbil isSi. daaxl oebi T SegviZl ia vsTqvaT, rom bol Sevikebis mTel i samxedro Zal is (vgul isxmob rusul j ars) ori mesamedi mtkvtis marcxena napirzea da mxol od erTi mesamedi mis marjvena napirze. amis gamo Tbil isis mTavari, saxel mZRvanel o centris xel Si Cagdeba metad advil deba da am centris Cagdebis Semdeg TavisTavad wydeba meore napiris Tbil isis bedi.

rasakvirvel ia, aq SeuZl ebel ia Tbil isis asaRebad detal uri brZanebis dawera, magram Cven SegviZl ia am brZanebis mTavari momentebis gaTval iswineba. Cven vsTqvi T, rom pirvel i dakvrisaTvis marto Tbil iss SeuZl ia sami aTasi mebrZol is wamoyeneba. aqedan, zogierTi mniSvel ovani maRl obebis dakavebas dasWirdeba 1000 kacamde. am maRl obebSi yvel aze didi mniSvel oba aqvs ZmaTa sasafli aos, maxaTas da mis fargl ebs, botanikuri baRi maRl obs, mamadavi Ts da mTawmindas. am mizni stvis 1000 kaci srul ad sakmarisi iqneba, radganac maTi daniSnul eba iqneba umTavresad pasiuri. imatma, bol Sevikur garnizons Tbil isidan maRl obze gasvl is neba ar unda misces. imavdroul ad Tavis moqmedebiT arev- dareva unda Seitanos mtris banakSi. danarCeni 2000 kaci unda ganawil des cal ke razmebad, roml ebsac mtkice xel mZRvanel ebi eyol eba da cal - cal ke amocanebi miecemat. maTi ganawil eba daaxl oebi T ase maqvs warmodgenil i: 1) `sovnarkomis-, `Stabis-, `Cekebis-, cekas, kavbiuros da sx. dasatusaRebl ad_ 150 kaci; 2) cixis gasantavisuflebl ad_ 150 kaci; 3) fosta- tel egrafis, tel efonis da radios dasakavebl ad_ 100 kaci; 3) j avSniani matarebl ebis, avtomobilebis da tankebi saTvis_ 200 ka-

ci. sul 600 kaci.

dagvrCa 1400 kacamde. esenic Sesaferisad unda danawil dnen da maTac garkveul i amocana unda mi eces. magram amaTi daniSnul eba iqneba ukve bol Sevikuri garnizonis ganadgureba. am mi znis misaRwevad Cven pirvel i ieriSebi unda mivitanot bol Sevikur rCeul da saimedo nawil ebze. srul i ad sakmarisia, rom pirvel i dakvrisTanave Cven SevZI oT 'Conis- armosavl eT kursantebis brigadis (Tu isisev Tbil isSi dabruna) da samoswavl o_ sakadro pol kis ganiaraReba. Tu erTdroul ad moxda j avSnianebebis xel Si Cagdeba da amave saimedo nawil ebis ganiaraReba, sxva mraval i nawil ebi Tbil isis garnizonisa ubrZol vel ad dayris iaraRs. Tavistavad igul isxmeba, rom gamarjvebis upirvel esi piroba srul i konspiracia da moul odnel obaa. agreTve is, Turandenad moxerxebul ad SevZI ebT Tbil isis Zal ebis Sesaferisad darazmvas da aj anyebisTvis saWiro gadaj gufebas. rasakvirvel ia, winaswari gegmis srul i da detal uri ganxorciel eba SeuZI ebel ia. Cven unda vicodeT, rom am gegmis ganxorciel ebis dros, srul i ad mraval i, moul odnel i dabrkol eba dagvidgeba win. magram TviT gegma ise unda iyos Sedgenili i, rom zogierTi detal is CaSI am ar unda gamoiwvios TviT mTel i gegmis CafuSva. magal iTad, SesaZI ebel ia zogierT SemTxvevaSi imdeni meamboxe ar gamocxaddes, ramdensac Cven vvaraudobT, anda ar moxerxdes im punqtebis swrafad aReba, roml is dakavebas Tavidanve vgul isxmobT, magram am SemTxvevebma ar unda gamoiwvios Cveni ukan daxeva da aj anyebis damarcxeba. amitom, saerto gegmis swrafad misaRwev yovel ive detal s didi mniSvnel oba aqvs. magram gadamwyveti roli eqneba zogierT mTavar momentebis da sworeT am momentebis srul i gaTval iswinebaa saWiro. SesaZI ebel ia, rom sam j avSnian matarebel Si (Tu ki am droisaTvis Tbil issi 3 matarebel i iqneba) erTbasad mxol od ori Caigdo xel Si da erTi ki ar dagnebdes. am SemTxvevaSi es erTi isetnairad unda Caketo, rom man adgil idan ver daiZras. SeiZI eba zogierT punqtebSi ac gamagrdes rusionis j ari. mas am punqtebidan gamosvl is neba ar unda mieces, sanam Tbil isis mTavari punqtebi aj anyebul Ta xel Si ar iqneba da sx. Znel ia agreTve SeumCnevl ad 3000 meamboxes erTdroul ad gamoyvana da qal aqis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi maTi gadayvana. magram am SemTxvevaSi Cven unda visargebl oT imiT, rom TviT meamboxeebi sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi arian dafantul ni da TiToeul i raionis meamboxes SeiZ ebisamebr maTive raionis sazRvrebSi unda mivceT amocana. es miT ufro advilia, rom Tbil isSi meamboxeebi 10 ubnad arian ganawil ebul i da agreTve qarTul i wiTel i l aSqari Tbil isis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi binadrops. magal iTad, naZal adevis da erTobis ubnis raionebs, sadac exl axan iqneba 200- 300 gvardiel i meamboxe, SeiZI eba daekisros j avSniani matarebl ebis aReba, vagZl is dakaveba da adgil obrivi wril - wril i bol Sevikuri razmebis ganadgureba. maTve SeiZI eba davaval oT Zmata sasafli aos da maxaTas daWera. amave raionebis mil icia 200- 300 kacic adgil obriv darCeba samoqmedoT. sazogadoT mil icias yovel Tvis unda mieces amocanebi Tavianti ubnis sazRvrebSi da umTavresad mil icia gamoyenebul i unda iyos rogorc mtris sadezorganizacio Zal a.

qarTul pol ks, romelic yofil `mingrel ski kazarmebSi - binadrops, SeiZI eba daeval oscicianovis maRlobis (CamoxeTqil i kl de_ muxranis xidis pirdapir) daWera, avl abris yazarmebis aReba da metexis ganTavisufli eba. avl abris raionis meamboxe gvardiel ebi- ricxviT 100 kacamde pirvel pol ks

SeuerTdeba da ase sxva adgil ebSi ac. sxvadasxva nawil ebis ganiaraRebi-
sTanave SeZenil i i araRiT dauyovnebl iv Sei araRdebian Tbil isSi myofi sa-
imedo yofil i j ariskacebi da gvardiel ebi. ase rom gaTenebamde Tbil iss
sxvadasxva raionebi dan Semoemateba axal i 2- 3 aTasi mebrZol i. amasTanave
unda moxdes Sei araRebul brZol ebSi ukve gawvrTnil i gl exebis mezobel i
raionebi dan Tbil isisken daZvra. amnairaT, Sinaur dakvras Tbil isis asaRe-
bad gareSe al ya da Semoteva unda daerTos. da Tu Cven Tbil isis mdgomar-
eobas mi vi RebT mxedvel obaSi da agreTve gaviTval iswinebT gare- kaxeTis,
mcxeTa- avWal is da mangl isis exl andel Sei araRebul Zal ebs, Tamamad gveTq-
mis, rom gaTenebamde garedanac Tbil iss 2 aTasamde meamboxe gars Semoer-
tymis. aseT pi robebSi, roca Rame dawyebul i aj anyeba gaTenebamde fexze da-
ayenebs 6- 7 aTasamde mtkice mebrZol s_ Tbil isis aReba Zl ier gaadvil de-
ba da erT- or dReSi igi srul iad damorCil ebul i iqneba. mxedvel obaSi
isic unda mi vi RoT, rom meamboxeT Tavi danve SeuZl iaT sakuTari artil eri-
is momarj vebul adgil idan amoqmedeba.

miT ufro advil i da ueWvel i iqneba sxva adgil ebis_ magal iTad soxumis,
quTaisis, samtrediis, foTis da baTumis aReba. Sedar ebi T Znel i iqneba baTu-
mis aReba, magram aq mTavari yuradReba unda mi eqces j er 100- mde mebrZol is
baTumSi windawinve Cayvanas da Semdeg aWarl ebSi Sesaffer muSaobas. amasTanave
guriis Sei araRebul i Zal ebi kursantebis ganiaraRebis Semdeg (Tu isini
guriaSi darCnen) 2- 3 aTas kacamide baTumisTvis unda iyos gankuTvnil i.

Tbil isis aReba TavS mohkveTs mTel `okas- da igi verc somxeTSi da verc
azerbaijanSi brZol as veRar gaagrZel ebs. magram, azerbaijanis da somxe-
Tis aj anyeba mtkice ni adagze rom dadges, saWiroa winaswar metad mWidro
kavSiris daWera am qveynebtan da iq Tavisi saiduml o rwmunebul Ta wargza-
vna. aseT pi robebSi, SeiZl eba erTdai mave dros daiwyos aj anyeba mTel ami-
erkavkasiaSi da es erTdroul oba ukve naxevari gamarj veba iqneba. magram
mar to amierkavkasiis sazRvrebis sakmarisi ar aris. saWiroa amierkavkasiis
aj anyeba mWidroT daukavSirdes Crdil o kavkasiis moZraobas da `okas- ga-
niaraRebasTan erTad unda moewyos Tu srul i ganiaraReba vera, yovel Se-
mTxvevaSi daSl a Crdil o- kavkasiis samxedro ol qisa `skvo-. am mi znis
misaRwevad rac SeiZl eba meti kontaqti unda iqnes yubanTan, mTasTan da ga-
nsakuTrebit da RestanTan. sasurvel ia, rom raome kavSiri iqnas gabmul i
donTan da ukrainis meamboxeebtan. rasakvirvel ia Cven TavS ver movi tyuebT
da ver vi tyviT, rom aj anyeba erTi dakvriT `skvos-- ac (`okas- Stabi ros-
tovSi a) xel Si Cai gdebs. magram Cven erTgvari minimumi aq uzrunvel yofil i
unda gvqondes. magal iTad, aj anyebul ebma unda SesZl on zogierTi mniS-
vnel ovani strategiul i punqtebis (xidebis) dacva da adgil obrivi garni-
zonebis TavTavianT raionebze mij aWva. amasac metad didi mniSvnel oba
eqneba amierkavkasiisTvis da es nebas mi scems amierkavkasiis ara mar to bo-
l Sevikuri okupaciis gadagdebis, aramed agreTve Tavisi sakuTari Zal ebis
darazmva- mowesrigebisTvis, rom SemdegSi amierkavkasia SesZl ebs aqtiuri
daxmarebis gawevas Crdil oeTi kavkasiisTvis. me ganzrax vvaraudo b Crdil -
oeT kavkasiis minimal ur monawil eobas kavkasiis saerTo aj anyebaSi, Tumca
aqve unda vTqva, rom Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi antibol Sevikuri moZraoba imde-
nad Zirmomagrebul ia, rom Sesferi muSaobiT da daxmarebit, advil aT Sei-
Zl eba iqac aj anyebas meti farTo xasiaTi mieces.

amnairaT, kavkasi is ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis mi zani unda iyos aj anyebis cecxli is danTeba rostovidan I enqoranamde da yizl aridan vidre baTumamde. magram mTavari RerZi da Zal a moZraobisa unda iqnes amierkavkasia saqarTvel os meTaurobiT. yvel aze umj obesi da sasurvel ia, rom erTbaSad moxdes agreTve `skvos- sruli ganiaraReba da damorCil eba. magram Tu es erTi xel is dakvrit ar moxerxda, pirvel xanebsi sakmarisi iqneba, rom Crdil oeT kavkasiis da sxva da sxva kuTxebsi moxdes iseTi cal ke aj anyebebi, roml ebic adgil obriv mtris Zal ebis iseT dezorganizacias gamoiwveven, rom maTi daZvra amierkavkasiis winaarmdeg SeuZl ebel i iqneba da agreTve ise daazianeben rusetidan momaval strategiul gzebs, rom jarebis gadayvanas metad gaaZnel eben. aseT pirobebSi amierkavkasia SeiZl eba gaxdes im TavsesafaraT, sadac Tavsmoyris da moRoni erdeba anti-bol Sevikuri mebrZol i Zal a, romel ic aqtiuraT daexmareba meamboxe Crdil oeT kavkasiis da sabol oot masac ganadevni nebs okupantebs.

III. aj anyebis meore dRe

me mokl eT davasuraTe ganmaTavisufl ebel i aj anyeba da misi winaswari samzadisi. aqedan Cven davinaxeT rom aj anyebis mTavari faqtori da xel mZRvanel isaqarTvel o unda iyos. magram saqarTvel os da kavkasiis ganTavisufl ebis mTavari siZnel e farTo aj anyebis da mis pirvel gamarjvebaSi ki ar aris, aramed am aj anyebis gamtkicebaSi, ganTavisufl ebul i qveynebis mowesrigebaSi, mebrZol i Zal ebis darazmvaSi da gaZl ierebaSi. erTi si tyviT, mTavari siZnel e Cven dagvidgeba aj anyebis meore dRes, roca gamarjvebul aj anyebas Tavdacva daswirdeba.

Cven vsTqviT, rom SeZl ebi samebr aj anyeba unda moxdes kavkasiis fargl ebSi erTsa da imave dros. aj anyebul ebi pirvel yovl isa atyveveben mtris xel mZRvanel organizaciebs da aniarareben yvel aze salmedo nawil ebs. imave dros aj anyebul Ta xel mZRvanel ebi axdenen axal mobil izaciebs da SeZeni- l i iaraRiT qmni an axal ganmaTavisufl ebel j ars. amnairaT, mtris Zal ebis daSl a- damorCil ebasTan erTad unda xdebodes sakuTari samxedro Zal ebis swrafi darazmva da gazrda. am mxriv, TiToeul i qveynisatvis winaswar unda iyos gamomuSavebul i sakuTari forma samxedro Zal ebis axal i organizacia, raTa axal i mebrZol i j aris Seqmna moxdes rac SeiZl eba swrafad da umtkivneul oT. am axal i j aris daniSnul eba iqneba ganTavisufl ebul i qveynebis saerto dacva da SemdegSi, roca mteri mogeriebul i iqneba da roca ufro mSvidobiani mdgomareoba damyardeba, Sesazl ebel i gaxdeba, samxedro organizacias kidev ufro mwyobri, Tanamedrove da normal uri xasiaTi mieces. aj anyebis cecxli Si Seqmnil is da brZol aSi ganmtkicebul i l aSqaris daniSnul eba iqneba_ rac SeiZl eba savsebiT da rigianad gamoiyenos is iaraRi, romel sac igi bol Sevikebisgan xel Tigdebs da romel sac mebrZol i xal xi mas miawodebs. vimeoreb, TiToeul qveyanaSi mebrZol i samxedro organizacia sakuTar formas miirebs da isargebl ebs mTel i warsul is gamocdil ebiT. magal iTad, yubanSi igi ufro sxva saxis iqneba, vidre saqarTvel oSi da azerbaij anSi, ufro sxvagvari vidre daRestanSi an somxetsi. ami tom, adgil obriv organizaciebs windawinve unda qondes Seswavl il i da gaTval iswinebul i es formebi, saerto centrs ki mxol od saerto xel mZRvanel oba eqneba. am formis Seswavl a pirvel yovl isa adgil obrivi

xel mZRvanel i organoebis saqmea, ami tom me mxol od saqarTvel oze SevCer-
debi, radgan mas ufro vicnob da mis Sesaxeb sakmao cnobebi da gamocdil eba
maqvs.

me ukve zevi T vTqvi, rom mebrZol saqarTvel os dRes Tavis gankargul eba-
Si yavs 22 aTasamde SeiaraRebul i mebrZol i, xol o rusul i wiTel i I aSqari
(special ur da gansakuTrebul razmebi ana) ar aRemateba 12 aTas xiSts da 18
aTass mWamel s. yovel gvare il uziebisagan rom ganTavisufi ebul i viqneT,
Cveni SegviZl ia mtris Zal ac da Cveni sakuTari Zal ac Tanabrad oc-oci
aTasi kaciT viangariSoT. yovel SemTxvevaSi es angariSi, mtris Zal ebs
ametebs da Cvens sakuTars amcirebs.

mtris da Cveni Zal ebi saqarTvel os sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi ase ganawil e-
bul i (Cvens Zal ebSi me vguil isxmob gvardias, qarTul I aSqars da saimedo
mil icias. yvel a mas minimal urad vangari Sob):

Tbil is i:		quTais i:	
mtris Zal a	Cveni Zal a	mtris Zal a	Cveni Zal a
8000	3000	3000	2000
baTumi:		guria:	
mtris Zal a	Cveni Zal a	mtris Zal a	Cveni Zal a
3500	2000	2000	1500

(aq yvel gan mWamel ia naangariSevi. aq Tbil isisTvis me mar to 8 aTas mWamel s
vangariSob, radganac exl axan aRmosavl eTis kursantebis brigada ozur-
geTSi dgas. 8 aTasi mWamel i Tbil isisaTvis agvistoSi maqsimal uria)

22 aTasi SeiaraRebul i mebrZol i saqarTvel osaTvis gadaWarbebul i ar
aris. Tanaxmad pirvel i ivnisis (22 w.) cnobebiT, sul qarTul j arSi ('Co-
nian~, uezdvoenkomi ana) iyo 11537 mWamel i. aqedan 8000- mde mWamel i mar to
samxedro nawil ebSi iyo. TviT bol Sevikebis cnobiT (sagangebo moxseneba
TviT qarTul i brigadis Sesaxeb), brigadaSi komunistebis mobil izaciis
Semdegac komunistebi Seadgendnen mxol od 15 %- s. oficrebSi ki TiTqmis
sul ar arian komunistebi. amnairad, 5- 6 aTas kacemde qarTul j arSi sa-
imedoa. me ki mxol od 3 aTass vangariSob. aj anyebis pirvel Ramesve da me-
ore dRes, Tbil isis meamboxeT TviT Tbil isSi da axl o sofi ebidan miema-
teba 2- 3 aTasi mebrZol i, xol o foTSi, samegrel oSi, samtredia- SorapanSi,
qarTI - kaxeTSi da sx. aj anyebul ebi yvel gan mterze ufro Zl ieri arian
da iq yvel gan isini erT RameSi daimorCil eben da ganaiaraReben mters.
amisda mixedviT, pirvel Ramesve ki devac rom ar moxerxdes Tbil isis, baTu-
mis an quTais is aReba, saqarTvel os sxva yvel a qal aqebi aRebul i iqneba da
am gziT amboxebas 10- 15 aTasamde Tofi eqneba SeZenil i. es Tofebi axal me-
brZol Ta Soris ganawil deba. ase, rom ukve aj anyebis meore dRes mebrZol
saqarTvel os, TofqveS eyol eba ara nakl eb 30- 35 aTasi mebrZol i da mis wi-
naaRmdeg darCeba ara umetes 12- 14 aTasi mtris j ari. rasakvirvel ia es da-
Sl il i, gancal kevebul i da yvel gan al yaSemortymul i j ari did wi naaRmde-
gobas ver gagviwevs da 2- 3 dReSi yvel gan Cagvbar deba. amdenaT, 4- 5 dReSi
aj anyeba saqarTvel os teritoriaze srul i gamarj vebiT damTavrdeba da
aj anyebul Ta xel Si iqneba mtris mTel i iaraRi da sawyobebi. ganTavisufi -

ebul i saqarTvel os xel Si gadava daaxl oebiT 50- 60 aTas Tofamde, 90- 100 zarbaznamde, 400- 500 tyviismfrqvevl amde, 10- 12 j avSnian avtomobil amde da 4- 5 j avSnian matarebl amde. es iqneba is iaraRi, roml is saSual ebiTac unda SeiaraRdes ganTavisufli ebul i saqarTvel o da roml iTac man unda SeZl os 2- 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi Tavdacvis warmoeba, vinaidan am xnis ganmavl obaSi Cven ar unda gvqondes didi imedi ucxoeti dan iaraRis sakmao Semozidvisa.

maSasadame, dgeba sakiTxi: SeiZl eba Tu ara am iaraRiT iseTi j aris SeiaraReba da Seqmna, romel ic xangrZl iv mogeriebiT oms awarmoebs? da Tu SeiZl eba ramden xanSi? me darwmunebul i var, rom es advil aT SesaZl ebel ia. SesaZl ebl oba aris teqnikiuri, organizaciul i da ekonomiuri. ganvixil oT TiToeul i cal - cal ke.

teqnikaT, aRniSnul i iaraRi srul iad sakmarisia erTi didi, Zvel eburi korpusis SesaiaraRebl ad, romel Siac 40 aTas xiStamde iqneba. maSasadame, gamarj vebis Semdeg faqtiurad Cven teqnikaT ufro mdidari viqnebiT, vidre bol Sevikebis Semosvl amde. rac Seexeba **organizaciul SesaZl ebl obebis**, am mxriv Cven ufro uzrunvel yofil ni varT, ramdenadac saqarTvel oSi dResac arseboben is samxedro ConCxebi, roml ebiC dauyovnebl iv Seisxamen srul samxedro sisxl sa da xorcsa. me vgul isxmob gvardiis farul organizacias da qarTul wiTel I aSqars. marTal ia, Cven exl a momxre varT mTI iani da erTferovani samxedro sistemisa, magram aj anyebisTvis da pirvel i TavdacvisTvis yovel i samxedro organizacia unda gamoviynoT. Tumca momaval Si Cven SevqmniT erT mTI ian j ars. pirvel xanebsi Cven erTnairad daveyrdnobiT rogorc j ars, ise gvardias, Tumca mis xel mZRvanel obas da sardl obas Tavi danve gavaerTi anebT. amisdami xedviT, Cven ganTavisufli ebiStanave ori kviris ganmavl obaSi SegveZl eba erTi damTavrebul i korpusi SevqmnaT Semdegi varaudiT: saxal xo gvardias dResac ukve yavs 18- 20 batal ionamde; qarTul wiTel I aSqarSi iTvl eba 9 batalioni da kidev sxvadasxva nawil ebi. amnairaT, saqarTvel oSi dRes ukve aris 30 batal ionamde. amasTanave, qarTul i winandel i I aSqari ise iyo Sedgenili, rom mas srul i mobil izaciis dros SeeZl o gamoeyvana 36 didi batalioni. saamiso oficrebi, zemdegebi da nacvl ebi saqarTvel oSi moiZebneba. amitom qarTul i wiTel i I aSqaris gaorkeceba metad advil i saqmea. ase rom sul mokle droSi saqarTvel os SeuZl ia wamoayenos sabrZol vel adaranakl eb 40 batalionisa. TiToeul i aranakl eb 750 xiStisa. e.i. sul 30- 35 aTas xiStamde. oficrebi da samxedro special istebi ki srul iad sakmarisia. agreTve sakmarisia artil eristebi, kaval eristebi da j avSnianebis mosamsaxureni. magal iTad, Cven srul iad advil ad SegviZl ia 25 batareis, 15 j avSniani avtomobil is da 8 j avSniani matarebl is Stati SevavsoT. (me exl a xel T armaqvs srul i cnobebi, magram daaxl oebiT mdgomareoba aseTia: Zvel rusul j arSi msaxurobda 6 aTasamde oficeri. aqedan ukanasknel i 3 aTasi artileristia, 2500 kaval eristia, 3000 pul emiotCikia da 500 kacamde j avSnian matarebl ebze da avtomobil ebze momuSave (namuSevari). mxol od tankebis amuSavebas ver SevZl ebT, radganac amis special istebi srul iad ar gvyavs). amrigad, ori kviris ganmavl obaSi axal i qarTul i I aSqari fexze dadgeba da mas mtkice organizacia, kargi SeiaraReba da didi Tavdadebac eqneba. sworeT am I aSqarma unda daexmaros mTel i Tavisi energiit Taviant mezobl ebs bol Sevikebis srul i ikvidaciaSi da erovnul i Tavisufli ebis ganmtkice-

baSi. es miT ufro saqaro da aucil ebel ia, rom saqarTvel os Tavisufli ebas iqamdis ar moumagrdeba Ziri, sanamdis bol Sevikur okupasi as bol o ar moeReba azerbaijanSi, somxeTSi da Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi. TavianT mezobl ebs saqarTvel o srul gamarj vebamdis unda daexmaros instruqtorebis, organizatorebis da mcire razmebis wargzavis saxiT. magram, sruli da farTe daxmareba daiwyeba mxol od maSin, roca saqarTvel o Tavis teritoriaze srul iad daamarcebs bol Sevikebs da cotaTi mainc moawesrigebs Tavis samxedro Zal ebs. iqamde ki yvel a misma mezobl ebma unda ecadon rac SeiZl eba gaaZl ieron Tavis aj anyeba da brZol aSi sakuTar Zal ebs daeyrdnon. xol o aj anyebis meore an mesame kviridan saqarTvel o SeZl ebs mezobl ebisTvis Zmuri xel is gawodebas. am mi znisaTvis zemoaRniSnuli 35 aTasi xiSti ase unda ganawil des: sam gzas Semoyavs amierkavkasiaSi ruseTi da amierkavkasiidanac sami gza midis ruseTSi: a)Savi zRvis piri; b)derbentis WiSkari da g)darial i. amasTanave kavkasiis samxreT sazRvrebsac daraj oba dasWirdeba. amitom saqarTvel omTel i Tavis Zal ebi Crdil oeTisken unda mimarTos da samxreT iT mxol od Zl ierifari unda datovos. Sinauri wesi-erebis dasacavd ki jari sul ar iqneba saWi ro. pirvel adimi tom rom TviT xal xi daicavs wesrigs da meore imi tom, rom erT kviraSi yvel gan Sedgeba milicia, romlis SeiaraReba `berdankebit- moxdeba. samxreTis Semo-sazRvrisTvis sakmarisi iqneba 8000 xiSti. aqedan 3000- is SeiZl eba somxeT-Si wargzavna xal xis gasamxnevebl ad. Tavis mxriv somxeTi advil ad gada- agdebs bol Sevikebs (Tuki somxeTma gadawyvita da gabeda aj anyeba, xel is SemSiel i pirobebi mravalia da Cven somxeTs maT daZl evaSi unda davexma- roT) da or kviraSi Tofis qveS daayenebs da moawesrigebs 20 aTasamde mebrZol s. meore Zl ierirazmi 10 aTiaTasi xiStamde unda gaigzavnos tua- pseze da Semdeg man unda SeiWras yubanis ol qSi da iqaur aj anyebas unda daexmaros. am razms SeuerTdeba soWis ol qSi 2000- mde mebrZol i da yuban- ic 2- 3 kviraSi 30 aTasamde mebrZol s wamoayenebs. mesame razmi 7 aTas xiStamde darial iT unda SeiWras kavkasi da Suaze gahkvetos Crdil o ka- vkasiis bol Sevikuri armia. am razms Tergis ol qSi SeuerTdeba 15- 20 aTasi mebrZol i mTiel ebi da kazakebi. dasasrul mcire razmi, ricxvit 6 aTas xi- Stamde dauyovnebl iv gadava azerbaijanSi da iqedan daRestanSi. azerbai- jani da daRestani am j ars Sematebs 25000 mebrZol amde. Tbil isSi darCeba rezervSi 4000 xiStamde, romlis gamoyeneba saWi roebisamebr moxdeba. Tavis Tavadi gul isxmeba, rom Semomatebul i mebrZol ni iqnebian samxedro wesze mowyobil i da darazmul i.

amnairad, 35000 mebrZol qarTvel s yvel a mezobl ebi 2- 3 kviris ganmavl o- baSi Semateben 90000- mde mebrZol s. maSasadame, aj anyebul i kavkasia, erTi Tvis ganmavl obaSi TofqveS daayenebs aranakl eb 100000 mebrZol s. am l a- Sqristvis saWi ro SeiaraReba TiTqmis savsebit adgil obriviSoveba. Tavis Tavadi gul isxmeba, rom am pirveli rigis j ars Tan moyveba axal i j arebi, romlebic TiToeul qveyanaSi damatebiti mobil izaciebis saSual ebit Seiqm- neba. mTel kavkasiaSi 10 wl is mobil izacia sul ukanasknel i 300000 Zvel , gamocdil da saimedo mebrZol s mogvcems. amnairaT, pirveli rigis 100000 mebrZol s zurgsi eyol eba 200000 axal i mebrZol i, romel sac dasWirdeba SeiaraReba, Semosva da gamokveba. da pirveli gamarj vebis Semdeg sworeT es iqneba Cveni udi desi sazrunavi. vinaidan pirveli 100000- Tvis Cveni araRs,

tansacmel s da sursaTsac advil ad viSoviT. axl ad gawveul i 200000- an l aSqars Cven ucxoeTis dauxmarebl ad ver mouvl iT, xol o ucxoeTi mxol od maSvin dagvexmareba, Tu pirvel ma 100000- ma SeZl o bol Sevikemis ganaxl ebul i ierisebis 2- 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi mogerieba. da es ki srul iad SesaZl ebel ia Semdegi mosazrebiT:

kavkasiis aj anyebas mxol od maSin aqvs azri, Tu igi SeZl ebs `skvos- da gansakuTrebiT `okas- gani araRebas. maSasadame, aj anyebis Casaqrobad bol Sevikemis Sida ruseTidan an dasavl eT frontidan dasWirdeba jaris gamoyvana. aseTi farTo aj anyebis Casaqrobad moskovs dasWirdeba aranakl eb 200 aTasiani l aSqris dagroveba kavkasiis Crdil oET sazRvrebze. Tu mxedvel obaSi mi viRebT Tanamedrove ruseTis saerTo ekonomieur, sasursaTo da satransporto mdgomareobas da agreTve imas, rom srul i simSvide arc Sida ruseTsi da gansakuTrebiT ukrainaSi, srul i dabej iTebiT gveTqmis, rom 200000 l aSqris mTel iTavisi mowyobil obiT da sursaTiT bol Sevikuri ruseTi kavkasiis winaaRmdeg 2 Tveze adre ver daamzadebs. es aris srul iad realuri da Seuryevel i angariSi. amas sxvaTa Soris, Turqestanis aj anyeba amtkicebs. miuxedavad imisa, rom iq aj anyeba maisis pirvel ricxvebSi daiwyo, igi dResac, seqtembris dasawyisSi ar aris Caqrobi l i. maSasadame, iTiqmisi ori Tve iqneba aj anyebul i kavkasiis srul gankargul ebaSi da am xnis ganmavl obaSi man unda SeZl os axal i Zal ebis darazmva, maTi mowesrigeba, SeiaraReba da gamokveba. yovel ive es, moxdeba ucxoeTis saSual ebiT. da igive ucxoeTi romelic dRes aseTi sifrTxil iT da uxal isod gvel aparakeba, vinda dan mas ar sjerac Cveni Zal a da momaval i. mxurval eT da erTgull aT dagvexmareba, Tuki sakuTari Cveni teritoriebi gavanTavisufl eT da maTi uamravi simdidris baton- patroni gavxdiT. es Cven mtkiced unda Sevignot da mavne il uziebs droze unda davaRwi oT Tavi. Cven unda gavigoT, rom avansad arc i araRs da arc ful s aravin mogvcems. amistvis saWiroa faqtiuri batonoba sakuTar teritoriaze. da roca kavkasiis didi nawil i Cvens gankargul ebaSi iqneba, roca baqos, groznos, Wi aTuris, tyvarCel is da maikopis saxel iT il aparakebs ara krasini, aramed ganTavisufl ebul i kavkasia, Cven advil ad viSoviT ful s da ful is saSual ebiT saWiro i araRs da yovel ive mowyobil obas.

amasTanave kavkasiis aj anyeba da misi ganTavisufl eba udid es STabeWdili ebas moaxdens, rogorc mTel ruseTsi, ise ucxoeTsi ac. es aj anyeba ki dev ufro gamoacocxl ebs da gaaTamamebs ruseTis yvel a antibol Sevikur Zal ebs, roml ebi c dRes ase daqsagsul i da daSl il ia. ukraina, doni da sxva adgil ebi uTuod gamoexmaureba mas da TviT ruseTsi mSvidobianobis dasacavad bol Sevikemis dasWirdebaT didi jarebis dabandeba. ucxoeTic Zal ze gamoexmaureba am ganmaTavisufl ebel aj anyebas. Cven viciT Tu ra gaafTrebiT amtkiceben bol Sevikemi evropasi imas, rom saqarTvel o maT Zal iT ar daupyr iaT, rom TviT saqarTvel o SeuerTda maT. da ra didi energiis daxarj va dagWir da Cven am l legendis gasafantavad, Tumca savsebiT igi arc dRes aris mokl ul i. aseTi zRapari Tavisi Zal adobis gasamarTl ebl ad bol Sevikemis dasWir daT imitom, rom dRes evropasi imperial isturi omi araviSi ar iwvevs aRfrTovamnebas da simpatias. magram raRas ityvan bol Sevikemi maSvin, roca TviT kavkasia dadgeba fexze, erTsul ovnad auj anydeba Tavisi mtarval ebs da Tavsi gainTavisufl ebs. maT myviral a frazebs yurs

aravin daugdebs da arc aravin motyuvdeba. ara mar to social isturi, aramed burJuaziul i evropis simpatiac aj anyebul kavkasiisken iqneba da bol Sevikebis axal Semotevas yovel ive zneobrivi niadagi gamoecl eba. amasTanave gaadvil deba Cveni muSaoba evropaSi da gaZl ierdeba evropis pol itikuri gavl ena kavkasiis dasacavad. yovel ive es Cven udid es daxmarebas gagvi wevs da brZol as gagviadvil ebs, magram Cven erTi wuTiTac ar unda daviviwyoT, rom Cveni bedis faqtiuri gadamwyveti swored adgil obrivi brZol a da gmirul i Tavdacva iqneba.

me vTqvi, rom aj anyebul i kavkasiis sawinaaRmdego j aris dasagrovebl ad bol Sevikebs ukanasknel i ori Tve dasWirdeba. es im SemTxvevaSi, Tu moskovs TviT ruseTSi ar gaurTul da saqme. am ori Tvis ganmavl obaSi kavkasi-as srul iad eyofa Tavdasacavad 100 aTasiani j ari. xol o ori Tvis Semdeg, maSin roca moskovs 200 aTasiani j ari eyol eba damzadebul i Cven sawinaarmdegod, Cven gveyol eba darazmul i da mowesriigebul i 200 aTasiani l aSqari. ase rom moskovs dasWirdeba ki dev damatebiTi j arebis mozidva da amaze dro wava, roml iTac Cven xel axl a visargebl ebT Cveni Zal ebis gasaZl ierebl ad. amnairaT, moskovs aj anyebul i da ganTavisufI ebul i kavkasiis xel axl a dasapyrobad dasWirdeba 300- 350 aTasiani l aSqris dagroveba da darazmva. e.i. moskovs dasWirdeba didi omisaTvis momzadeba da misi dawyeba da damatebiTi axal i mobil izaciebis moxdena. yovel ive es ki metad saxifaTo da saZnel o iqneba moskovisaTvis, radganac igi gaamwvavebs bol Sevikebis Sinaur mdgomareobas da aamoqmedebs ruseTis antibol Sevikur Zal ebs. sul advil i SesaZl ebel ia, rom moskovis mier Tavisi ZarRvebis axal ma daWimvam, moskovi srul katastrofamde miivyanos da iqneba aman aiZul os moskovi, rom nacvl ad xmal isa, man si tyva da mol aparakeba arCios. praqtika mol aparakebisa TandaTan Cveul ebrivi xdeba moskovisaTvis. svaneTi, Turqestani, petrovi! mitupro iZul ebul i iqneba igi mol aparakeba gamarTos aj anyebul kavkasiastan, roml is saTaveSi iqneba saqarTvel o, vinaidan am aj anyebis avtoriteti, Zl iereba da aRfrTovaneba metad maRal i iqneba. am mol aparakebaSi Cven dagvexmareba social isturi da burJuaziul i evropa. muSuri evropa Cven SegviZl ia arbitrad avirCioT da mas vandoT Cveni bedi gadasawyvetad da Tu bol Sevikebma uaryves es miudgomel i arbitri, evropis muSaTa kl asi metis energiit dagvexmareba Cven da mas SeuZl ia prole tarul i bl okada gamoucados moskovs. da es swored daasamarebs moskovis diqtaturas...

i tyvian, rom moskovi ver asgziT ver dasTmobs kavkasi as da kerZoT baqoso. nebiT rasakvirvel ia ar daTmobs, magram Zal iT man daTmo revel i, riga, besarabia da vl adivostoki. Cven am Zal as unda daveyrdnoT da Tu Zal a gveqna, bol Sevikebi did daTmobaze wamovl en. rac Seexeba baqos, Cven SegviZl ia mas Ria karebi miyceT da internacional ur saeqspl uatacio simdi-dreT vaqci oT.

vakeTeb mokl e rezi umes:

saqarTvel os ganTavisufli eba moxdeba, rogorc Sedegi kavkasiis aj anyebisa. SesaZl ebel ia aj anyeba kavkasiis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi sxvadasxvagvarisizl ieris iqnes, magram gamarj vebis aucil ebel pirobaT unda CaiTval os, rom kavkasiis ori mesamedi aqtiurad unda Caebas aj anyebaSi. am mxriv Cven uzrunvel yofil i varT, radganac saqarTvel o, azerbaijani, Savi zRvis mxare, daRestani da yubani aucil ebl ad aj anyebian. pirvel i dakvrisaTvis aj anyebul kavkasiis 65 aTasiani rusis jaris winaaRmdog (33000- mde `okaSi-danarCeni `skvoSi-) SeuZl ia amdenive SeiaraRebul i meamboxis gamoyvana. aj anyebis ukve meore da mesame kviraSi ganTavisufli ebul kavkasiis TofqveSeyol eba 100 aTasiani kargi l aSqari da ori Tvis Semdeg ki 200 aTasze meti. am jaris saSual ebiT, romel ic ki dev TandaTan gaZl ierdeba, saqarTvel os da kavkasiis SeuZl iaT iqamdis daicvan Tavisufli eba da ebrZol on moskovs, sanam es ukanasknel i ar icnobs kavkasiis srul damouki debl obas da ar Seurigdeba mas. es aris real uri da faqtiuri gza Cveni ganTavisufli ebisa. sxva gzebi qimeriul ia. verc naciaTa l iga, verc romel ime burJuaziul i konferencia da verc muSaTa internacional i ver aiZul ebs moskovs kavkasiis da kerZot saqarTvel os dacl as. rasakvirvel ia, aq yvel gan muSaobaa saWi ro, magram droa davrwundeT, rom mar to dipl omatiuri muSaobiT Cveni qveynebi ver ganTavisufli debian. dipl omatias SeuZl ia mxol od didi samsaxuri gauwios Cvens saqmes. ganTavisufli ebis mTavar faqtorat ki SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba unda vaRiaroT. amisdami xedviT mTel i simZime muSaobisa adgil obriv, kavkasiisaSi unda gadavides. rac SeiZl eba adre unda moxdes ucxoeeTis `razgruska- zedmeti momuSaveebidan da isini TandaTanobiT Tav- TavianT qveynebSi unda gadavidnen. yovel cal ke qveyanaSi (azerbaijani, somxeTi, daRestani, yubani da sx.) unda moewyos xel mZRvanel i saidumlo centrebi, roml ebsac yvel a kuTxeebSi eyol eba Tavisixel qveiti organizaciebi da roml ebic kavkasiis saerTo centriT iqnebian gaertianebul i. es centri unda iqnes metad saidumlo, mtkice da avtoritetiani. am centrs unda qondes samxedro gegma SemuSavebul i da aj anyebis Zafebi mis xel Si unda iyrides Tavs. saWi ro Jams mas unda SeeZl os mTel i kavkasiis da gansakuTrebiT amierkavkasiis (daRestniana) fexze dayeneba. dReidan es unda iyos Cveni mizani da aqet unda miymarToT yvel a Cveni Zal ebi. Tu ara, Cveni saqme an wagebul ia, an didi xniT dasamarebul ad unda CaiTval os. Tu am naxevarwel iwadSi Cven ver SevZel iT CvenSi bol Sevizmis l ikvidacia, SemdegSi es saqme TandaTan gaZnel deba. bol Sevizmi TandaTan marj vni v daiwevs da didi daTmobiis wyal obiT Sesarigebl kompromiss gamonaxavs burJuaziul evropasTan. da ruseTTan morigebul evropas TandaTan miaviwydeba kavkasiac da saqarTvel oc.

ami tom drois dayovneba Cven ar gvargebs...

7 seqtemberi 22 w. konstantinopoli.

damateba:

gvetyian, rom aj anyebaSi didi `riskia.~ Tu igi damarcxda, ganadgurdeba mTel i xal xi da wel Si gawydeba eri! `riski~ rasakvirvel ia aris, magram `uriskoT~ araviTari didi saqme ar gakeTdeba da Cveni val ia vecadoT rac SeiZl eba SevamciroT es `riski.~ magram gana TviT bol Sevikebis batonoba saqarTvel oSi ar aris ukve ganxorciel ebul i `riski~ da gana bol Sevikrusul i okupacia faqtiurad ar kl avs da ar anadgurebs ers? misi saukeTeso Zal ebi i devnebian, ena i Cagreba, qarTvel i muSakebi adgil ebs kargaven da saqarTvel oSi batondebian ucxo el ementebi. bol Sevikuri batonoba sul s uxuTavs ers, Si is mis mamozravebel ZarRvebs da aqarwyl ebs eris saxel mwi foebriv arsebobs. ki dev ramdenime wel i rom gagrZel des es okupacia, Cveni xal xi wel Si gawydeba, imeds dakargavs, ruseTTan Serigebis da daTmobis gzebis Ziebas daiwyeb da am xnis ganmavl obaSi evropasac mi vavi wydebiT. Cven SigniT da gareT samuSao ful ic Semogvaki deba da Cven emigraciaSi daiwyeba gaxrwna, axal i miznebis Zieba. ami tom arsebul i mdgomareoba erisaTvis met `risks~, met safrTxes warmoadgens, vidre sayovel Tao aj anyeba. magram, warmoudgenel ic rom warmovidginoT, da davuSvaT aj anyebis daZl eva da damarcxeba, nuTu es marTI ac mTel i eris mospobasa da ganadgurebas daedareba? srul iadac ara. istoriam icis mraval i magal iTebi, roca damarcxebul i aj anyeba, ki dev ufro amtkicebda eris mebrZol sul iskveTebas da ufro mWidrod razmavda mis Zal ebs. i tyvian, rom bol Sevikebs ar uyvarT xumroba da isini sisxl Si CaaxSoben xal xs. magram, es `sisxl is xanac~ ganvl o bol Sevizmma. arc Sinauri da arc sagareo pirobebi mas amas veRar abedvineben da TviT ufro ver gabedaven amas isini saqarTvel oSi... amnairaT, arc damarcxeba mokl avs saqarTvel os. magram Cven unda vemzadoT gamarj vebisaTvis da unda vi povot igi. zeviT me vcdil obdi damemtkicebina, rom Cvens aj anyebas real uri safuZvel i aqvs. me ganzrax vamcirebdi Cven Zal ebs, raTa zedmeti imedebi ar damebada. ganibal i (al .zaqariaZe)

8 seqtemberi 22 w. konstantinopol i.

dokumenti # 3.

kavkasiaSi disl ocirebul i rusul i jaris raodenobis dazustebul i monacemebis Sesaxeb, v.j uRel is mier 1923 wl is Teberval Si gakeTebul i moxseneba

samxedro moxseneba

(egorovis moxsenebis, rusul i jaris 1923 wl is ianvris disl okaciis da `okas- sainformacio cnobebis mixedviT)

metad Znel ia sruli da detaluri warmodgenis Seqmna kavkasiaSi da kerZoT `okasi- moTavsebul wiTel jarze, radganac, samwuxaroT, Tbilisi dan Cven ar mogvdis sakamod damuSavebul i samxedro masala da xSiraT TviT es masala erTmaneTis sawinaaRmdego cnobebis Sei cavs. magram, miuxedavad amisa, miRebul i masalis ukve aq gadamuSaveba da damatebiTi wyaroebiT sargebl oba Cven saSual ebas gvaZl evs sworaT viangari SoT kvkasiaSi mobinadrebol Sevikuri rusuli da adgil obrivi SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi.

Crდილი და ამერკავკასიაში მობინადრე ვიტელი არება, მაშემდეგ რაც გაუგონად მერვე, მეცხრე და მეტერთმეტე (VIII, IX, XI) არმიები, შეადგინეს ორი დიდი არმია. ერთს სახელად დაერკვა Crდილი ოქკავკასიის სამხედრო ოლქი (**CKBO**) და რომლის ტერიტორიაში სდის დონის ოლქი, სტავროპოლის გუბერნია, ყუბანის, ტერგის და დარესტნის ოლქები; ხოლო მეორე არმიას სახელად ვედატ მიეცა `ოკა- (**OKA**- კავკასიის საგანგებო არმია ს.ვ.) ანუ კავკასიის ცალკე არმია და მისმა ტერიტორიამ შეადგინა მთელი ამერკავკასია.

რადგანაც ცენ აკანსაკუტრებიT `ოკა- და ამერკავკასია გვაინტერესებს, ამიტომ ცენ მხოლოდ მოკლედ შევცრდებიT Crდილი ოქკავკასიის არმიის დასაბუთებაზე. თანამად `ოკა- საინფორმაციო ცენტრებისა, პირველი იანვრისათვის (1923 წ.) Crდილი კავკასიის ჯარსი როსტოვიდან_ ხაჩმაზამდე იტვილებოდა `კონიანა- და ადგილი ობრივი არებიანა 57 ათასი მამელი. ინფორმაციის ვიტელი არმიაში 31 ათასი ყაზახი და რუს ვიტელი არმიის საგარეო სობს. თუ საუკეთესო შემთხვევისათვის ცენ ვიანგარი შებT, რომ ვიტელი ჯარსი ხისტების რიცხვი შეადგენს 80%-ს, მთელი Crდილი კავკასიის არმიათვის ცენ მისი რეზერვით 45 ათასი მებრძოლი. აყედან, სულ უკანასკნელი 10 ათასი მებრძოლი იყნება ადგილი ობრივი არებიდან. ასე რომ, მართო რუსული ვიტელი არმიის ები მთელი `სკვისი- შეადგენენ უთუოდ არაუმეტეს 35 ათასი ხისტისა. ამავანგარი სს ამოვლებს ორი სხვა ცნობა, რომლებიც სხვადასხვა ვიაროებიდან არის მიRebul i და რომლებიც სრულიად შეთანხმებული ამანგან. ამ ცნობების მიხედვით `სკვის- მდგომარეობა გასული წლის დეკემბრისათვის ასეთი იყო: 1) Crდილი კავკასიის ჯარის უფროსი_ ვოროსილოვი; 2) მისი სტაბის უფროსი_ ლევანდოვსკი; 3) არმიის სტაბი_ როსტოვისი.

არმიის შემადგენლობა:

მეცხრე, მეცამეტე, მეოცდაორე, მეოცდამერვე და მეოცდამეცხრე (IX, XIII, XXII, XXVIII და XXXVII) კარტელი დივიზიები, დარესტნის კვეიტთა დივიზია, ოქცი ცხენოსანი დივიზია ბუდიონის არმისა (მე II, IV, VI და XIV) და ცხენოსანი ცალკე ბრიგადა. თუ მხედველობაში მისი რეზერვით რომ კარტელი დივიზიაში ირიცხება არაუმეტეს 4000 მებრძოლისა (ხისტისა) და ცხენოსანი კი არაუმეტეს 1200 მამლისა, ცენი კვეიტთა ჯარისთვის მისი რეზერვით 24 ათასი მებრძოლისა და

cxenosani sTvis araumetes 54000 xml isa. am ricxvs unda miematos Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi moTavsebul i mraVal i kursantebis Svil ebi da agreTve special - uri sagangebo nawil ebi. yvel a am damatebebiT Cven Crdil oeT kavkasiis armiisTvis sabol oOT miViRebT igive 35 aTass mebrZol s. es aris rusul i Zal ebis maqsimal uri ricxvi.

rac Seexeba `okas,- romel ic Cven gansakuTrebiT unda gvainteresebdes, misi Semadgenl oba pirvel i ianvrisaTvis 1923 wl isa, e.i. maSin, roca ufrosi wel s Svebul ebaSi (uvadoT) gauSves da `okam- ukrainidan miRo Tavis SesavsebaT 20 aTasamde axal gazrda j ariskacebi. aseTi iyo:

`okas- ufrosi_ egorovi; Stabis ufrosi_ pugaCovi.
Stabi Tbil isSi:

I. pirvel i msrol el i divizia_ Stabi quTaisSi

- 1) sammarTvel o- quTaisSi_ 169 kaci;
- 2) oficerTa skol a- iqve_ 76 kaci;
- 3) I- I i msrol el i pol ki TiTo- soxumSi_ 2240 kaci;
- 4) me- II- re msrol el i pol ki- baTumSi_ 1957 kaci;
- 5) me- III- me msrol el i pol ki- quTaisSi_ 2238 kaci;

6) msubuqi saartil erio diviziis sammarTvel o_ quTaisSi

- 7) I- I i da me- II- re msubuqi batar. da samTo `viuCni~ (saswavl ebel i)_ 346 kaci;
- 8) gaubicis batarea_ baTumSi_ 115 kaci;
- 9) sakavSi ro gundi- quTaisSi_ 228 kaci;
- 10) cal ke eskadroni- iqve_ 115 kaci;

sul pirvel diviziaSi _ 7484 kaci

pirvel i divizia sdgas saqarTvel oSi. ori danarCeni srul iad amave tipis da Semadgenl obis diviziebi sdganan_ erTi azerbaijanSi (meore) da erTic somxeTSi (mesame). amitom `okas- samive qveITTa diviziaSi iTvl eba daaxl oebiT 22 aTasi kaci da es diviziebi ki Seadgenen `okas- mTavar Zal as. `okaSive- Sedis kursantebis sxvadasxva skol ebi, sadac yvel a kursantebis ricxvi ar aRemateba 2500 kacs, saswavl o- sakadro brigada_ sami aTasi (3000) kacamde, cxenosani brigada_ 1600 kaci da `gpu- (saxel mwifo pol i- tikuri sammarTvel o) anu CveneburaT `Cekas- sxvadasxva razmebi. yvel a eseni Seadgenen araumetes 116 aTass kacs. amas unda daematos 5 j avSniani matarebel i, j avSniani avtomobil ebi, tankebi, aeropl anebi, sacixovno artil eria da kidev zogierTi ufro umniSvnel o special uri nawil ebi. amaTi saerto ricxvi ar aRemateba 6 aTass kacs. amnairaT, mTel `okaSi- iTvl eba sul 44 aTas kacamde, e.i. sworeT imdeni, ramdensac aRni Snavs Cveni Tbil isel i informatori, romel ic 17 ianvars gamogzavnil `svodkaSi- ambobs; `okaSi- ukanasknel i cnobebiT iTvl eba 45- 47 aTasi kaci. aqedan xiStis qveS

80% sdgas-^{XX}. o. 1922 wl is 13 dekembris cnobac amas amtkicebs. `sai duml o raskl adiviT `okaSi- qarTul , somxur da azerbaijanul j arebTan erTad, sanapiro razmebi ana pirvel i dekembrisaTvis kmayofaze iTvl eboda 61 aTasi kaci. aqedan 15 aTasi modioda erovnul nawil ebze da 46 aTasi rusebze-- o. yvel a am cnobebis mixedviT, Cven srul iaT gadaWriT SegviZl ia vsTqvaT, rom exl axan mTel i `okaSi- rusul i j arebis ricxvi 45 aTassar aRemateba. Tugind Cemi Sexedul ebiT mebrZol TaTvis metad gadaWarbebul i 80% miviRoT, mTel `okaSi- Cven dagvrCeba araumetes 36 aTasi xiSti. piradaT Cemi azriT es ricxvi uTuod gadametebul ia, magram yovel i SemTxvevisaTvis umj obesia mtris Zal a ar SevamciroT. aRniSnul i `okas- Zal ebi umTavresad binadrobena saqarTvel oSi, Semdeg azerbaijanSi da yvel aze nakl ebaT somxeTSi. SesaZl ebel ia, rom osmal eTTan mosal odnel i qarTul ebebis gamo am ukanasknel droSi somxeTSiac gaaZl ieres j arebi. Cemi angariSiT daaxl oebiT zemoaRniSnul i 36 aTasi xiStidan saqarTvel oSi sdgas 16 aTasi, azerbaijanSi 11 aTasi da somxeTSi 9 aTasi. TviT saqarTvel oSi aRniSnul i 16 aTasidan marto Tbil isSi dabanakebul ia 6 aTasamde! da es ara marto satransporto da sabinao mosazrebebiT, rogorc amas `okas- ufrosi ambobs,^{XXX} aramed umTavresad pol itikuri mosazrebebis gamo, vinaidan cxadia, rom dRes Tbil isis dakargva bol Sevi kebi saTvis amerkavkasi is dakargvas udri s. rogoria `okas- saerto mdgomareoba da ra samxedro Rirebul eba aqvs mas? es sakiTxi advil i gamosarkvevia TviT bol Sevi kebis masal ebis saSual ebiT. am masal ebis Seswavl a naTl ad amtkicebs, rom `oka- dResac ar warmoadgens Tanamedrove regul arul j ars, romelic organizaciul aT, teqnikaT da material uraT Tanamedrove samxedro moTxovnil ebaTa simaRl eze sdgas. `okas- (ise rogorc sazogadoT mTel wiTel armias) aramcTu SeuTvi sebia da Seusisxl xorcebia Tanamedrove samxedro xel ovneba, aramed, man yovel mxriv ukan dai Xia Zvel rusul j arTanac SedarebiT. rom es sityvebi ufro damaj erebel i gaxdes, me val aparakeb TviT bol Sevi kebis samxedro xel mZRvanel obas. pirvel yovl isa val aparakeb TviT egorovs: «Если мы возьмем вопрос материального снабжения войсковых частей, - то скажем, что в

XX. Cemi azriT, Cveni Tbil isel i informatori srul i sisworiT ver axdens xiStebis gamoangariSebas. saqme imaSia, rom bol Sevi kebma Secval es samxedro Zal ebis daxasiaTebis wesi da amitom, maT angariSi gamotovebul ia mebrZol Ta aRricxva `xiStebis- saSual ebiT. nacvl ad xiStisa- isini xmaroben an `boecs- an `komandno armeecs- da es orive cneba ki ufro farToa vidre `xiSti-! amitom, Tu namdvil i `xiStebis- gamoangariSebas daviwyebT, cxadia, rom Cven unda miviRoT ara 80%, aramed saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi 60 da sul didi 65%! amnairaT, mTel `okaSi- Cven ar unda viangariSoT 3000 xiStze meti, magram yovel ive `optimizmis- Tavidan asacil ebl ad me yvel gan maqsimal urad vangariSob mtris Zal ebs.

XXX. « Мы в силу недочета конского состава, должны базироваться на линии местной дороги, чтобы не было перебоев в снабжении армии продовольствием. Мы должны держаться в дислокации поблизости местной дороги. Это обстоятельство вызывает, конечно, некоторое перемещение гарнизона ... в Тбилиси и в Баку. Другого выхода нет. Само положение армии очень тяжелое » (из доклада командарма «ОКА» Егорова. Стенографический отчет II-ой партийной конференции коммунистический организаций Закавказья. Стр.34. Конференция имела место 11 и 12 ноября 22 года).

вопросах продовольствия мы в той или иной степени обойдёмся ...» Вопрос вещественного снабжения несколько хуже. Мы сталкиваемся с необходимостью иметь такие материалы, какие наша промышленность не может поставлять и в качественном, и в количественном отношении. Это мы видим на протяжении довольно долгого времени и последние сциития говорят, что несмотря на приказ Реввоенсовета Республики, - остается все такая же картина.

Сейча снаши войсковые части обеспечены в обмундировании на 50%, не больше, есть недочет в конском составе и обзое. Вопрос этот чрезвычайно сложный, ибо конский состав весьма растрёпан, численность его сократилось во всей федерации и после голода большинство конского состава погибло...» «Самый большой вопрос, который мы переживаем, это вопрос квартирный.» Semdeg egorovi eheba TviT yazarmis moyuobil obas da ambobs: «У нас нет армейских средств» da rogorc damaxasiaTebel i magal iti dasZens: «Мы закрыли свой журнал, накануне смерти наш единственный армейский орган – Красный Воин...» «Обращу внимание Партконференции на то, что без материальной помощи шефов мы не можем вести хозяйства армии.» aseTi ve suraTsøi mave konferenciaze xataven anski da kraCovi.

amnairaT, srul iad cxadia, rom is armia romel sac mxol od sursaTi aqvs ase Tu ise samyofi da romel sac akl ia tansacmel i, cxenebi, bina da moyuobil oba, romel sac ar aqvs araviTari saSual eba Tanamedrove samxedro teqniki progress gayves, ver CaiTvl eba Tanamedrove armiaT! da aqve unda iTqvas, rom SedarebiT Sida ruseTis armiasTan (garda moskovisa), `oka iTvl eba saukeTeso mowesrigebul ad, moyuobil aT da mokazmul aT!... egorovis mier aRniSnul i nakl i Sida ruseTSi erTi oraT iCenen TavS...

me aq ar Sevudgebi `Coni s- daxasiaTebas, vinai dan TviT bol Sevikema savsebiT kidev ver gaarkvies misi sabol oo saxe da organizaciul aT ver Camoayal - ibes. amas igive egorovi amowmebs. Tavisi ideiT ki `Coni- unda Seadgendes yvel aze ufro saimedo, sando nawil ebs. es ase vTqvaT unda gamxdariyo komunistebis gvardiaT. magram, gansakuTrebiT amierkavkasiaSi dRemdi Zal ian cota ram aris am mxriv gakeTebul i da amitom CvenSi `Coni- araviTar samxedro Zal as ar warmoadgens, miT ufro, rom rogorc igive egorovi ambobs: «Организацтонная сторона Чона весьма ненормально в смысле ведения военной работы.»

erTi ki aSkara unda iyos: radganac wiTel i armis Senaxva metad uznel deba gakotrebul ruseTs, bol Sevikebi amcireben regul arul j ars da cdil oben `Coni s- gazrdas. rogorc saiduml o brZanebi dan irkveva, gvauwyebS Tbil isel i informatori_ ruis j ars Zal ze amcireben. samagierod aZl iereben `Conso-. saqarTvel osTvis `Cons- 16 aTasamde angari Soben. cxadia, rom es ricxvi gadaWarbebul ia.

garda `Conisa- bol Sevikur Seiararebul Zal ebs unda miematos komso mol ebis nawil ebi, magram isini samxedro Tval sazrisiT srul iad umniSvnel oni arian. aRsani Snavia, rom ukanasknel aT mi Rebul i 20 aTas axal gazr- da j ariskacebs iaraRi `okam- adgil obriv e.i. amierkavkasiaSi dauriga. es imis damadasturebel ia, rom amierkavkasiis samxedro sawyobebSi iaraRi inaxeba.

nacional uri j arebi saqarTvel oSi, azerbaijanSi da somxeTSi_ unugeSo mdgomareobaSi arian. TiToeul respublikas yavs TiTo divizia, magram es ufro nominal uri diviziebia, roml ebic `okaSi- Sedian da roml ebSiac mebrZol Taricxvi 2- 3 aTass kacs ar aRemateba. marTal ia, sul ukanasknel

droso movi da cnoba, rom ganzraxul ia qarTul i j ar is gaZl i ereba, magram es
cnoba ki dev Semowmebas moiTxovs.

v.j .
15 Teberval i 23 w. parizi.

dokumenti # 4

samxreT- dasavl eTis frontze Turqetis samxedro Zal ebi s
raodenoba da raionebis mixedvit ganl ageba (1922 wl is
april is monacemebi)

Военные силы Турции

К 1-му апреля 1922 г.

Верховный Главнокомандующий ————— Мустафа - Кемал - Паша
Начальник Штаба ————— Тевзи Паша

восточный фронт

Командующий фронтом ————— Киазим-Кара бекир-Паша
Начальник Штаба ————— Пол. Сеифи-бей.
При фронтовом штабе: кавалерийский эскадрон — 100 сабель,
Ударный батальон /Сарыкамыш/, I бат. — 250 шт., 8 пулеметов.

а/ Приморский район:

Штаб 13-ой дивизии, при нем ударный батальон, кавалерийский эскадрон/Трапезонд/ —
I бат.,

I эскадрон, 250 шт., 4 пулем.

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1./ 53 пехотный полк - /Ризе/ | ————— 3 батал. — 1200 шт. | 48 пулем. 22 лег. ор. |
| 2./ 54 пехотный полк - /Трапезонд/ | ————— 3 батал. — 2500 шт. | |
| 3./ 55 пехотный полк - /Зрзинджан/ | ————— 3 батал. — 1000 шт. | |
| 4. /2-ой полк жандармерии /Трапез. и его район/ | 2 батальон - - 2000 шт. | |
| 5. /Отдельный Кавал. дивиз. /Трапезонд/ | 2 эскадр., 180 сабель. | |
| 6. /Морской дивиз. /Трапезонд/ | ————— 300 матросов и 30 офицеров. | |
| 7. /Учебный бат. | ————— 500 шт. | |
| 8. /4 полка /не разборчив/ | 15 тяж. оруд. | |

в/ Пограничный район

1/Штаб 6-ой Кавал. дивизии и эскадрон кавалерии /Карс/ — 100 саб.

2/ 11-ая бриг.:	15 кавал. полк — /Хоби/		5 эскадр.
	16 кавал. полк —		1500 сабель
3/ 12-ая бриг.:	17 кавал. полк — /Мапрак/		32 пулемет.
	18 кавал. полк — /Ало/		1000 саб.

4/ 9 Кавк. пехотная дивиз. Штаб, удар. батал. и кавал. эскадр. - Карс
I бат., I эскадр., 4 пулем.

14 Кавк. пехотный полк — /Кизил-Чахчах/	—	3 батал.
20 Кавказ. пехот. полк — /Везин-Кей/		3260 шт. 48 пул.
28 Кавказ. пехот. полк — /Гумбри/		18 орудий

11 Кавказ. пех. див. Штаб. кавал. эскадр. /Игдыр/ 100 сабель

18. Кавк. пех. полк — /Артвин/	—	3 бат	
32 Кавк. пех. полк — /Игдыр/	—	3 бат	
33 Кавк. пех. полк — /Игдыр-Баязет/	—	3 бат	

10. Кавал. див. ————— формируется в Карась.

14. Пех. див. Штаб и кавал. эскадрон /Эрзерум/ — 10 сабель.

Ударный батальон

3 Пехотный полк		3250 шт., 48 пулем., 18 орудий.
141 Пехотный полк		
142 Пехотный полк		

14. Кавал. бригада /14 кав. див/ 56 и 61 кав. полки — эск. 600 сабель и 8 пулем.

Гв. милиц. полк — /Эрзинджан/ — 3 батал. — 784 шт.

части приданные восточ. фронту

1. Саперный батальон — /Артвин/	—	500	
2. 4 железно-дорожный батальон — /Карс/	—	1200	
3. Рабочий батал. /Карс/	—	250	

Центральная Армия

Иррегулярный пехотный полк “Кара-дениз-Вркаага /Шт. Самсун/:

2463 шт.

36 пулем.

8 орудий

Морской дивизион — /Самсун/ — 380 матросов, 30 офиц.

1. иррегул. пех. полк — “Милли” /Нигзара/ 3 бат., 972 шт., 4 пулем.

2. иррегул. пех. полк — “Милли” /Карратория/ 3 бат., 745 шт.

3. иррегул. пех. полк — “Милли” /Галиклар/ 3 бат., 876 шт.

10. Пех. див., ударн. батал. /Самсун/ — 200 шт., 100 сабель.

93 Пех. полк —	3 бат.		4300 шт., 16 пул., 8 орудий
94 Пех. полк —	3 бат.		
95 Пех. полк —	3 бат.		

16. Пех. дивиз. Штаб, кавал. эскадр. и ударн. бат. /Самсун/ 250 шт. и 100 сабель

3 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	4500 шт., 16 пул., 8 орудий
42 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	
43 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	

Западный фронт

Главнокомандующий —————	Ислеим-паша.	Штаб Ангорь
Начальник Штаба —————	полк. Гасан-бей	

Измидский отдельн. отряд.

Район Измит-Гюстага. Начальн. отряда Сеид-паша /Шт. Боли/

17 и 18 милиц. полки ————— 2176 шт., 4 пулем.

38 пехот. полк ————— /Кемлик/ ————— 3 бат. 898 шт., 6 пулем.

/Неразборчиво/ ————— /Оз. Изник-кей/ ————— 518 шт., 6 пулем.

XIV Корпус

/Район Изгк-кей, Болеаик-Бостак/

56 пехот. дивиз. Штаб, ударн. бат., кавалер. эскадрон

172 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	3162 шт., 38 пулем.
173 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	
174 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	

61 пехот. дивиз. бат., Кавалер. эскадр.

188 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	2975 шт., 20 пулем.
189 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	
190 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	

Корпусная артиллерия — 8 полев. и 8 горн. орудий

II -ая Армия

/Тевзи - паша, Штаб - Сари-кей. Район Бостак-Баурби/

XX Корпус. /Штаб, Бей-Басар/

Эскишеирское направление.

24 пехотная дивизия, Штаб, ударн. бат. и отдельн. эскадрон. — 200 шт. и 100 сабель

2 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	2842 шт.
58 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	
143 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	

11 пехотная дивизия, Штаб, ударн. бат. и отдельн. эскадрон. — 220 шт. и 100 сабель 62 пул.

33 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	3967 шт.
126 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	
127 Пех. полк ————— 3 бат.	

Корпусная артил. — 8 горн., 4 полев. и 8 тяжел. орудий

Корпусная кавалерия — 525 сабель

3-й корпус/САри-Кей/

Эскишеирское направление.

/Командующий Джевад-Паша/.

/15. пех. див. Штаб, ударн. бат. бар. и кавал. эскад. — 200 шт. и 100 сабель

48 Пех. полк —————	3 бат.	4120 штук.
56 Пех. полк —————	3 бат.	
7 милиц. полк —————	3 бат.	

/ 5. пех. див. Штаб, ударн. бат. бар. и кавал. эскад. — 220 шт. 58 пул.

9 Кавк. пех. полк —————	3 бат.	3986 штук.
10 Кавк. пех. полк —————	3 бат.	
13 Кавк. пех. полк —————	3 бат.	

Иррегулярн. бригада, Керлбаирак” /Зеги-гази/

2 пех. полк — 6 бат. — 2114 шт., 10 пул. и 4 оруд.

Иррегулярн. милиция: 4 милиц. полк 3 бат.	1793 шт., 24 пул. 8 горн. орудий.
/Район Севри-Гизар/5 милиц. полк. 3 бат.	
6 милиц. полк 3 бат.	

5/ Иррегул., “Сакария”. /Севри - Гизар/.

11 полк —————	3 бат.	1214 шт., 12 пул., 4 оруд
12 полк —————	3 бат.	

6/ 2 кавалер. див. /Район Севри-Гизар/.

19,20,21,22,23 и 24 кавал. полк по 5-ти эскадр. 1696 саб., 16 пул. и 6 легк. оруд.

А Р М Е Й С К И Й Р Е З Е Р В

XVI Кавк. удар. Корпус. /Ангорский район/.

При каждой по одному бат. и кавк. эскад., как и раньше.

1/ Кавка. див. — 7 Кав. пех. полк —————	3 бат	2176 шт.
36 Кав. пех. полк —————	3 бат	
37 Кав. 4 пех. полк —————	3 бат	

2/ Кавка. див. — 20, 30, /или 3/ и 178 полки по 3 бат. — 3644 шт.

3/ Кавка. див. — 25, 39, и 116 полки ————— 3 бат. — 1922 шт.

Иррегулярн. “Ангорск.” — тот же район

16 и 17 пех. полки — 9 бат. — 1873 шт., 8 пулем.

Корпусная артиллерия ————— 100 орудий.

I-ая А Р М И Я. /Штаб в Кония/

Командующий армией али-Исхан-паша

XII корпус /Бнедин/ Команд. коп. Салахедин-Атан-бей.

Пех. дивиз. Штаб., ударн. бат. и отдельн., эскадр. — 220 шт. и 100 сабель.

6 пех. полк —————	3 бат	3780 шт.
69 пех. полк —————	3 бат	
159 пех. полк —————	3 бат	

Пех. дивиз. Штаб., ударн. бат. и отдельн., эскадр. — 250 шт. и 60 пулем.

132 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	4000 шт.
175 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	
176 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	

Командный отряд при корпусе ————— 870 сабель

Корпусная кавалерия ————— 16 орудия

XXV КОРПУС. /Шт. Карабаа/ Команд. Киазим - Паша.

1/ I-ая пех. дивиз. Штаб., ударн. бат. и эскадр.

70 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	3807 шт., 36 пулем.
71 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	
124 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	

2/ 2-ая пех. дивиз. Штаб., ударн. бат. и эскадр.

1 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	2014 шт., 29 пулем.
5 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	
6 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	

3/ 4-ая пех. дивиз. Штаб., ударн. бат. и эскадр.

10 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	3307 шт., 29 пулем.
11 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	
12 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	

Конница ————— - 400 сабель

Артиллерия ————— 4 пол., 8 горн. и 4 тяж. оруд.

XVII КОРПУС. /Шт. Акиер/

Командующий корпусом — Гусамедин - бей

5. пех. дивиз. при всех дивизиях по ударн. бат. по 250 шт. и кавал. эскадр по 100 сабель

13 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	4026 шт., 21 пулем.
14 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	
15 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	

6-ая пех. дивизия

16 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	3852 шт., 25 пулем.
17 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	
31 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	

41-ая пех. дивизия

130 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	3658 шт., 22 пулем.
135 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	
139 пех. полк	————— 3 бат	

Конница ————— 408 сабель
Артиллерия ————— 4 пол., 6 горн. и 4 тяж. оруд.

Кавалерия. /Район Денизли/

31 Кав. дивизия
20, 25, 31 и 32 кав. полк по 5 эскадр. — 896 саб., 16 пул. и 6 орудий.
14. кав. дивизия.
13 и 14 полки по 5 эскадр. ————— 808 сабель, 16 пулем.

АРМЕЙСКИЙ РЕЗЕРВ

XVIII КОРПУС. /Шт. Кония/ Команд. Фардин-Паша

7. пех. дивиз. Штаб., ударн. бат. и эскадр 250 шт. и 100 сабель

19 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		2767 шт., 19 пулем.
20 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		
21 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		

8. пех. дивиз. Штаб., ударн. бат. и эскадр 250 шт. и 100 сабель

22 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		2256 шт., 20 пулем.
23 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		
24 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		

Кавалер. ————— 390 сабель

Артиллерия ————— 20 оруд.

7 кавал. дивизия.

4,5,6,8 кавал. полки — 20 эскадр. 2000 сабель и 16 п.

Отдельн. кав. дивиз. ————— 2 эскадр. 300 сабель.

Карский конный полк ————— сведений не имеется

Конийский конный полк ————— 6 эскадр. 600 сабель.

Киликийский район

12. пех. дивиз. Штаб., ударн. бат. кав. эскадр — 200 шт. и 100 сабель

34 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		3585 шт., 48 пул. и 24 оруд.
35 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		
36 пех. полк ————— 3 бат		

Месопотамский фронт

Команд. ————— Джемал - Паша:

Пех. дивизия. Штаб., ударн. бат., эскадр.
полки — 9 бат. 4750 шт., 40 пулем., 14 оруд.

ВСЕГО ТУРЕЦКИЙ СИЛ.:

317 батальонов, 150 эскадронов, 120, 046 штыков, 1001 тяж. пул.,
3800 ручных пулеметов, 300 легких и 30 тяжелых орудий.

Примечание: Саперные, железно-дорожные батальоны, а равно морские дивизионы
сюда не входят.

На западном фронте при каждой пехотной дивизии числятся по 160 ручн. пулемет., а
при кавалерийск. — по 32.

8.5. 22 г.

“ ___ ” _____ ++++++ _____

Некоторые ошибки, неправильности и неясности названий объясняются ошибками при
шифровке.

dokumenti # 5

rogor i xocebian qarTvel i patriotebi samSobl osaTvis (1923 wel i)

saokupacio xel isufli ebam maisSi zakCekas Tbil isSi daaxocina 15 qarTve-
li, romel Ta umravl esoba gamoceni li, ganswavi ul i mxedrebi da sazogado
moRvaweebi iyvnen. gen. konstantine afxazi, gen. varden wul ukiZe, gen. al eqsan-
dre andronikaSvil i, pol k. giorgi ximSi aSvil i, rostom musxel iSvil i da
sxvebi. maT bral debodaT saqarTvel os ganm. komitetis samxedro seqciis
xel mZRvanel oba da aj anyebisTvis samxedro samzadisi. moskovis agentebs
ganzraxul i hqondaT pirvel ad maTi saj arod gasamarTI eba da e.w. revtri-
bunal isadmi gadacema. magram, sabral debo masal a imdenad susti iyo, rom
okupantebma ganaCeni am saqmisTvis special urad daniSnul komisiis gamo-
atanes, romel Siac Seyvani li ni iyvnen: cnobil i jal aTi_ pankratovi (okas-
osobi otdel is Tavmj domare), mogil evski (zakCekas Tavmj domare), Cekisti
rusi_ aSukini, ruseTis armi is sabWos wevri orj onikiZe, oraxel aSvil i, gr-
uzCekas Tavmj domare kvantali ani da sxv. saqme... bral debul Ta dauswre-
bl ad gairCa.

samSobl osaTvis Tavdadebul i mamuliSvil ebi iseve l aCrul ad daxoces,
rogorc gaamarTI es. maTi simamace da simtkice, maTi uSiSaroba si kvdili -
is wi naSe samagal iToda saamayo gaxda qarTvel i xal xisaTvis. maTma simS-
videm da vaJkacobam TviT sisxli iT dageSili jal aTebzedac didi STabeWd-
il eba moaxdina.

ai rogor agviwers am erovnul i gmi rebis ukanasknel wuTebserTi patima-

ri, romel ic maTTan erTad ij da da saSual eba hqonda swori cnoba mieRo daxvretil Ta damswre piri sagan.

`msxverpl Tagan ramdenime mZimed avadmyofi iyo da Cekas administracias saavadmyofoSi hyavda gadayvanil i. rodesac avadmyofi pol kovniki gul isaSvil i samkurnal odan mihyavdaT CekaSi, erTma sadi stma Cekistma gesl ianad hkiTxa: `xom ici sad da ristTvis mi gamgzavrebeno?~ **gul isaSvil ma upasuxa: `vici, mi vdivar imi stvis, rom saqarTvel osTvis movkvdeo.**~ pol k. ximSiaSvil i daxvretamde erTi dRiT adre gadai yvanes CekaSi. man kargad icoda ristTvisac mi hyavdaT, magram erTi wuTi Tac ar daukargavs Cveul ebrivi sul is simSvide. daSorebisas megobrebs Rimil iT uTxra: **`mi vyevar sawamebl ad, magram Cveni mtris aRsasrul ic moaxl oebul iao.**~ TiTqm is yvel a sikvdil misj il i saSinl ad nawamebni iyvnen. erTma maTganma bei Tal ma i. quTaTel aZem ver gauZl o wamebas da Wkuaze Secda. aman j al aTeb s xel i ar SeuSal a da Wkuaze SeSl il i kaci dasakl avi xarivi T gaaTries samkurnal odan. niko zandukel i, Zvel i ananurel i gmi rebis STamomaval i tifi T iyo avad, 41 gradusi sicxe hqonda. is ugrZnobl ad iyo, roca sakaci T wai Res CekaSi...

dadga sisxl iani mwuxri zakCekaSi... ganawamebi or- ori gahyavT saknebidan da Tavs uyrian gansakuTrebul oTaxSi. amaT el ian j al aTebi: pankratovi, somexi petrosiani, rusi aSukini, maT Soris urevia agreTve pirgaSavebul i iuda, qarTvel i kvantal iani. bol os mobrZanda zakCekas Tavmj domare ebrael i mogil evski. yvel a eseni gaJRenTil ni arian qarTvel Ta sisxl iT. kiTxu- l oben sasikvdil o ganaCens. erTi wuTi T mZime dumil i Camovarda... mas ar- Rvevs pol kovniki giorgi ximSiaSvil i, romel ic win wamodga da amayad ganacxada: **`Cven vici T ristTvisac gvkl avT. Tqvenc kargad ici T, rom banditebi ar varT. mal e dadgeba dro da TeTri giorgi mrisxaneT mogTxovT pasuxs. gaumarj os saqarTvel os!**~ ximSiaSvil is Semdeg j al aTeb s mi mar Ta garegnobi T gaWaRaravebul ma da ra indul i sul is mqone **general ma wul ikiZem: `sikvdil iT ver SegvaSinebT. Cveni sikvdil i saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis Tavdebia. igi gaasal kl devebs eris simtkices. erTi aTasad gaamravl ebs mebro l T!**~ Tvi T pankratovze, ruseTSi cnobil am j al aTzec ki axdens STabeWdil ebas sikvdil is win wul ukiZis gmi rul i Tav- daWera da srul i simSvide. is mi mar Tavs wul ukiZes: **`Tqven mar TI ac gmi r- ul ad kvdebi T, gindaT gadavce rai me Tqveni anebs?**~ **wul ukiZe: `gadaeci T, rom Cven davixoceT, rogorc qarTvel patriotebs Sehferis.**~ kote afx- azi: **`me kvdebi sixarul iT, radgan Rirsi gavxvdi samSobl os samsxver- pl oze zvarakad mitanisa. Cveni sikvdil i kidev erT gamarj vebas mou- tans saqarTvel os!**~... pol k. maWavariani: **`Cven ar gi pirebdi T Sebral ebas da arc Tqvengan mi vi Rebdi T l mobierebas. es Cveni Seuracyofa iqneboda.**~ bol os mSvidi, mudam auRel vebel i **andronikaSvil i esvris mtrebs: `saxeze getyobaT, rom gakvirvebT Cveni sul is simtkice. qarTvel ebi iqneb yvel a amisTanebi (mi uTi Tebs kvantal ianze) ggoniaT? ZrwodeT, mra val i aTasi Cvenze ukeTesebi zrdian Taviant gul Si Tqvendami siZul vil sl!**~ pol k. Crdil el i: **`ruseTSi gadaeCvivnen idei saTvis Tavganwi rul ad sikvdil s. wadi T da uambeT maT, Tu rogor ixocebian qarTvel ebi samSobl osaTvis.**~ j al aTebi Seudgnen zakCekaSi ukanasknel operacias. dauwyes msxverpl T xel - fexis Sekvra. moxuci wul ukiZe gaZal da: **`qamebo (barbarosebo S.v.), nu gvikravT xel - fexs. Tqvens brWyal ebSi var T, magram kargad ici T, rom mon-**

ebi ara var TI!-... yvel a Seborkes, Cayares or sabargo avtomobil Si da gaaqanes sasakl aosken. avtomobil ebs orive mxrit misdevs Tqara- TquriT kaval e-ria. win miuzRvis msubuqi avtomobil iT pankratovi... gzaSi afxazma da Crdil el ma moaxerxes xel - fexi aexsnaT ximSiaSvil isaTvis. igi swvda kiserSi erT- erT komendants- vikentievS, aagl ij a revol veri da swrafad gadaxta avtomobil idan. erTi wuTi da... sabol ood gausxl teboda j al aTebS xel idan da miimal eboda... magram bedma umuxTI a. gadmoxtomi- sas revol veri gauvarda, mxl ebel ma cxenosnebma gai ges, daedevnen, Sei qm- na Tofebis bTqa- buTqi... ximSiaSvil i fexSi daiWra, waiqca. orma j al aT- ma_ amirovma da abazovma tyviebiT dacxril es, waaTries da pirvel i Caagdes gamzadebul ormoSi... Semdeg daxoces danarCenebic. daxvretaSi pirvel ad monawil eoba mi iRo pankratovma.

ase dai xocnen gmi rebi. ukanasknel wuTamde maTi fiqri da goneba saqarTvel os ekuTvnoda da saqarTvel oc samudamod Seinaxavs Tavis gul Si maTi msxverpl iT gaciskrovnebul saxel ebs.-

tusaRis weril i Tavdeba amonawerIT giorgi ximSiaSvil is l eqsidan, romel - ic gansvenebul s sikvdil is dRes dauweria:

`Tavis mosisxl es mteri Tu momspobs deda- miwaze da verc movides Wirisufal i creml iT safl avze, mainc vnugeSob, xsovna iqneba erTgul mxedarze da quds moixdis mamul iSvil i Cems xsenebaze-...

dokumenti # 6

emigraciul i mTavrobis da saqarTvel os damouki debl o- bis komitetis del egaciiS SeerTebul i sxdomis oqmi.

20. XII. 1924 w. parizi.

daeswrnen: n.Jordania, n.ramiSvil i, e.gegeWkori, k.kandelaki, sp.kedia, i.gobeCia, s.fircxalava, ak.Cxenkel i.

saqarTvel odn Camosul ni: sp.WavWavaZe, q.Col oyaSvil i, g.wereTel i, sv.wereTel i, S.berisvil i da ofic. mamal aZe.

mTavrobis Tavmj domare: es sami wel iwadnaxevaria saqarTvel oSi bevri ambebi moxda. me minda or garemoebas mi vaqcio exl a yuradReba. yovel ive rac CvenSi moxda, istoriis da momaval i gamokvl evis saqmea.

pirvel i garemoeba: roca saqarTvel os okupaciiS Semdeg Cven aqeT gamovemgzavreT, samSobl oSi darCenil Ta Soris pirvel xanebSi erTgvari rye- va, Zi eba iyo. ar iyo garkveul i xazi da raRac modus vivendis- sac daeZebd- nen, rom Seguebodnen sabWoTa weswyobil ebas. am dros erTma kacma Tavisi gonebi T gadawyvi ta, Tu ra eni T SeiZl eboda l aparaki bol Sevikur xel isu- fl ebasTan, rom maT wi naaRmdeg saWiroa mxol od Zal is dapi rispireba, saWiroa

i araRis xel Si aReba. sxvadasxva azri SeiZl eba iyos am kacis aseT gamosv-
l aze, magram erTi rame... udavoa: man ramdenime kaciT SesZl o didi xnis
ganmavl obaSi Tavis Senaxva... mTel i j gufiT. es amtkicebs, rom mas hqonia
ara mar to moxerxeba, aramed Wkuac. es adamiani iyo b. Col oyaSvil i. me
mTavrobis da del egaciis saxel iT mivesal mebi mas da vusurveb kvl av Se-
rCenodes... mxneoba saerTo saqmisTvis.

meore: CvenSi aj anyeba moxda da am aj anyebis meTaurni aq imyofebian. Cveni
mtrebi xmebs avrcel ebs, TiTqos Cven vgmobdeT maT saqciel s, radgan igi ar
gaTavda gamarj vebi T. Tu igi ar gaTavda gamarj vebi T, es mebrZol Ta bral i
ar aris, amis mi zezebi sxvagan unda veZioT. dafaseba aj anyebis Sedegebis ar
SeiZl eba mxol od (dRevandel obi T S.v.)... avswonoT, (igi unda Sefasdes S.v.)...
Soreul i Sedegebi Tac. erTi cxadia, **es ar yofil a `putCi-, aramed iyo
namdvil i xal xuri gamosvl a**, roml is msgavsi Cvens qveyanas didi xania ar
axsovs. es iyo didi gamosvl a ucxoetis uRI is wi naaRmdeg. Cveni kol egiis
saxel iT mivesal mebi aq damswre meTaurT da vusurveb momaval Si maTive
mxne monawil eobi T Cveni xal xis ganTavisufl ebis saqme gamarj vebi T dabo-
l oebul iyos.

sp.WavWvaZe. me SemiZl ia mogaxsenoT mxol od imis Sesaxeb, rac me vici. me
viyavi samxedro komisiaSi da paritetul i komitetis saxel iT ar SemiZl ia
vil aparako, radgan SeiZl eba yovel ive arc ki vicode. me didxans ar vmuSaobdi
da, ase vsTqvaT, ubral o meTval yure viyavi yovel ive imis, rac CvenSi xdebo-
da. erTxans xal xs egona, rom b- bi (bol Sevi kebi S.v.) rasme mi scemda maT. es
imedi ar gamarTI da. ar gamarTI da arc imedi imis, TiTqos federacia
marTI a mainc darCebeda. dauwyes devna intel igencias, oficrobas. sofl ad
Tavad- aznaurobis Semdeg gl exobasac, ramac gl exoba da yofil i Tvad-
aznauroba erTimeores dauaxl ova, gaaerTiana. samxedro centris 15 wevris
daxvretam saSinel i STabeWdil eba moaxdina yvel aze. ukmayofil eba didad
gazar da yvel a wreebSi am sami wl is ganmavl obaSi. xal xSi survil i iyo
aqtiuri brZol is. amas al Ro auRo q.Col oyaSvil ma da ami T aixsneba is, rom
igi amdenxans Tavis razmiT Tavs inaxavda. Tumca igi banditad gamoacxa-
des b-bma (bol Sevi kebma S.v.), magram es arafri dan ar sCanda; verc gamceml o-
bi T da verc Zal iT igi, rom ver Sei pyres- wi nadadeba mi sces sazRvargareT
gasvl is, magram arc aman gasWra. mas didi gavlen a hqonda gansakuTrebi T
aRmosavl eT sqarTvel oSi.

roca me samxedro komisiaSi muSaobaze davTanxmdi, Cemi Sexedul eba iyo,
rom saWiro iyo mzadeba gamosvl isaTvis, magram mxol od maSin, roca amis
momenti dadgeboda. roca parit. komitetSi ukve daiwyes l aparaki gamosv-
l is Sesaxeb da me damasaxel es xel mZRvanel ad mTel i kavkasiisTvis, me uari
ganvacxade. me real ur Zal as Col oyaSvil is garda ver vxedavdi. paritet-
ul i komitetis nakl i is iyo, rom... erT da imave dros aq iyo partiul i da
samxedro muSoba. TiToeul i wevri yvel afers Tavis partias ekiTxeboda. es
ki, xel s uwyobda gamceml obas, radgan sakiTxebi gareT gadioda. Cven gvqon-
da kavSiri azerbaij anTan, mTasTan da Crdil oet kavkasiastanac. ar iyo
sando somxoba, magram es ar gamarTI da savsebi T, radgan somxebma monawil e-
oba Cvens mxareze mi iRes yazaxis mazraSi. mezobl ebi Cven gvTxovdnen in-
struqtorebs. osebi Cveni wi naaRmdegia, radgan Cven maT damouki debl obas
ar vcnobdi T, nawil i afxazeTi sac.

roca sakiTxi praqtikul ad dadga gamosvl is Sesaxeb, me movTxove parit. komitets konkretul i dasaxel eba, Turisi imedi hqondaT. maT miTxres: ing- lisi gpirdeba dipl omatiur Carevas, rom arcerTi rusis jariskaci Cven- Si ar gamoigzavnoso; safrangeTidan miviRebTfuls da iaraRso; polone- Tidan darumineTidan iqneba sazRvrebze jaris demonstraciao; osmal eTi daiWers neutralitets dasxv. vSTxove sabuTebi, magram sabuTebi rom ver miSoves, vTxove sazRvargareT gaSveba, rom davrwmunebul iyavi rasac ambo- bdnen. miTxres, es SeiZleboda, magram dagvianebul iariso. me xel meored ga- nvacxade xel mZRvanel obaze uari, magram mainc iZulebul i Seviqeni Semdeg davTanxmebul iyavi, radgan miTxres gamosvl ebi mainc moxdeba.

xma aj anyebis Sesaxeb mudam iyo. b- bs (bol Sevicebs S.v.) aRar sj erodaT, xolo juRel is Cavardnis Semdeg sabWoTa sawinaaRmdego mzadebam imata. pirvel ad daniSnuli iyo gamosvl a 19 agvistos; magram aj anyebis gegma Cava- rdnil i iyo; jarebi tfil isSi da baTumSi daagrovos da Cveni gegmac, rom tfil isi Cagvegdo pirvel ad xel Si CaiSal a. Semdeg Semovida meorenari gegma: provinciebi dan dawyebul iyo. raTqma unda, es ar iyo kargi, magram pa- rit. komitetSi darwmunebul ebi iyvnen, rom xal xis gaCereba SeuZlebel i iyo.

ar darCenila sofel i, sadac ar momxdariyo gamosvl a da Zal aufleba xe- l Si ar Cagvegdo. gansakuTrebiTZI ieri iyo moZraoba guriasida samegre- l oSi.

daskvna: organizacia ar iyo damakamyofil ebel i, partiuli da samxedro muSaobis areva xel s uSli da saqmes. Zal ian didi ziani mogvitana pirvel i gegmis moSl am. sazogadoT gamceml oba iyo. miuxedavad amisa, mTel i provin- ciebi Cvens xel Si iyo da daxmareba rom gvqonoda Cven gavi marj vebdiT. Se- kiTxvebi:

e.gegeWkori: ratom ar moewyo kavSiri azerbaij anTan da mTasTan?

q.Col oyaSvili: isini gvTxovdnen instruqtorebs da Cven ver mi vavdineT. Cavar da agreTve azerbaij anis xel mZRvanel i.

i.gobeCia: Tqven Tu daeswariT parit. komitetis sxdomas, sadac gadawyda gamosvl a da Tu iyo iq ganmeorebul i daxmarebis imedis sesaxeb.

sp.WavWavaZe: diax daveswari da ganmeorebul i iyo.

sp.kedia: roca pirvel i gegma CaiSal a, xel meored rad gadaswyvi teT gamos- vl a.

q.Col oyaSvili: mitom, rom xal xis gaCereba ar SeiZleboda.

s.fircxalava: s.federal istebs marTla ar miuRiaT monawileoba.

sp.WavWavaZe: maTma warmomadgenel ma parit. komitetSi ganacxada wi naaRmde- gi varTo, magram adgil obriv mainc axdendnen monawileobas.

e.gegeWkori: ra iyo Tqveni amocana? Tqven windawine moel odit daxmarebas, Tu jer unda dagecal aT (rusis jarisgan S.v.) amierkavkasia.

sp.WavWavaZe: diax, daxmarebas movel odit Tuki davcl idiT (rusis jarisgan S.v.) saqarTvel os, magram provinciebi Cvens xel Si iyo. daxmareba rom gvqon- oda gavi marj vebdiT.

sp.kedia: sazogado suraTiseTia, rom sadac jari iyo iq Tqven veraferi gaakeTeT.

q.Col oyaSvili: ara, brZola iyo mangl isis mimarTulebiT, tfil isis ax- l os. xel s gviSli da patronebis uqonl oba.

sp.kedia: patronebi Tu ar gqondaT, risi imediT gamoxvediT?

sp.WavWavaZe: Cveni pirvel i pl ani swori iyo. j er tfil isi unda agveRo da arsenal Si viSovidiT patronebs. roca es gegma Cai Sal a, davrciT patroneb- is gareSe; xol o gamosvl is aucil ebl oba mainc Zal aSi darCa... sxva gegmi T.

g.wereTel i: rac b. WavWavaZem mogaxsenaT aRmosavl eTis Sesaxeb da Col o- yaSvil is razmis Taobaze sworia. Wi aTuraSi brZol a iyo, mosul ebi c iyvnen. ver gavmagrdiT, radgan patronebi gvegona eqneboda bol Sevikebs da ar aR- moCnda. patronebis gareSe viyavi T. imedi Tu iyovo. damouki debl obis komi- tetis Tavmj domaridan piradaT vici, rom cocxal i Zal iT daxmarebis imedi ar unda gvqonoda, xol o Tu amierkavkasi as savsebi T gavmendiT, maSi n Se- saZl ebel i iyo daxmarebis miReba ful iT da iaraRiT. gadadeba Tu SeiZl e- bodao? rasakvirvel ia SeiZl eboda, magram mainc didi msxverpl i moyveboda.

q.Col oyaSvil i: me imasac mwerdnen dam. komi teti, rom axl a evropasi iseTi mTavrobebia, met yuradRebas mogvaqceveno.

n.rami Svil i: sad giTxres Tqven, rom daxmarebas Tavi danve unda movel ode- To.

sp.WavWavaZe: parit. komi tetSi me agreTve didxans vel aparake vj uRel s da imi danac aseTi STabeWdil eba mi vi Re.

n.rami Svil i: darCa partiul i an damoukebel i komi tetis organi zaciebi?

g.wereTel i: zogierT adgil ebSi darCa.

n.rami Svil i: dam. komi tets yvel gan hqonda organi zaciebi?

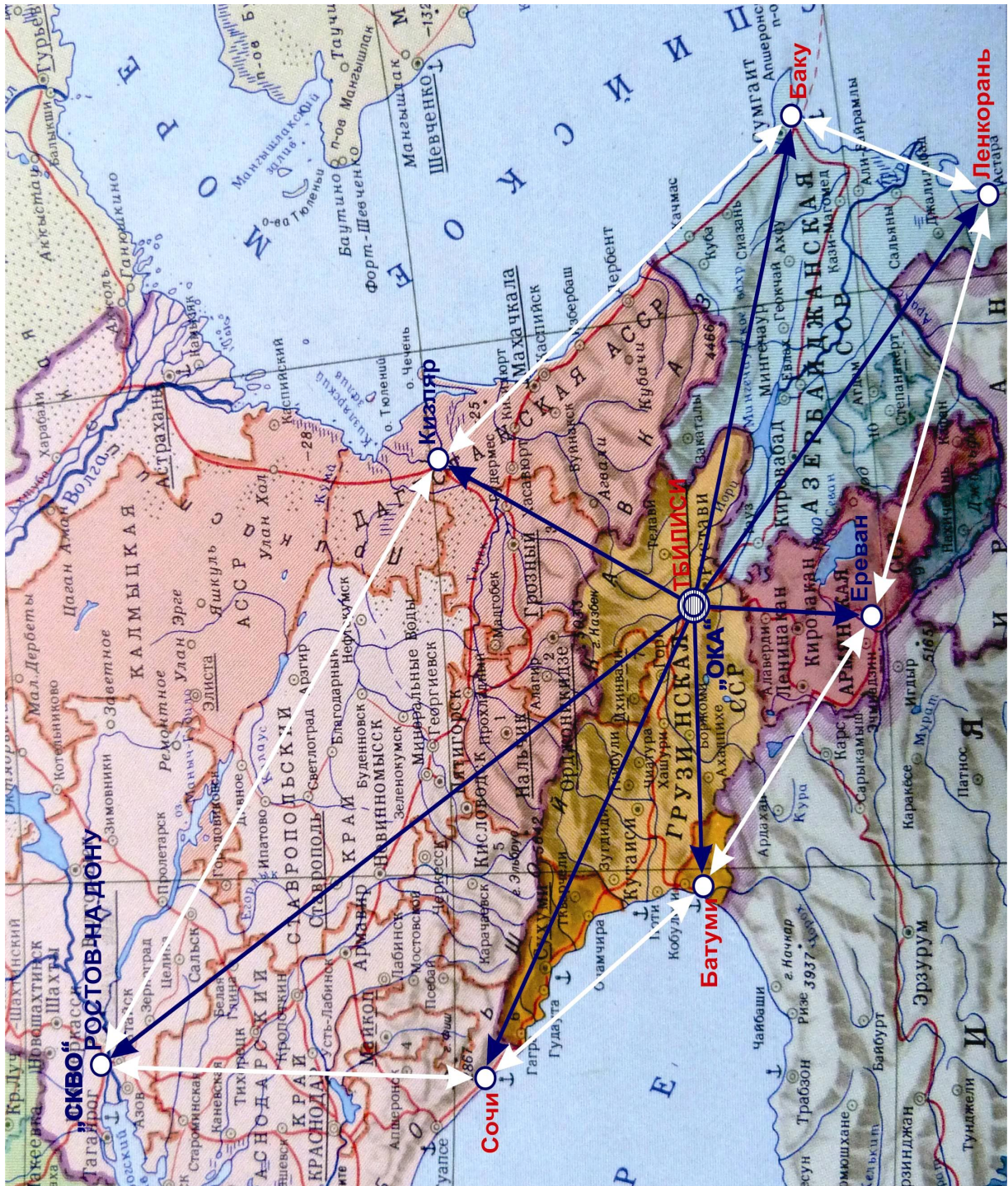
g.wereTel i: kaxeTSi ar hqonia. hqonda imereTSi, samegrel oSi. aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi. kaxeTSi iyo mxol od Col oyaSvil is organi zacia.

n.Jordania: rogori iyo sxva erebis damokidebul eba provinci ebSi?

q.Col oyaSvil i: adgil obriv TaTrebi, rusebi da zogan somxebi CvenTan iyo. borCal os mazraSi somxebma srul ad amowyvites qarTvel oba.

sxdomis Tavmj domare n.Jordania (xel moweril ia)

sxdomis mdivani (xel mowera ar ikiTxeba)



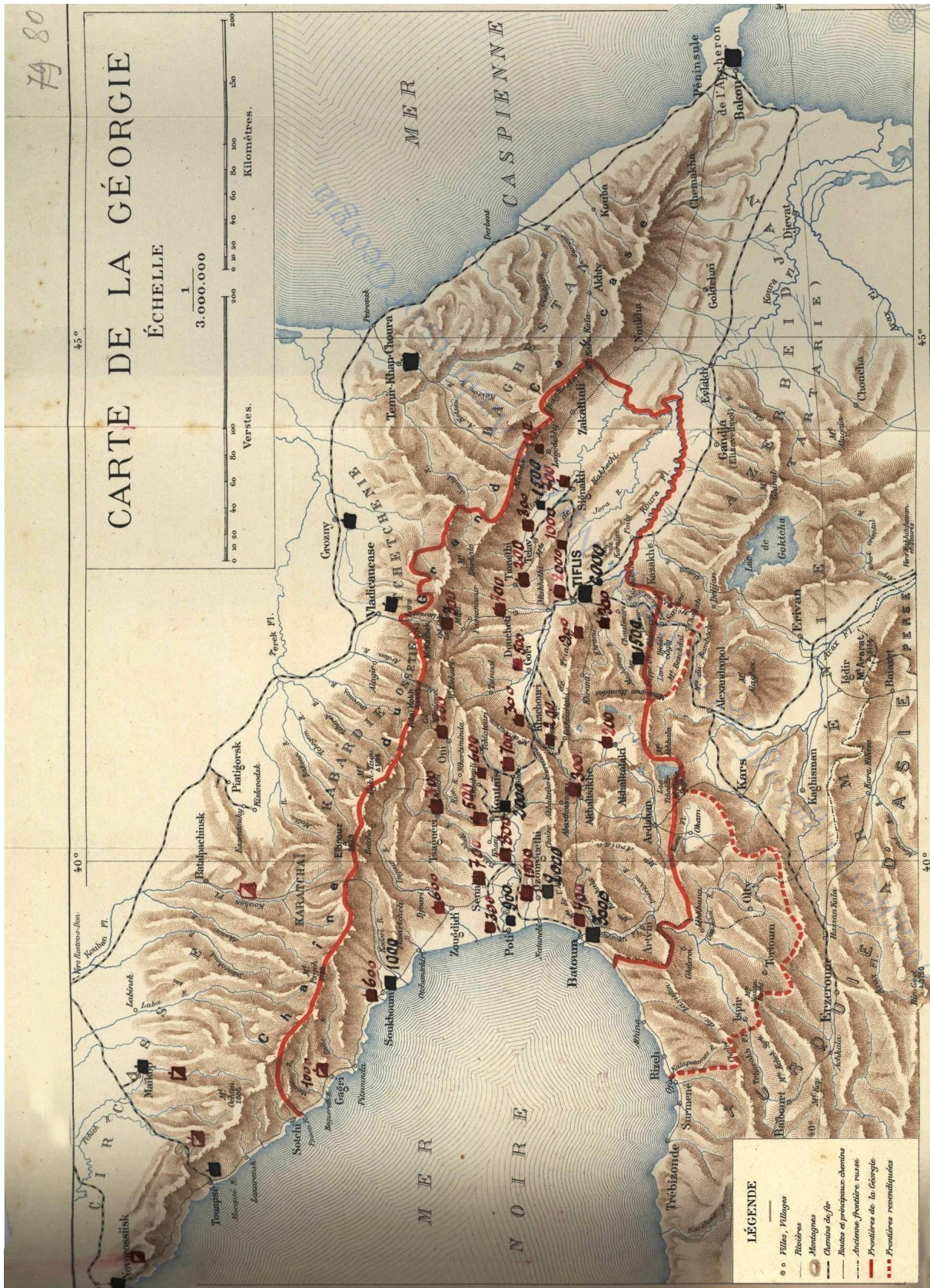
рука №1

1922- 1924 wł ebis Sei araRebul i aj anyebi s samxero gegni s mi xedvi T, kavkasi i s gasanTavi sufl ebl ad ruseTis j arebi s wi naaRmdog moqmedebi s savaraudo si vrce: Tbi l isi_rostovi_yizl ari_baqo_l enqorani_erevani_baTumi_soCa.

`CKBO- - Crdil o kavkasi i s samxedro ol qi (Stabi)

`OKA- - kavkasi i s sagangebo armia (Stabi)

rukaze darTul i sqeni s avtoria SoTa vadallkoria



ruka # 2

1922- 1924 wl ebis SeiraRebul i aj anyebis mosamzadebl ad arsebul i samxedro gegmis mi xedvi T, samxedro komisiis mier rukaze darTul i pirobiTi ni Snebi:
 1)Sindi sferi kubi kebi_ aj anyebis mxardamWer Zal Ta ganl ageba da raodenoba;
 2)haxe vr ad Sindi sferi kubi kebi_ Crdi l o kavkasiis musul iman gl exTa SeiraRebul i Zal ebi _`mvvane armia-;
 3)Savi kubi kebi_ ruseTi s saokupacio Zal ebi



рука # 3

1922- 1924 წლის იანვარში დასრულებულია გეგმა დასრულებულია 1924 წლის იანვარში.

გეგმა დასრულებულია 1924 წლის იანვარში.

გეგმა დასრულებულია 1924 წლის იანვარში.

გეგმა დასრულებულია 1924 წლის იანვარში.

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m o Z r a o b a s a q a r T v e l o S i

(1921- 1990)

w i g n i I

Shota Vadachkoria

**Georgian Emigration and National Liberation Movement in Georgia
(1921-1990)**

Book I

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